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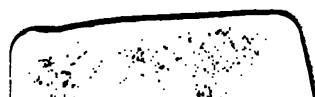
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By CORNELIUS NICHOLSON, Esq., F.S.A., Author of 'The Romans in Westmoreland.'

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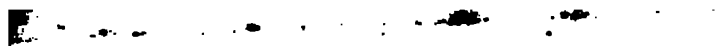
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TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.



VOL. VI.

JULY—DECEMBER.

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he Antiquary.



JULY, 1882.

St. Swithin's Day.

By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

POPULAR delusions often appear to be endowed with a perpetual youth; and this perhaps may be accounted for by the fact that they are almost entirely false. Thus, the wide-spread faith in the meteorological influence of St. Swithin is not altogether without a foundation in truth. An industrious gentleman actually took the trouble to examine Greenwich observations for twenty years, in order to prove the fallacy of this popular tradition, and he found that during that time there were six wet St. Swithins and six dry ones. Moreover, he found that the average of rainy days was greater after the 15th than after the 15th of July. This result might very naturally have been expected, for statistics and general assertions are not likely to run amicably together; nevertheless, the original spirit of the superstitious may have been correct in the main, although the letter was wrong in the particular instances. The period fixed for the duration of the wet should have caused us to doubt that the prophecy was not intended to be taken literally, for the number forty has been commonly used to imply the indefinite; and it is, therefore, allowable to allow the same latitude in the exact time as we do in the case of the word *eternity*, a word in which the original idea is now entirely lost. If we understand the prophecy to mean that when rain falls in July it is likely to last for two or three weeks, we shall find that it is in the main correct.

These persons in all ages whose occupations have taken them much in the open air have usually been observers of Nature, and the result of much of their observation has been VI.

come down to us in the form of proverbs. It seems highly probable that these observers, wishing to draw attention to a likely time of wet, should connect it with some saint's day, in order that the people might remember it the better. It is rather curious that several saints have had the character of patrons of rain attributed to them; but St. Swithin has beaten the others out of the field, and his fame has survived to the present day. The Rev. Leonard Blomefield (late Jenyns), a veteran meteorologist, has given some attention to these weather saints, and written a valuable and interesting Paper upon them, which is printed in the *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*. The days of these rainy saints are, with one exception, all in June and July, and Thomas Forster, the meteorologist, regards this as a proof that the superstition was "founded on the experience of those who had observed, that whatever weather set in soon after the summer solstice was of long continuance." Mr. Blomefield also points out that meteorological observations, extending over a long period of time, indicate the percentage of wet to be very high both in July and August. The first in point of time of the ominous saints' days is that of St. Vitus, which falls on the 15th of June, but as he comes so early he is only allowed thirty days of wet. In the *Sententia Rhythmica* of Buchlerus the following lines occur:—

Lux sacrata Vito si sit pluviosa, sequentes
Triginta facient omne madere solum.

A few days after this, on the 24th, is St. John the Baptist's Day, rain on which is sure to be followed by forty days of wet, as an old Latin proverb informs us. The 2nd of July is the Festival of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, the day of Saints Processus and Martinianus, and the festival of St. Swithin in the Roman Martyrology, and the same prophecy about forty days of wet has been applied to it. The 4th is the day of the translation of St. Martin, and rain then betokens either twenty or forty days of wet weather, the prophets disagreeing a little in the matter. In Scotland it used to be called St. Martin of Bullion's day, and there was a proverb that if the deer rose dry and

lay down dry on that day it was a sign of a good harvest, in accordance with the old couplet—

Bullion's day gif ye be fair,
For forty days there'll be nae mair.

In considering these different dates, we ought not to forget that they are not the same as when the superstitions first grew up. If we take into consideration the change made in our calendar in the year 1752, and add eleven days, which is the difference between the old and the new style, we shall find that St. Vitus's Day would fall on the 26th of June, St. John the Baptist's on the 5th of July, the Festival of the Virgin's Visitation on the 13th of July, St. Martin of Bullion's Day on the 15th of July, and St. Swithin's on the 26th of July.

Foreigners do not recognize our rainy saints, but have different ones of their own. In France, Saints Médard, Gervais, and Protas are looked upon as exerting considerable influence over the weather. St. Médard's day falls on the 8th of July, and some old lines say—

S'il pleut le jour de Saint Médard,
Il pleut quarante jours plus tard.

The 19th of the same month is dedicated to Saints Gervais and Protas—

S'il pleut le jour de Saint Gervais et de Saint
Protas
Il pleut quarante jours après.

Saint Médard's Day is still watched with anxiety in the rural districts of France, and the old proverb quoted above has been amplified into the following lines :—

Du jour de St. Médard, qu'est in Juin,
Le laboureur se donne soin,
Car les vieux disent que s'il pleut,
Quarante jours durer il peut ;
Et s'il fait beau tu est certain
D'avoir abondance en grain.

Of the rainy saints' day in other countries we may mention St. Godelieve in Flanders, the Festival of the Seven Sleepers (July 27), and two others in Germany, St. Galla (October 5) in Tuscany, and any day within the octave of the Feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle (August 24), at Rome. This last is in contradiction to the English couplet, which says that—

All the tears that Swithin can cry
St. Bartlemy's dusty mantle wipes dry.

The English notion as to St. Bartholomew arises from the fact that his day falls exactly forty days after St. Swithin, so that should the latter be wet, the former brings about a change of weather.

Having dismissed the rivals who have in vain attempted to drive St. Swithin from his chief place as a prophetic meteorologist, we will now say a few words about the saint himself and his day. Most of us are familiar with the lines—

In this month is St. Swithin's day,
On which if that it rain they say,
Full forty days after it will,
Or more or less some rain distil.

These were amplified by Gay in his *Trivia*, who added to them a little moral lecture—

Now if on Swithin's feast the welkin lours,
And every penthouse streams with hasty showers,
Twice twenty days shalt clouds their fleeces drain,
And wash the pavement with incessant rain.
Let not such vulgar tales debase thy mind ;
Nor Paul nor Swithin rule the clouds and wind.

Gay here glances at the popular belief, to which we shall refer further on, that the weather on St. Paul's Day (January 25) was an omen of what the year would turn out. The most usual belief as to St. Swithin's Day is limited to the wet ; but some say that if the 15th of July is fine, the forty following days will also be fine, and this view is taken in the Northern proverb—

St. Swithin's day, gif ye do rain,
For forty daies it will remain ;
St. Swithin's day, an ye be fair,
For forty daies 'twill rain nae mair.

Ben Jonson mentions the belief in St. Swithin's in his play of *Every Man out of his Humour* ; but it does not appear to have been more literally true in the seventeenth than in the nineteenth century—

O, here's St. Swithin's, the fifteenth day ; variable weather, for the most part rain ; good ! for the most part rain. Why it should rain forty days after, now more or less it was a rule held afore I was able to hold a plough, and yet here are two days no rain, ha ! it makes me muse.—Act i. sc. 1.

It is time now to ask who St. Swithin was, and why he should be connected with wet weather ; but the first part of the question is easier to answer than the last.

St. Swithin, or more properly speaking

St. Swidhun,* architect and statesman, was born in the neighbourhood of Winchester about the year 800. He was a monk of the old Abbey of Winchester, then prior of the brotherhood, and lastly, from A.D. 852 until his death in 862, Bishop of the See. Egbert, the king, chose him as preceptor to his son Ethelwolf, and he obtained a name respected for uprightness and humility. His last desire is said to have been that he might be buried outside his own cathedral, under the eaves, where his body would receive the droppings from the roof, and his grave be trodden by the feet of the passer-by. This is pretty well all that is actually known of this celebrated saint; but popular regard has not been content with such meagre materials, and further particulars have therefore been invented. Report affirmed that about one hundred years after his death an attempt was made to remove his body to the inside of the church, but that this endeavour was frustrated by a storm of rain which came on suddenly, and continued for forty days. In consequence, the scheme had to be given up, and instead of the saint's bones being moved, a chapel was built over his grave, where many miracles were performed. This, however, is all false, for instead of being a failure, the translation was a great success. The truth of the matter is as follows:—Bishop Ethelwold, the re-builder of the cathedral, looked back upon the list of his predecessors in the See, and he found Bishop Swidhun to be the most worthy of honour there. Information reached him that that worthy had appeared to divers persons in a vision, and the facts were then taken down in writing, the result of which was that Swidhun was proclaimed a saint by acclamation. King Edgar was informed of the reports, and he gave directions for the formal translation of the remains from without the north side to within the east end of the church. On July 15, 971, after Swidhun had been one hundred and eight years in his humble grave, there was a vast gathering at Winchester to witness the translation, which took place with great *éclat*, and with the most propitious weather. A few years later,

on October 20, 980, Ethelwold's new cathedral was dedicated to St. Swidhun, and his merits formed the theme on that occasion. The old cathedral was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and the new fabric was known as St. Swidhun's until Henry VIII. ordered the name of the Holy Trinity to be substituted. The earliest example that has been found of a calendar in which our saint's day appears is one in the library at Rouen, of about A.D. 1000.

We owe our better knowledge of St. Swidhun to the Rev. John Earle,* one of our most learned Saxon scholars, whose researches have added another instance to the many already existing, of the curious way in which a man may be connected in the popular mind with a superstition that history shows us to be inconsistent with the facts of his life. We therefore can have little difficulty in agreeing with Mr. Earle that the belief in a forty days' rain must date back to a period long anterior to the age of St. Swidhun.

Intimately connected with the weeping saints we have been considering are those that inaugurate a more cheerful and agreeable weather. Near the end of most years we have a brief resurrection of summer, which is called in the United States the "Indian Summer," in Northern and Midland Germany, "Old Wives' Summer," and more rarely, the "Girls' Summer." De Quincey speaks of it as "a resurrection that has no root in the past nor steady hold upon the future, like the lambent and fitful gleams from an expiring lamp, mimicking what is called 'the lightning before death' of sick patients when close upon their end." It has four names in England, according to the time in the year it commences, which are Michaelmas Summer (Sept. 29), St. Luke's little Summer (Oct. 18), Halloween Summer (Oct. 31), and St. Martin's Summer (Nov. 11). The two last are mentioned by Shakespeare. Prince Harry says to Falstaff: "Farewell, thou latter Spring! Farewell All Hallow'n Summer" (*First Part of King Henry IV.*, act i. sc. 2), and in the *First Part of King Henry VI.* (act i. sc. 2), Joan la Pucelle says:—

* This name is formed of the two words *swif*, strong, bold, and *hun*, the meaning of which is obscure, although it frequently occurs in names.

* *Gloucester Fragments*, London, 1861, 4to.

Assign'd am I to be the English scourge.
This night the siege assuredly I'll raise :
Expect St. Martin's Summer, halcyon days,
Since I have entered into these wars.

Here is the place to mention the one exception to the rule that the watery saints are all in June and July. The Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude has obtained the credit of commencing a rainy period, and in Middleton and Decker's old play, *The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cutpurse*, one of the characters observes : "I know it as well as I know 'twill rain on Simon and Jude's day." This festival falls on the 28th of October, which is about the time of the usual autumn rains; and, according as the rainy season comes earlier or later, one or other of the second summers we have just mentioned is likely to occur.

January 25, the day dedicated to the Conversion of St. Paul, was considered, as we have mentioned before, to be ominous of the future weather of the year. In Hearne's edition of *Robert of Avesbury* this is set out in the following translation of some Latin lines :—

If St. Paul's day be fair and cleare,
It doth betide a happy yeare ;
If it do chance to snow or raine,
Then shall be deere all kinds of graine :
But if the wind then be alofte,
Warres shall vex the realm full ofte ;
And if the clouds make darke the skie,
Both neate and fowle this yeare shall dye.

Somewhat the same belief was current as to St. Urban's Day (May 25). If this day is fair the Germans count on a good vintage, but if it is stormy they fear a bad one. The image of this saint used to be carried to the market-places and crowned with flowers, but if these fair-weather saints were unpropitious the people vented their anger upon them. Schenck, in his *Treatise on Images*, says that in Germany the people used to drag St. Paul and St. Urban in effigy through the streets down to the rivers if their respective feasts happened to occur in foul weather. Besides wet and fine-weather saints, they have in France three *Icy Saints* :—

Saint Mamert, Saint Pancrace
Et Saint Servais,
Sans froid ces Saints de Glace
ne vont jamais.

The festivals of these saints occur on three consecutive days—viz., the 11th, 12th and 13th of May, and Mr. Blomefield remarks—

that these three days coincide with one of those short periods of anomalous cold, or wintry relapse, which occur in the earlier months, and of which that in May is perhaps the one most generally known; thereby again establishing the truth of an old adage—though the phenomenon to which it bears reference has only of late years, comparatively speaking, attracted the attention of meteorologists, or been clearly ascertained to be a fact.

The results of the consideration of these meteorological landmarks may be summed up as follows, in the words of Mr. Blomefield :—

Taking one year with another, there is relatively speaking a dry half of the year and a wet half, the latter being further divisible into two wet periods separated by a dry period. In other words, some portion of the summer is wet, and some portion of the autumn is also wet, the saints'-days above named pointing in a general way to the setting in of those periods. But between these two wet periods there usually occurs an interval of fine settled weather, this being also, curiously enough, associated with other saints; if the first wet commence, as it normally would do, about the end of July and continue through August—so that it can be fairly laid to the charge of St. Swithin—then when the dry comes in September, St. Bartholomew is considered as bringing about the change. If this dry period does not set in till later in the season we have then no less than four saint or festival days brought in to mark the fine settled weather, especially if mild as well as fine, and lending their names to what is considered as a second summer.

It is therefore a mistaken notion to imagine that the association of varieties of weather with certain saints had anything originally to do with superstition. At the present day it is in many instances the proverbs and traditions only that keep the saints in memory; but it was different in old times, and no better mode of impressing upon the masses the results of observation could have been hit upon. It is also not a little remarkable that meteorologists such as Forster and Blomefield, who have given careful attention to the subject, should find, after consulting a series of records, that, in the main, the so-called superstition of our ancestors was founded upon broad and sound generalizations.



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to those who are willing to follow him what there is to charm the eye of the lover of nature, and what traces of antiquity there are in ecclesiastical or domestic architecture to be found near the road along which he rambles; and these he renders additionally interesting by recalling the associations of other days, and describing successive scenes witnessed there during the centuries. The distinctive merit of such a book is its power to interest readers in the districts in which they live, and the least that can be said about Mr. Croston's book is that it is admirably adapted to do this."—*Manchester Examiner and Times*.

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The Domesday of Colchester.*

PART II.

INHABITANTS.—It is somewhat strange that the Survey does not record the total number of burgesses, or the total number of houses, either T.R.E. or T.R.W. We may, however, discover from a financial entry† that the number of houses in the *tota civitas* was 450 T.R.E.; and by a careful analysis of the Survey we can account for about the same number as existing in 1086.‡ This figure (which would imply a population of somewhat over 2,000 souls) seems curiously small when compared with the "Hundred of Norwich" with its 1,300 burgesses T.R.E., or even the "Half-Hundred of Ipswich" with its 538 burgesses T.R.E.; or, to take the case of a sister *colonia*, the *civitas* of Lincoln, with its 970 inhabited houses T.R.E., must have had more than double the population. Colchester had clearly been distanced in the race, and had been relatively receding in importance.

The lengthy list of burgesses which forms the bulk of the Survey affords us more information than would at first sight appear probable. According to Mr. Freeman,—

A long list is given of English burgesses who kept their houses, followed by a list of possessions within the borough which had passed into the hands of Norman owners.§

But this is not so. The list is, to some extent, divided into two, but several Normans—among them landowners in the county—are to be found in the first half, while the second half contains at least two names of

English owners who have kept their houses.* Nor are the estates in the latter part "possessions within the borough," for the term *burgus*, as I have shown, is only used twice in the Survey, and is then strictly applied to the space within the walls. If we examine the first half, headed, "*Isti sunt Burgenses Regis qui reddunt consuetudinem*," we find the names of 276 burgesses, several of them owning many houses and a few owning none—the grand total of their houses being 355. Their land, which was divided into unequal plots, amounted to no less than 1,296 acres of arable and 51 of meadow. Most of the plots were but a few acres in extent, often but one or two, and suggest a very large element of "peasant proprietors," dwelling probably on their little holdings, of which many must have been distant from the walls. There were also several properties of from twenty to thirty acres; and the whole effect produced is that of a land-owning community, with scarcely any traces of a landless, trading element. Hence, we may presume, the relative sparseness of population; hence also the want of development in the community. Among the burgesses we find seven priests and nearly twenty women, one of the latter, Leofleda, being perhaps the wealthiest of the townsfolk,† with her three houses, her twenty-five acres, and her mill.‡ The pure English element is of course predominant in the names, and lingered long among the fields and copses after fashion had banished it from the font.§ But Hacon and Tovig, Osgod and Segrin, were names that told of Norse descent. And followers of the Conqueror as well figured among the king's burgesses. Rossel and Dottel occur among the names, as do Walter and Got Hugh.

* References to sketch map of Colchester in 1086 (Vol. v. p. 246).

1. King Street.
2. Site of Castle.
3. Site of St. Helen's Chapel.
4. Moot-hall.
5. Cellars of an early Norman house.
6. Ditto, assigned to Eudo Dapifer.
7. St. Peter's Church.
8. Trinity Tower (eleventh century).
9. The Bishop's Fee.
10. The Schrebe Street (to Malden).

† See under "Finance."

‡ Apparently between 440 and 450.

§ *Arch. Journ.* xxxiv. 68.

* "Mansune ii. domus et iv. acras, Goda i domum."

† Compare the "*una mulier soror Stigandi*," who was a wealthy burgess of Norwich.

‡ See "Mills."

§ Eadric (Eddrichescroft), Cedric (Cerrichescroft), Eadwig (Eduiefeld), Leofgar (Levegorismede), Eadwine (Edynelonde), Ælfwine (Aylwynesmere), Godgifu (Goodith-hide, Godehye), Eadgifu (Editheslonde), &c. &c. These are mostly taken from deeds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. "Golden," which still occurs in land-names there, must be a corruption of Goldwine.

Ralph Pinel, the Lord of Bromley,* is among them also, but has declined, after the manner of his comrades, to pay the dues on the houses which he holds, as a burgess, within the walls.† Two other Normans, with the singular names of Half White (*Dimidius Blancus*) and William Sin (*Willielmus Peccatum*), are under-tenants of lands in the county.‡ Tescho (Tedesco?), another foreigner, has also withheld his burgage-dues. Even St. Eadmund figures on the burgess roll of Colchester.§ A puzzling problem is presented by two Englishmen, "*Consilio* Godwine" and "*Consilio* Ælfheah." What office did these men hold, *consilio* being evidently an official prefix? Were they, as at St. Edmunds, in later days, the nominees of the king's reeve, the men who convened the moot of the hundred, and carried the horn of office?¶ Nor must we omit "Wulfwine the Crier,"|| the only bearer of that venerable office recorded in the pages of Domesday. It is a singular coincidence that "a parcel of land called *the Towne Clapper*" was still to be found at Colchester as late as the sixteenth

century.* Mr. Gomme may be able to tell us whether we may here discover the trace of an immemorial custom conspicuous in the Aryan system.†

The precise *status* of the owners in the second half of the list is not easy to determine. Among them are the names of great Norman landowners,‡ but their possessions, like those of the English burgesses, were all charged with quit rent to the Crown, though they had mostly endeavoured to evade payment.§ The distinction, therefore, if any, must be sought in jurisdiction, and not in tenure. Both classes were equally entitled to share in the common pasture.

LEXDEN.—The boundaries of the *civitas* of Colchester are plainly to be discovered in Domesday. The Colne was its northern limit, for beyond it, as we shall see, lay the King's Wood, of which the Survey could take no cognizance. On the east it extended beyond the Colne over the outlying lands of Greenstead, closed in to the north by wood and waste. Its southern portion, subsequently known as West Donyland, was by far the most extensive, and embraced the swelling uplands between the valleys of the Colne and of the "Roman river." On the west, it was protected by no natural boundaries, and was there consequently most open to aggression, even in the days before the legionaries of Rome had stormed the ramparts which to this day remain. It here adjoined the Lordship of Stanway, one of those which had passed at the Conquest from the hands of Harold|| into those of King William.

* Among the obit-lands confiscated under Edward VI.

† See Mr. Gomme's invaluable Introduction to the *Index of Municipal Offices*, p. 35, where a *Bellman's acre* is quoted. There was also at Colchester a *Hangman's pond*, and a *Parson's acre* will be found below, while a *Knave's acre* still remains in the grounds of the Hythe Rectory.

‡ See "Manorial Houses." Earl Eustace, Sweyn of Essex, Ralph Peverel, Geoffrey de Magnaville, Hamo (Fitz-hamon), and Eudo (of Rye) occur among the names.

§ There was still extant in Morant's time a list of the burgage-lands (from which, as Professor Stubbs observes, the Crown rents were due), taken in 1612, to assess the *aid pur fille marier*. It is now probably among the Ashburnham MSS.

|| It had contributed to the endowment of his famous House of Waltham, the Abbey's land here being known later as the *Aula de Waltham* (Tallage Roll), 6 Ed. II. ...

* ii. 97.

† "Radulphus Pinel iv. domus infra muros et v. acras et non reddidit consuetudinem" (ii. 106).

‡ ii. 39, 77, 78.

§ "Abbas Sti. Eadmundi ii. domus et xxx. acras" (ii. 105). A century later he owned "duas ecclesias in Colecestrā" (J. de Brakelonde).

|| "Et nominati sunt eādem horā duo burgenses Godefridus et Nicholaus ut essent præfecti, habitāque disputatione de cuius manu cornu acciperent, quod dicitur *mot-horn*, tandem illud receperunt de manu prioris" (J. de Brakelonde, 54). Cf. the Pusey horn, Seymour horn, Boarstall horn, &c., as cases of horn-tenure. It is but fair to Mr. Coote to point out that he might here discover a trace of the long-lost *duumviri* (*Romans of Britain*, 354, 358).

¶ ii. 104, "Uluuin monitor." I follow Ducange in rendering *monitor* as "crier," though I should myself prefer "the wakeman," on the analogy of that primitive officer at Ripon, who originally blew "a horn every night at nine of the clock" (compare the vesper-horn of the Swiss Alps) as a police warning to the inhabitants. (For details see Gent's *Ripon*, pp. 101-2.) But we should also compare "the Burghmote horn" at Canterbury, by which the governing assembly was summoned "from time immemorial" down to 1835 (Hasted's *Kent*, 1800, xi. p. 29; Brent's *Canterbury*, 1879, p. 233), unless this should be rather identified with the horn mentioned in the note above. It should be observed that at Ripon the mere "wakeman" developed into the mayor, while at Canterbury the convener degenerated into the crie.

The portion of the lordship nearest to Colchester was known as the Berewite of Lexden,* and early in the Survey the tale of wrong is thus told by the Burgesses:—

Et burgenses calumpniantur v. hidas de Lexsenda ad consuetudinem et Scotum civitatis quæ jacuerunt ad prædictam terram quam tenebat Godricus (ii. 104).

On this most instructive entry Mr. Freeman observes:—

We see the burgesses of Colchester already forming a recognized body, holding common lands, and claiming other common lands as having been unjustly taken from them.†

We have here an excellent instance of the necessity for minute investigation if we would interpret aright the facts recorded in the Survey. For (1) the land was *not* "common land,"‡ but "belonged to the land which Godric held;" (2) The burgesses did *not* claim the ownership, but merely the power of rating ("ad consuetudinem," &c.).§

This claim should be compared with an entry in the Survey of Chester.||

In each case the grievance was the same. The *rateable area* of the *civitas* had been wrongfully lessened, and the *land-gafol* (the *consuetudo*, or crown quit-rent) on that portion had been transferred to the owner of the land, though the Crown continued to exact the same sum from the community, among whom the remaining landowners had to make up the deficiency. Notice that this implies the existence of a fixed commutation.¶ If we now turn to the opposite side of this picture, as presented by the description of Stanway, we detect at once the guilt

* "Adhuc pertinet i berewita que vocatur Lexsenda de iv. hidis" (ii. 4).

† *Arch. Journ.* xxxiv. 68.

‡ See "Common Land."

§ This "claim" of the burgesses in 1086 is singularly analogous to their claim in 1810, when they asserted their right to rate the castle and its bailey, which had previously been deemed an exempt district.

|| Terra in quâ est templum Sancti Petri, quam Robertus de Rodeland clamabat ad teinland, sicut diratiocinavit comitatus, nunquam pertinuit ad manerium extra civitatem sed ad burgum pertinet; et semper fuit in consuetudine regis et comitis sicut (terra) aliorum burgensium (i. 262 b.).

¶ For the meaning of "Scot" in this case see "Finance."

of the king's reeves.* The total value of the Stanway lordship had increased 50 per cent. since the days of the Confessor.† Further proof of its wrongful extension is found in the suspicious entry under Lexden of "xvi. socmanni de ii. hidis et xxxvi. acris," formerly, we may presume, burgesses of Colchester.‡ Nor is it without significance that a mere "berewite" had swollen to such proportions.§ It is singular to note that the *invasio* would have been *contra regem*, but that it happened to be the aggression of a Royal reeve on the rights of Royal burgesses.

GREENSTEAD.—The point to observe in the description of this division is that it stood on a different footing from the rest of the *civitas*. It had been held by one man, and not by a crowd of burgesses; it had been held free from that rent to the Crown which was paid by the rest of Colchester.|| When we remember that it also lay outside the geographical limits of the ancient Camulodunum, we are tempted to combine the two facts, and to look upon it as a late addition, and not an integral part of the original English *civitas*. Is it too fanciful an assumption that the latter was co-extensive with its British predecessor?¶ Greenstead had belonged, T. R. E., to Godric,** a "freeman."

* See Mr. Freeman's admirable exposure of their doings in his Appendix on *The King's Reeves* in vol. v. p. 811.

† Tunc valuit totum xxii. libros; modo Petrus inde recipit xxxiii. libros; and iii. libros de gersuma (ii. 5.) This Petrus was Peter de Valonges, then sheriff and fermor of the king's manors.

‡ These "sokemen" held about as much land as the better class of burgesses, and apparently lived on their holdings. This change of burgesses into sokemen confirms Professor Stubbs' statement (i. 409)—"The burgage tenure answers to the socage of the rural manors." For a similar transfer of sokemen see ii. 100:—"Addidit Hamo dapifer ii. sochemannos quos invasit super regem." Also i. 137.

§ I attribute to this extension of Lexden the present proximity of that parish to the town walls. The rights of the burgesses were, however, effectually restored, and the later lords of Lexden did suit and service at their court.

|| That this depended on the *land* and not the *owner* is shown by Godric's possessions south of the Colne being all charged with *consuetudo*.

¶ Greenstead appears, oddly enough, in the sixteenth century as "Greenstead Pentric" (Rot. Pat., 1557), a name savouring of the *Wealhcyne*.

** Probably identical with "Godric of Colchester," a holder in East Donyland, T. R. E. (ii. 30).

Dying before the Conquest, his sons had divided* it into four parts, which they had subsequently forfeited. Two of them the Conqueror had retained, one he had granted to Earl Eustace, and one to a certain Waleran, who had died shortly before the Survey, and whose son John now possessed it.† This division should be carefully compared with that at Lammarsh, on the borders of Suffolk, as illustrating the retention of Old English boundaries.‡ The shares of the four brothers had here been exactly equal in value, though one of them comprised the church, and the other the mill of the hamlet. On their forfeiture, their shares were kept intact, except that the mill was now divided among the four.§ It is noteworthy that the church was apparently not worth dividing.|| Godric had owned here four "mansiones terræ." This obscure term would seem in this case to mean "capital messuages."¶ May they not have been the farmsteads of the respective shares? If so, that of Earl Eustace would be now represented by "Greenstead Hall," and one of the king's would be "Greenstead Park."*** To the King's shares belonged two houses within the burh,†† and three houses in Green-

stead were held from Waleran by Turstin Wiscard.*

THE KING'S LANDS.—

"Dominium regis in colecestrā cii acrae terræ de quibus sunt x prati in quibus sunt x bordarii. Et ccxl acrae inter pasturam et fructetam, et hoc totum jacet ad firmam regis" (ii. 107).

The first point to notice here is the use of the term "demesne." In one sense the whole *civitas* was "in demesne" of the Crown, but in its aspect of a Crown manor it had, like any other manor,† a portion set apart as the peculiar demesne of the Lord,‡—a kind of *imperium in imperio*. The rest of the *civitas* was the *ût-land*, or *geneat-land*, from which accrued the *gafol*, or tribute which was due to the king *quâ* lord, and formed the *consuetudo* of the Survey.§

* Afterwards given by Eudo to St. John's (Carta Eudonis). Proved to have stood in Greenstead by Inq., taken at Colchester 8 Ed. IV. Waleran's quarter was afterwards given to St. Botolph's, it is not known by whom. I have discovered the donor in a Hastings who married John's heiress (Rot. Pip., 31 H. I.).

† "The manorial possessions of the sovereign did not differ from those of his subjects." They were regarded as landed estate. (Hale, *Domesday of St. Paul's*, xxxiii.)

‡ Vulgo terræ dominicales (Spelman).

§ The identity of the *landgafol* in the Old English towns with the *tributum* of the Roman colonists is a cardinal point in Mr. Coote's theory (*Romans in Britain*, pp. 252-259, 366, &c.). His argument is briefly this. The *tributum* of the Romans was paid after the English Conquest to the English kings, in the early period of the Monarchy. It was then "remitted to the Roman subjects, in respect of land in the shires" (*territoria*) but "still levied upon the *houses* of the same Romans in the boroughs" (p. 257.) This latter portion he identifies with the *landgafol*, "not a rent, but a permanent land tax" (p. 367) "a payment made by the citizens to the king" (p. 366.) From this view I must differ wholly. It is essential to distinguish the *fiscalia* or public burdens (practically the *geldum*) paid as a *tax* to the king *quâ* king, from the *consuetudo* or head-rent paid to the king *quâ* lord, just as it would be paid to any private lord of a subject town or even of a manor (for this same term *consuetudo* is used of manorial rents throughout the Survey—a further illustration of the close analogy between town and country in Old English days). This confusion partly proceeds from Mr. Coote's theory of the *territorium*, which I have disproved above, and which blinded him to the true territorial character of the Old English town. He accordingly assumed that the *land-gafol* was only paid on *house* property, and it is a fatal objection to his theory that we here find it paid by *land* also within the borders of the territorial *civitas*.

* I follow Mr. Freeman's reading. The original is *dimitterunt*.

† He was a large owner in Suffolk, &c. He appears at Henny (ii. 101) as succeeding to an *invasio* of his father Waleran (cf. ii. 84). Waleran was of a somewhat "invasive" disposition, and had seized a house in Colchester, which the monks of St. Audoen claimed in right of their lordship of Mersea (ii. 22). It does not appear here. Was he the Waleran Fitz-Ralph who gave lands at Pantfield, Essex, 1076?

‡ See ii. 74. Two brothers had divided it into two shares (one twice the size of the other) T. R. E. Those shares were kept quite distinct after Ralph Peverel received the manor, and were held by separate tenants.

§ Thus making the shares unequal. See "Mills."

|| Probably it had no glebe land. The church remained till recently a very ancient structure.

¶ According to Ellis (ii. 242) "In the return for Essex, the two words *mansio* and *manerium* were considered as synonymous." But these *mansiones terræ* are seen to have been only homesteads.

** The Earl's share and those of the King passed to Eudo, who granted them to St. John's. One of them was made a park by the Abbot. The church (standing on Eustace's land), passed to Eudo, carrying the tithes with it. He granted them also to St. John's.

†† "Quibus pertinent duo domus in burgo."

It will be noticed that the area of these lands is given in acres and not in hides or carucates.* The reason of this is to be found in their not lying together, though the bulk of them (as shown on the map) formed a compact parcel.

The expression "*hoc totum jacet ad firmam regis*," has been wrongly translated "is let out to ferm by the king." It should be rendered "belongs to" (the strict meaning of *jacet ad*) "the King's Ferm." That is to say, the estate must have been rented by the collective burgesses, and the rent formed part of the Ferm they paid to the Crown.† When King Stephen handed over eighteen acres of these lands to the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, an equivalent portion (3s. 5d.) of the total rent paid by the burgesses was thenceforth paid by the brethren.

Ten borders (*x. bordarii*) were the only labourers on this demesne. "The *bordarii* of the Survey," says Ellis, "appear at various times to have received a great variety of interpretations." The fact, it should be noticed, which is clearest in connection with them is that, here at any rate, they formed the class into which the *villani* were sinking and the *servi* rising.‡ Now when we learn what these "borders" really were, we shall perceive the significance of this change. We find them at Colchester the only labourers on the demesne lands. This corresponds precisely with the observations of Mr. Larking in Kent,§ and Mr. Eyton in Dorset.|| They were the lord's ploughmen,

the labourers, as we should say, on the home farm. Now observe that this change in their relative numbers corresponded with a simultaneous change in the amount of land under cultivation. We find that between the days of the Confessor and the period of the Survey there was little or no diminution in the *demesne* land under cultivation,* but a great falling off in the number of tenants (*villani*) and their teams.† Thus, the marked increase in the *bordarii* would be due, not to the conversion of *ut*-land into demesne, but to the necessity of providing additional labour on the demesne to replace the *prædial* services rendered by the former *villains*.‡ And so one phenomenon serves to explain the other, and to throw fresh light on this obscure but important period.

J. H. ROUND.

(To be continued.)



The Preservation of Parish Registers.



HE short Bill for this purpose, brought in and prepared by Mr. Borlase and Mr. Bryce, will, we hope, shortly become law; meanwhile, it may not be amiss to note its provisions, and the need there is for them.

Parish registers have had an existence of 300 years; they were instituted by Cromwell under Henry VIII., when, as Ecclesiastical

estate. They were housed, fed, appointed, and directed by the steward or bailiff" (*Dorset Domesday*, p. 49.) Thus Ellis' view (p. 83) that "*bordarii* were merely cottagers" is wrong. Hale (*Regist. Worc.* xiii.) confessed that how the *bordarii* differed from them (the *villani*) does not plainly appear. Jones (*Domesday of Wilts*, liv.) believed the demesne was worked by *servi*.

* Thus, on analyzing the king's manors in Essex, I find that the teams in demesne had only decreased from 69 to 62, but those of his tenants from 318 to 228. So, too, on the Bishop of London's lands, the demesne teams continued to be 30, while those of his tenants had decreased from 159 to 91!

† So at Orsett: "Tunc xxxiiii carucæ hominum Modo xxii. Tunc xxxiii villani, Modo xxii." (ii. 9.)

‡ This could of course be effected either by converting the *villanus* or *servus* into a *bordarius*, or by engaging labourers from elsewhere.

* They occur in the 1130 Pipe-Roll as *dominicæ carucate regis*, but this was a conventional formula.

† Just as their ferm was raised by 40s. while they rented the King's Wood.

‡ So at Stanway, "Tunc xii. villani, post et modo ix. Tunc x. bordarii post et modo xii." At Lexden, one villain had sunk to a bordar, and one serf had risen to the same. On St. Peter's land, at Colchester, one serf had risen to be a bordar, &c. &c. A very striking instance will be found at Writtle, in Essex (ii. 5) where the *villani* had been reduced from 97 to 73, and the *servi* from 23 to 18, while the *bordarii* had increased from 36 to 60.

§ The *bordarii* were, strictly speaking, the labourers of the demesne lands of the manor (*Domesday of Kent*, App. xxi.). So too on pp. 167-8.

|| "The *bordarii*, so far from being 'cottars' (as lord Coke supposed) or 'dwellers on the border of an Estate' . . . dwelt round the court-house, the centre of the manor. Doubtless they constituted the highest class of farm labourers employed on the

Vicegerent, he issued the Injunction of 1538, ordering "every parson of every church to keep one book wherein he write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial," with minute directions for its safe custody "in one sure coffer with two locks and two keys." Parish registers, as such, may be said to have closed with the Civil Registration Act of 1837, when the State undertook the duty, and the General Register Office was formed in London.

Mr. Borlase has lately reprinted from the *Law Magazine* of May, 1878, an article by Mr. Taswell Langmead, with a preface by himself, in which the necessity of collecting and preserving, arranging and indexing parish registers as national records, both valuable and interesting, is earnestly pleaded, and the urgent need for it set forth; Mr. Borlase's Bill is added; and the two "printed by Pewtress & Co.," in twenty-five pages. The Bill provides for what should be done, and how to effect it; the essay furnishes the arguments, or rather the reasons, why it should become law as an Act of Parliament. The Bill itself is of but twelve short sections, or of nine besides the title and interpretation clauses. Its main provision is the transfer to the custody of the Master of the Rolls of all parish registers, and also of any transcripts—thereby embracing the Bishops' Transcripts originating with the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth—prior to the 1st of July, 1837—*i.e.*, prior to the Civil Registration Act; it provides for their removal; for the validity after removal; for indexes and extracts; for the use of them in evidence; for inventories, and the like; and for expenses. By an important last clause, and as it were supplemental, the Act is extended to all cathedrals and collegiate churches or hospitals, and to their burial-grounds, and to ministers though not parochial.

Parish registers are therefore now passing into a new and further phase. Two important dealings with them have before taken place prior to the Civil Registration Act of 1836, which entirely changed their character. In 1813 the registers of each parish in England started afresh with a new set of books, and since that date they have been kept on one uniform system, so that the year 1813 may be taken as one departure marking the

end of the old and the beginning of the modern registers. This was effected by what is now remembered as Rose's Act, and also remembered for a conspicuous example of carelessness, one section imposing the penalty of fourteen years' transportation for falsifying a register, and another directing that half the penalty should be received by the informer. Excellent as were the important improvements then introduced, especially in the form of registration, so as to form, as we say, a division between the old and the modern registers, and constituting of itself an era in their history, there is little doubt that the fresh set of books carried with it this misfortune, that it caused the old books to be treated with even less care than formerly. At any rate, at the next dealing with them, in 1831, the Population Abstract Return, printed by order of Parliament two years after, discloses a strange account of the then parish registers. The answers of incumbents, 4,000 letters of special explanations, are deposited in the British Museum, and occupy six big folio volumes. It thereby appeared that, after 300 years of clerical custody, out of about 11,000 parishes, half the registers prior to the year 1600 had utterly disappeared, and not above 812 registers commenced in 1538, the year of their institution. Canon LXX., under James I., in 1603, an important mark in the history of registers, and stringent in its careful regulations, seems also to have been signalized by the commencement thereof of nearly 2,500 registers, and so downwards; while about 600 or 700 have commenced only since 1750, and some even in the present century. Few registers which have survived are perfect from their commencement; gaps of ten, twenty, thirty years are frequent; volumes are lost, leaves torn out, single entries obliterated, whether by damp or mildew, or by fraud. An immense number have been destroyed accidentally by fire. Such are some among the entries on the return; sufficiently piquant are some others: "twenty years ago, churchwarden, a shopkeeper, used some of the registers to enfold his goods;" "early registers are reputed to have been burnt;" "registers deficient, 1800 to 1811, owing to the ruinous state of the church;" "all registers previous (to 1794) destroyed;" "earlier registers burnt in a fire,

which consumed the parsonage house of a *neighbouring* parish;" "no register can be found prior to 1813," is repeated in several parishes; "a volume of registers sent to the House of Lords on the Leigh peerage;" "two register books taken away by the archdeacon in 1824;" "early registers in possession of the patron;" "register supposed to be in the Court at Norwich;" "register produced at Launceston Assizes but now lost;" "register mutilated, apparently to write bills in, as a butcher's bill remains on the last leaf." Such are some of the answers in the return of 1831. But from many other sources we may fully believe the neglect and indifference with which the older registers were kept in parochial custody. "Coventry on Evidence," edit. 1832, mentions that requisite registers of baptism had been obliterated and in part destroyed, by the parson's favourite greyhound being allowed to rear a litter of puppies in the chest containing them. Mr. Bell, in his account of the claim to the Huntingdon peerage in 1820, tells that the early registers of Christchurch, Hants, were used by the curate's wife to make kettle-holders.

We have however said enough, we think, to substantiate the need there is for better care than at present of the parish registers, especially of the older, though it is not alone the oldest that are ill protected; it is not many years since the registers of Kew, containing the baptism and marriage of the Duke of Kent, the Queen's father, were stolen, and have never been recovered.

The proposed Act indeed deals, for the present, only with registers prior to 1813; and for twenty years to come leaves in their present custody those from that date to 1837, the date of the Civil Registration Act; at the end of twenty years those later registers are to be also transmitted to the Record Office; thus securing to the clergy, the custodians, a continuance of the search-fees for that period—*i.e.*, in effect the whole of the modern registers, from which, for all but a very small part, arise the fees for searches or extracts. The former opposition by the clergy may therefore be supposed to be obviated, as they will have all they could ever have had.

Not only the preservation of registers, but their use, or convenience for their use, is

gained by their being brought to one place—the Public Record Office—as national documents, instead of being dispersed all over the kingdom in 11,000 different depositories, and almost in effect inaccessible for genuine search. Nor is it without its weight that the small fee for searches, while inappreciable when, as now, the search is to be made in scattered parishes, will suffice as a whole, and in the aggregate, to defray the expense of thus bringing together this mass of valuable and curious records. That they are curious and valuable, will become more and more evident as they are made use of. They are the sources not alone of family history, but of the earlier national statistics of the country; they often throw unexpected light on chapters of more than parochial history, if only in so small a thing as the prevalence of certain Christian names. We can add one small illustration of the kind from the register of the obscure parish of Cam, near Dursley, in Gloucestershire; it is, too, an illustration of the odd turn legislation had taken in Church matters, even before our own day. The wisdom of Parliament has in that respect before now provided, *e.g.*, that Lent should be carefully observed, assigning for reason the encouragement thereby given, not to piety, but to the fisheries: it levied, too, but did not assign the reason, a heavy duty on the marriages of bishops and archbishops, and it required the burial of man, woman and child in woollen, for the encouragement of the woollen and paper trades—a vexatious and troublesome piece of legislation which continued in force until nearly the battle of Waterloo. The parish register of Cam is unusually full in materials for showing the operation of this law. On the passing of the Act a new title was given to the register: "Here followeth the register of such as have been buried in woollen at Cam, pursuant to the late Act Caroli II. *di.* Tricesimo." In 1678 a long entry of "no certificate that burial was in woollen only," and of a warrant by the Justices for levying £5, and a distribution of one moiety to the poor, and the other to the vicar of Cam, who informed." Mr. John Henry Blunt, in his history of Dursley, notes of its register, "opposite the years 1641-8 is the mem., 'no weddings registered; few christenings or burials all

these eight years in the heate of the warre.'" It may, however, be quite taken for granted that all readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* will fully recognize the importance on every ground of the Preservation of Parish Registers, and the propriety of securing it by the Bill now presented to Parliament. As legal evidence, "all the property of the country, or a large part of it," said Chief Justice Best in the Oldham case, "depends on the registers." In claims to peerages they are all-important, while the minor matters, and incidental notices of public and local affairs of the time, offer a large field of research for historian, and biographer, and statistician.

B. L. LEWIS.



Shakespearian Folk-Lore.

Slips of yew, sliver'd in the moon's eclipse.—
Macbeth, act iv. sc. 1.

TO consider the various ingredients of the witches would be almost to circle the study of folk-lore. So varied are the articles selected, so great is the skill shown in their combination in the spell, that one can almost believe that Shakespeare among his many other quests had pursued investigations in the domain of popular antiquities. His abundant knowledge of all the beliefs and superstitions of rural England is evident in every play, but now and again it seems obvious that the acquaintance of Shakespeare with witchcraft was of a more special kind, that he had read deeply in the works of the magicians of mediæval Europe, and known men who, if they had not themselves dabbled in the Black Art, were not unfamiliar with those who had knowledge beyond the common. The witches had not quitted England when Shakespeare lived. It was long after his time that the fairies ceased to dance in the woods, and so long as they played pranks in the green spaces, the witches had no need to prepare their brooms for flight. The question indeed of demonology must have been often debated in Shakespeare's hearing. In one sense, it was the main topic of the time. Scepticism was abroad, but met with little encouragement. The *Vulgar Errors* of Sir Thomas Browne, who was a schoolboy when

Shakespeare died, would alone show how hard it was even for the vigorous manhood of the seventeenth century to get rid of the swaddling bands of superstition and imposture. Even in our own day it is not impossible to find illustrations of passages, where such discoveries would seem improbable enough. The sympathetic treatment introduced by Sir Kenelm Digby, is practised after a fashion in many an English county in this year, and stories as strange as those that remarkable man told in his address to the nobles and learned men at Montpellier, may be found in the garner of the English Folk-lore Society.

The few words I have quoted at the head of this Paper suggest so much that is curious, that on this occasion they may be taken to illustrate Shakespeare's remarkable knowledge of two departments of folk-lore.

The yew-tree has long been associated with gloom and sadness. The torches of the furies were made of yew, and though there is doubt as to whether the ancient *taxus* is the same tree as our *Taxus baccata*,* the influence of the classical legend has necessarily been felt. Again, the character of "sad," given it by Pliny, would be abundantly borne out by its poisonous qualities. There is scarcely a month passes that some case of injury to cattle or mankind is not recorded, due to tampering with yew-leaves. Evelyn says the yew-tree in the medical garden at Pisa was so poisonous that the gardeners, when they went to clip it, could only continue at work for half an hour at a time, as it caused headache. It was not for this reason, at least, that the yew was planted in churchyards, but that gave it a new title to the melancholy epithet. The dark colour, and its great longevity, had much to do with its selection as a church tree—the colour representing the mortality of man, while the seemingly unfailing trunk spoke of immortality, and hopes to the mourners who gathered by its gloomy boughs. There is another reason, however, given for its selection. It was very generally adopted as a substitute for the palm. Caxton, in his *Directory for Keeping the Festivals*, says, "For reason that we have non olive that

* See *Notes and Queries*, 5th S. xii. p. 191; this note contains much curious information as to the yew.

berith grained leef, therefore we take ewe instead of palme and olive." In Ireland the yew-tree was—and probably is—called by the lower classes, the palm, and branches of it are borne on Palm Sunday.

After the consecration of the yew to religion it was but a small step to sorcery, for it will generally be found that witchcraft was most powerful when it exercised mysterious influences through instruments usually associated with the Church. Thus, for example, it is said that there is an idea in the north of Scotland that he who holds a branch of churchyard yew in his left hand—the left hand is always selected in such cases—may speak as he pleases to one near him, for he will not hear, but those around will hear; and a story is told of a man, who, desiring to insult openly the chief of his clan, approached him with yew-branch in hand. He spoke loud and defiantly, but his chieftain heard not, while his brother clansmen did.

A practical reason alleged for the growth of the yew in churchyards should be noticed. The yew was used to supply the parish bows; it was unsafe to grow it elsewhere; it could do little harm in the churchyard, and was ready for immediate use. Shakespeare speaks of the "double-fatal yew," in *King Richard II.*, act iii. sc. 2, and the explanation given by Warburton, and adopted by Dyce, is "called *double-fatal*, because the leaves of the yew are poison, and the wood is employed for instruments of death." It is right to add, however, that the evidence for the compulsory planting of yews in churchyards, for the purpose of supplying village boughs, is doubtful, and that foreign yew seems to have been preferable.

One writer* has told us that the yew, like the mountain-ash, is "a very upas-tree to the witches," and gives as explanation "possibly because of its constant proximity to churches." I think the opposite was the case, and that the explanation is not a sufficient one. The ash was certainly obnoxious to witches; but as to the yew—save when confounded with the palm—I fail to see any more sufficient reason for its omission from the book of the wise men than for the omis-

sion of divination by key and book of Psalms, of charms by coffin-rings, and graveyard grass. The great age of the yew naturally marked it out as eminent among its companions. The market and fair of Langsett in former days was held round an old yew-tree in Alderman's Head grounds; a yew which still flourished in the last century, and under which the court for the manor of Penisale had been held from time immemorial.* This one example out of many shows, that the repute of the yew was possibly more ancient than the introduction of Christianity into England; so, too, if it be a fact that often—as certainly sometimes†—the yews are planted in a *circle* round the church, we may be led to believe that the reverence for the yew is a relic of heathen days; that no association with later religious edifices has removed the ancient respect; and thus, that although apparently consecrated to worship of an entirely opposite character, the yew was the most suitable of all trees for a witch's purpose, adapting to the circumstances the almost incontestable rule that the holy things of one faith, become the accursed, or at least mysterious and dreaded, things of another succeeding and conquering religion. The dark yews that showed the forest circle in time, became the ring that surrounded a Christian church; but despite the symbolism which the branches and the endurance taught, the tree still remained also significant of older days, and fitly gave the magic cauldron a slip sliver'd in the moon's eclipse.

How much the splitting or tearing off of the slip had to do with magic we learn from a piece of Slavonic folk-lore. It is unlucky, says Mr. Lach-Szyrma‡ to use for a beam, a branch, or a tree broken by the wind. The devil, or storm-spirit, claims it as his own, and, were it used, the evil spirit would haunt the house. It is a broken branch, then, the witches choose; a sliver'd slip the woodman will have none of.

I do not think it necessary to consider at any length the great importance of the moon in matters of magic. Bede tells us, "No Christian man shall do anything of witchery

* Gomme, *Primitive Folk Moots*, p. 133.

† *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, xii. p. 468.

‡ *Folk-lore Record*, vol. iv. p. 54.

* Wilkie MSS. Henderson, *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, p. 226.

by the moon; if he doth, his belief is naught.* Dalyell truly says, "No prejudice has been more firmly riveted than the influence of the moon over the human frame, originating, perhaps, in some superstition more ancient than recorded by the earliest history."† In the present day the superstitions connected with its first appearance, its waxing and waning, would of themselves make a bulky volume. How the growth of plants, the killing of cattle, the very life and death of men depends upon this luminary, might be illustrated at once from histories the most dry, and from the pages of *David Copperfield*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the eclipse of the moon should, among all peoples, have given rise to evil forebodings and superstitious practices. The popular belief in China is, that the sun or moon is being devoured by a dragon. The people endeavour to frighten away the dragon by beating dogs and firing crackers.‡ The Romans, Lloyd says, "would take their brazen pots and pannes, and beate them, lifting up many torches and lincks lighted, and firebrands into the aire, thinking by these superstitious meanes to reclaime the moone to her light."§ So did the Macedonians. "The Irish, or Welsh," says a writer of 1656, "during eclipses, run about beating kettles and pans, thinking their clamour and vexations available to the assistance of the higher orbes." No Hindu, it is thought, should do any work whatever during an eclipse; and all earthenware used is broken, and food in the house at the time of the eclipse thrown out.|| The Chiquitos of Brazil called the moon their mother; and when she was eclipsed they thought she was hunted across the sky by huge dogs, who tore her till the blood from her wounds quenched her light; so they fired arrows into the air to drive away the dogs.¶ The Indians of Tlascala, when the sun and moon, as they thought, were fighting, offered the reddest people they could get to the sun, and albinos to the

moon. The Ojibways also think the sun and moon fight. They make a great clamour, and endeavour to divert the attention of the combatants to themselves. The general explanation is, that an animal is trying to swallow the moon. The Chinese, as we saw, says a dragon does this; the Nootkans say a codfish; the Turks make choice of a dragon or a bear, as the following extract from the *Constantinople Messenger* of Dec. 23, 1880, shows:—

Mgr. Mamarbaschi, who represents the Syrian Patriarch at the Porte, and who resides in St. Peter's Monastery in Galata, underwent a singular experience on the evening of the last eclipse of the moon. Hearing a great noise outside of the firing of revolvers and pistols, he opened his window to see what could be the cause of so much waste of powder. Being a native of Aleppo, he was at no loss to understand the cause of the disturbance as soon as he cast his eye on the heavens, and he therefore immediately withdrew his head from the window again. Hardly had he done so, however, ere a ball smashed the glass into a thousand pieces. Rising from the seat into which he had but just sat down, he perceived a conical ball on the floor of his room, which, there is every reason to believe, would have killed him had he remained a moment longer on the spot he had just quitted. From the yard of the mosque of Asat-Djami, which is in front of the prelate's window, the bullet had, it appears, been fired with the intention of frightening the dragon, or bear, which according to Oriental superstition, lies in wait to devour the moon at its eclipse.**

Sir John Lubbock says:

"I was at Darhoot, in Upper Egypt, one year, during an eclipse of the moon, and the natives fired guns, either to frighten away the moon's assailants, or, as some said, out of joy at her escape from danger, though I observed that the firing began during the eclipse."†

The Greenlanders have a low opinion of the moon's conduct during her eclipse. She is sister of the sun, who constantly pursues her; during an eclipse she goes from house to house to steal skins and eatables.‡ The Caribs thought the moon hungry, sick, or dying; and the Peruvians endeavoured to comfort her by making their dogs howl, to accompany a frightful din made by instruments.§ The Cambodians, who imagine "some being" has swallowed the sun and moon, make much noise, and beat the tom-tom with much the same reasoning that

* Cockayne, *Saxon Leechdoms*, iii. p. 267.

† Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 286.

‡ Denny, *Folk-lore of China*, p. 37.

§ Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, p. 664.

|| Conway, *Demonology and Devil-lore*, vol. i. pp.

44, 45.

¶ Dorman, *Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, p.

44.

* Cited in *Notes and Queries*, 6th S. vol. iii. p. 305.

† *Origin of Civilization*, pp. 232, 323.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 229; cited *Archæol. Americana*, vol. i.

p. 351.

§ See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 297.

makes the Emperor of China—down to our own time—solemnly beat a tambour.*

Enough has, perhaps, been said to show that an eclipse of the moon is universally regarded with fear and dread. Grotesque as may be the conceptions enumerated—and many more might have been added—they all bear witness to the belief that in the absence of the moon, evil—and evil in uncivilized or semi-civilized countries is always witchcraft—finds its best opportunity. What does our own literature, as exemplified in Milton, say as to eclipses? In what ship was Lycidas lost? In, surely—

that fatal and perfidious barque
Built in the eclipse and rigg'd with curses dark.

When the night-hag, lured with the smell of infant blood, comes riding through the air to dance with Lapland witches,

the labouring moon
Eclipses at their charms.

Does not "disastrous twilight" with fear of change perplex monarchs; and did it not almost prevent the publication of *Paradise Lost*?

Among peoples where astronomical science has not advanced into popular knowledge, an eclipse is looked upon as caused supernaturally, but remediable by extraordinary human intervention; in those of more advanced culture the reasoning is reversed, and the eclipse attributed to the malice of fellow-mortals, and only, if at all, remediable through their supernatural powers. Shakespeare chose to make use of the latter reasoning. In a time of mystery and horror the yew was slivered; and now by powers as evil as those which evoked the darkness, if they themselves did not, the slip is consigned to the seething wrath of Hecate, while yet the parent tree,

not loth to furnish weapons for the bands
Of Umfraville or Percy ere they marched
To Scotland's heath; or those that crossed the sea
And drew their sounding boughs at Azincour,
Perhaps at earlier Crecy, or Poitiers,

might live again to throw funereal shadows, on the ground when the full light of the disenchanted moon should fall across a stretch of church's land, and the sisters dire have ceased to work their soul and body destroying sorceries on English ground.

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK.

* Lubbock, pp. 231, 232.

On the Dates of the Two Versions of "Every Man in his Humour."*

PART I.

IF these two versions, the first, quarto, or Italian-scened with Italian-named characters—though the manners and customs are English, and the taverns, The Mitre and Mermaid—was published in 1601, after the publication of Jonson's subsequent "Every Man out of his Humour." The second, or London-scened version—that generally known since his time—was first published in the folio of 1616, and in accordance with Jonson's habit in later life of giving the birth-year of each play, it was stated that it was—"A Comedie Acted in the yeare 1598." In it some of the minor incidents were varied, as were portions of the dialogue.

On these facts Mr. Gifford put forth these theories: first, that the quarto version was written in 1595 or 1596, and acted in 1597, by Henslowe's company, at the Rose, though it bears on its title-page—"As it was acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his servants"—i.e., by Shakespeare and his fellows; that it was then published by Henslowe's company from their play-house copy, without Jonson's knowledge, and against his interests; thirdly, that it was the folio version that was first acted in 1598. I, on the contrary, maintain: First, that the quarto play was first acted in 1598, and, as stated on its title, by the Lord Chamberlain's servants; secondly, that, like his other plays, it was published by and under the superintendence of Jonson himself; and thirdly, that the folio version—as can be proved by internal evidence—was altered and revised from the quarto about the year 1606. I now take questions one and two, reserving the third for Part II.

Gifford having made, as do too many, his author his hero, took up the theory that Ben had never quarrelled with Shakespeare, or that, if he had, Shakespeare had been the

* This Paper in its substance would have been read at the New Shakspeare Society, in December, 1876. My illness prevented this, and its place was supplied by a Paper by Mr. H. B. Wheatley on the same subject.

aggressor. This, notwithstanding that the latter was known as "the gentle," while no one in the many panegyrics written on the vain, domineering, and irascible, though after a time readily appeased Jonson, ever thought of giving him that attribute. Notwithstanding, also, that we have the knowledge that Jonson had in one of his prologues parodied a line in "Julius Cæsar," and in another play sneered at Caliban and "The Tempest." Gifford's so-called proof is—the noble verses by Jonson on Shakespeare—written, it may be remarked when the fames of both poets were established, and—after Shakespeare's death! The strangest of proofs that he had never quarrelled with him. But Gifford had also to get rid of this most ugly and conflicting fact, the prologue lines to the folio version; these every one else had taken to be sneers against certain of Shakespeare's plays. This was got rid of, by the theories of dates above mentioned, and by the theory that this folio prologue had really preceded the quarto version, but for some reason—rightly unmentioned—it had not been printed with it, though the Latin motto to the play had. Set forth in 1597, it could not possibly have hit at plays yet unpenned.

Taking the fact of the quarto having been published before the folio, and the statement as to date already quoted from the title-page of the folio, and adding some less than unsupported assertions, Gifford makes the following statements—"Every Man in his Humour, is the first piece in the [Henslowe] list which we can appropriate, and this was then a popular play; having been acted, as Mr. Henslowe says, eleven times between the 25th of November, 1596, and the 10th of May in the succeeding year. . . . The success . . . appears to have encouraged the author to attempt to render it yet more popular; accordingly, he transposed the scene . . . to London . . . and introduced such appropriate circumstances as the place of action seemed to require. . . . According to the custom of the times, Jonson regained the property of his comedy by these numerous alterations; it was thus acted for the first time in 1598 at the Black Friars, and Shakespeare's name stands at the head of the principal performers in it" (*Memoir of Jonson*). Hence the quarto must give the Henslowe-sold ver-

sion, and Gifford says in a note: "The old play probably remained at the *Rose*, where it had been brought out." And in the introduction to the play (where he further antedates its first appearance as in 1596 or 1595) he asserts: "the quarto edition appeared in 1601; there is not the least probability of its having been given to the press by Jonson, whose name is misspelt in the title-page, and who, indeed, if the property of the play had been in his own hands, would naturally be inclined to suppress it altogether. It had neither dedication nor prologue, and was probably printed from the book-holder's copy at the *Rose*."

I remark on these seriatim.

(1) Gifford's dates are erroneous. The play spoken of by Henslowe was a *ne* (*i.e.*, new) play not produced on the 25th of November, 1596, but on the 11th of May, 1597; afterwards this "popular" play was played eleven times, up to the 13th of July; and after endeavours to resuscitate it on the 11th of October and the 4th of November it vanished, never to re-appear.

(2) But the next point is more curious and important. "'Every Man in his Humour' is," says Gifford, "the first piece in the list that we can appropriate." Now Henslowe ten times calls this play—"The Comedey of Umers," and four times (including an inventory taken "after 3 March 1598") "Umers;" never anything else. Neither is Jonson's name in any way connected with it. Could no one but Jonson have written a Comedy of Humours? Had he a patent for the use of a word so commonly fashionable, that in three of his plays he rails at its over-constant abuse; one at last so cant, that it had become a stock phrase in Corporal Nym's mouth in 1599. But Gifford so cunningly contrived his phrases as to make the reader believe that "Every Man in his Humour," or words that unmistakably indicated it, were to be found thirteen, or as he gives it, eleven times in Henslowe's Diary. Beyond saying that his phrase of "appropriation" was a fitting one, I forbear from comment.

(3) Jonson, according to Gifford, having then altered his play, though the latter's phrase, "numerous alterations" conveys—as was probably intended—an exaggerated idea of the changes made, "he, according to the

custom of the times, regained the property of his comedy." For such a "custom" the reader is remitted to his own or to Gifford's inner consciousness. Only the bare assertion is given, nor have I anywhere come across a proof. But judging from what I know of the views prevalent, either then or now, I should say that I feel certain that no one would at this day restore his copyright to Jonson because he had so altered it, nor on the application of a Henslowe, or proprietor of the first-copy, permit another company to act the second version. And I feel, if possible, more certain that such things would be less allowed then than now. Then, one thought as much of prior rights of possession, and much less of authors' rights being reclaimed by unimportant changes of wording and incident. The two versions are in title, language, general incidents, and plot essentially one play.

(4) Next comes Gifford's only stated proof that this 1601 quarto was not given to the press by Jonson: "[his] name is misspelt on the title-page." As I have said in *THE ANTIQUARY* (ii. 56), Jonson's publications before his part of *James' Entertainment*, 1604, were these:—"Every Man out of his Humour," 1600, before which only his initials were placed; our present play, 1601, "*Cynthia's Revels*," 1601, and "*The Poetaster*," 1602—the two latter expressly allowed by Gifford to have been published by Ben himself. Yet all three spell the name "Johnson." His *James' Entertainment* was the first book in which the form (this time in Latin) "B. Jonsonii" occurs. It needs only to be remembered that Gifford had all the quartos, and read and consulted them all.

(5) Though no argument other than this misspelling is set forth, Mr. Gifford would insinuate another doubt into his reader's mind by adding as to the quarto: "It had neither dedication nor prologue;" to which I would add, nor preface. But the man who wrote this knew well, that many contemporarily published plays had none of the three. He knew that in Shakespeare's complete works, edited by his actor associates, there are no prologues before his fourteen Comedies, three only before the same number of Histories, and three before his thirteen Tragedies. Yet he would be a poor reasoner

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who inferred that Shakespeare disliked prologues, and that in deference the actors in his case gave up a custom to which audiences looked forward. Gifford knew also, when he penned these words, that no one of Jonson's five plays, up to "*Sejanus*" inclusive, had a dedication; that none but "*Sejanus*," 1605, had a preface, except a note of five lines at the bottom of a page before "*Every Man out of his Humour*;" that "*Sejanus*" has no prologue, and that "*Every Man out of his Humour*" and "*Cynthia's Revels*" have only an induction and a form of prologue, "*The Poetaster*," 1602, being the first with a prologue in the usual form.

(6) According to Gifford's argument, though he carefully avoids mention of the fact, Henslowe not only put forth his copy surreptitiously, but prefaced it with the lying statement: "as it hath beene sundry times publickly acted by the right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his servants."

(7) Assuming, with Gifford, that this quarto was from Henslowe's copy, and that the title-page bore a lie placed with intent to deceive; I ask, how is it that Henslowe—one who at all times looked after his self-interest, and with a self-interest still more aroused by anger at the loss of the improved play, and at the death of a favourite and, therefore, paying actor, Gabriel Spenser, killed by Jonson just before the 26th of Sept. 1598—how is it that he delayed publishing it until 1601? In 1598 and 1599 the improved play was in vogue. In 1601 it had comparatively passed out of date; 1599 saw its equally, or rather more successful successor, "*Every Man out of his Humour*;" 1600 saw "*Cynthia's Revels*" played by the then most popular little eyases; while in 1601 the town was taken up with the quarrel which early in that year produced Dekker's "*Safiro-Mastix*," and "*The Poetaster*."

(8) Again, one asks, is it likely, that during the new version's successful run at the Black Friars, Henslowe would not have tried to benefit by it, and posted and acted it as—"the true and original piece?" Such seems a necessary prelude to the unauthorized and lying publication. But one asks and gains only a negative reply. Henslowe's Diary is extant, but the "*Umers*" appears not after the 14th of Nov. 1597.

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(9) I ask, also, is it likely that Henslowe, having had his version entered on the 14th of Aug. 1600, and published in 1601, with a direct lie on the face of it evidently directed against Jonson's reputation and interests; is it likely, that the conceited, arrogant, and vindictive Jonson, then smarting under stage and other literary attacks on himself and his plays, should on the 25th of Sept. 1601, have quietly gained and accepted from Henslowe, as shown by the Diary, forty shillings "upon his writtinge of his edicions in Geronymo?"

(10) Is it, too, probable or possible, that such a one as Ben should have chosen the publisher of this surreptitious quarto as the publisher of his next printed play? Yet he did this. Our quarto was entered by Walter Burby and Walter Burre, and published by the latter in 1601. On the 23rd of May, 1601, was entered "Narcissus, or Cynthia's Revels," by Walter Burre, and it was set forth by him in 1602.

(11) Not only so, but the title-pages, *mutatis mutandis*, may be called almost fac-similes the one of the other. Under 6 I have given part of the 1601 one; the corresponding portion of the 1602 runs:—"As it hath beene sundry times privately acted on the Black Friers by the children of her Maiesties Chappell." In the 1601 quarto we find—"Written by BEN IOHNSON," the same words, so spelt, and in the same types appear in Narcissus. Was Jonson then so enraptured with the appearance of the copy printed against his wish and interests, and falsely asserting itself to have been revised by him for the Shakespeare Theatre? Or was he the editor of both? Need I pause for a reply even for the second or two that did Brutus?

(12) Attention is also and especially called to this. The quartos of "Every Man in his Humour" and "Cynthia's Revels" were entered in 1600 and 1601, within ten months of one another. For the first, second, and only times (until the folio which has the second line on the title-page of the first-named play) they bore this motto from Juvenal:—

Quod non dant procures, dabit Histrio
Haud tamen invidas vati quem pulpita pascunt.

Gifford, in remarking on this as prefixed to the "Revels," says—and, I think, rightly—

"that it was probably due to some circumstance now unknown." Yet, according to him, one of two things. Either Jonson placed this on the fore-front of his play-house copy for the delectation and information of ignorant men, with Henslowe ignorantissimus at their head; and they then printed it on their title-page, though they struck out Jonson's prologue. Meanwhile, Jonson adopted another motto for his "Out of his Humour," and then, after two or three years, recurred to it for the last time in his "Cynthia's Revels." Or this—Henslowe, void of Latin, with intuitive perception picked out of the whole range of that literature the very two lines which Jonson was about to use for another play. Instead of either of these absurdities, is it not simpler to believe that one like Jonson, vehement but not implacable, used this motto under the influence of strong feeling, and then—took up a new one.

(13) The most casual glance at this 1601 quarto, shows it to possess in a marked degree that which Mr. Gifford himself calls a characteristic of Jonson's publications, accuracy; accuracy of printing, of text, of spelling, and in especial an attention to punctuation. Most quarto plays are deficient in these qualities, and a surreptitious publication was more likely to be so, especially as regards punctuation. Somewhat accustomed to old quartos, I was at once struck with the family likeness of this 1601 work to Jonson's undoubtedly legitimate progeny, and, though I had then not begun this inquiry, I almost unconsciously exclaimed, "Aut Jonsonio, aut Diabolo."

(14) I have not yet remarked on Gifford's statement that it is the 1616 folio version which says on its fore-front that it was "Acted in the yeere 1598," though this seems strongly to support his theories. Neither has any direct proof been set forth that the first version was first played in 1598. I have showed, however, incidentally, that while the two versions varied a little in their minor incidents and wording of the dialogue, they were but one play, one in title and one in general plot. Now, the very title-page that Gifford quotes does not say that "this new or second version," but that this play of "Every Man in his Humour: a Comedie [was] Acted in the yeere 1598." I also

noted that Mr. Gifford rightly—rightly so far as his desire to prove his own argument is concerned—omitted, in his notice of the quarto title-page, to quote the words "as it hath beene sundry times publickly acted by the right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his servants." And anent this I ask the reader especially to remember that Jonson, up to just about the 26th Sept. 1597, when he fought with Gabriel Spenser, was in Henslowe's employ, a sharer in his theatre, and a writer for it, but that after this he had perforce to take his ware elsewhere, and as it happened it was accepted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants. Thirdly, I instance from Jonson himself the proof that he held different versions to be one and the same play.

"Sejanus" was first acted and damned in 1603. In 1605 Jonson published his altered and revised version of it, thus prefaced—"Lastly, I would informe you that this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share; in place of which I have rather chosen to put weaker (and no doubt less pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a *Genius* of his right by my lothed usurpation." Yet in the 1616 version, the copy of this 1605, second, or Jonsonian version, both in the title-page, and at the end of the play, are placed these words—"First acted in the yeere 1603," a date only applicable to the original or double-author version.

I do not summarize these arguments and objections, thinking it sufficiently shown that Gifford's assertions, taken in their most favourable light, are but baseless fabrics, and that this quarto is what it and every known circumstance proclaim it to be. But, though it matters not either way to my arguments, I would notice a play spoken of in Henslowe's Diary, which while answering in point of date to "Every Man in his Humour," cannot be otherwise explained. On p. 106 we find, repeated almost verbatim on p. 116:—"Lent unto Bengemen Johnstone, the 3 of desembr 1597, upon a Booke w^{ch} he was to writte for us before crysmas next after the date hereof, w^{ch} he showed the plotte unto the company: I saye lente in Redy money unto hime the some of—xxs." Now taking a year (or less,

the plot being laid) as Jonson's usual time for a play, and the Christmas not that within twenty-two days, during which he could not have written his dialogue, but that of the following year, as I think we are entitled from Henslowe's illiterate mode of expressing himself to assume; remembering also that just previous to the 26th of Sept., 1598, Jonson killed G! Spenser, we can readily believe that this was Jonson's first complete play, afterwards proffered by him to Shakespeare's company, and played by them in 1598.

BRINSLEY NICHOLSON.



Letter from Denmark.

SINCE I wrote last, several important works in your department have appeared in Scandinavia.

In Sweden we have Part I. of a splendid work on *The Rock-carvings of Bohuslän*, carefully drawn by L. Baltzer, with an introductory notice by Dr. V. Rydberg.* There are two plates, the one in double-folio size. When completed, this will indeed be a remarkable work on a remarkable class of antique remains, those curious figures of men and ships, animals, wheels and other objects cut or punched on the living rock, which are so abundant in Scandinavia, especially in parts of Sweden and Norway; and Bohuslän was once a province of Norway. They doubtless date from the Bronze age. The text is in Swedish and French. Another valuable novelty is the second edition of Hildebrand's *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Sweden*.† In the first issue (of 1846) the number described was 4,232; in the present we have 10,458, but with the 120 Irish coins here added, 10,578 pieces. The venerable author is so distinguished as a learned and careful numismatist, that we handle his elegant volume and its many plates with entire confidence. His English series commences with Eadgar

* *Hällristningar från Bohuslän* (Sverige). Tecknade och utgifna af L. Baltzer. Med Förord af Viktor Rydberg. 1 Häftet. Göteborg. 1881. Folio.

† *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinettet funna i Sveriges Jord*. 8vo. Stockholm. 1881.

(959-975); but the great mass are Æthelred's and Cnut's, &c. Thus, "Dane-gelt" money, chiefly found in Gotland (the trade-emporium) and in Scania (once Danish land). English collectors will of course find this handsome and very cheap volume indispensable. Part III. of *Sweden in the Middle Age*, by the numismatist's gifted son, the present Swedish Riks-antiquary,* is a welcome instalment of this excellent work, so needful for all British students, of which I have already spoken. An essay which breaks ground in a new direction is J. Kreüger's *The Aryan Element in the Old Swedish Family and Clan*.† Herein the author for the first time throws Scandinavian light on questions now under debate—religion, marriage, the father and his children, slaves, freedmen, inheritance, the village commune, &c.

Passing over to Norway, we again meet a welcome gift to British coin-collectors. In a handsome quarto pamphlet Dr. Stenersen, Keeper of the Christiania Cabinet, carefully describes the famous coin hoard found at Græslið‡ in 1878. These silver pennies, more than 2,200 in number, are nearly all Norwegian, and many hundreds of them bear *Runic* inscriptions. These pieces were struck for Harold Hardrede and his sons, Magnus and Olaf, and the hoard was buried late in the eleventh century. Very many of the coins are "barbarous," that is, the work of moneyers who lived by cheating the king of his mintage-tax. Several of the runic legends are very interesting. The commonest is: KUNAR (with variations), A (or O), MOT (or MOTI), BIS (or BISA, BITA, &c.). One of these last pronominal differences is BISY or BISVI, where the clear v has been incorrectly printed and read by Dr. Stenersen as k. In like manner we have LOFRIKR A MOT BITA. So the genitive formula: KONARS MOT BISA (with variants), and the absolute formula, KUNAR MOT BISA, &c. One curious type is lettered: ASKELL O PENEK BEN (*Askell owns Penny this*), PENEK instead of the usual MOT

or MOTI. The non-Runic give on reverse: VLFCEL ME FE (*ail*), and LEFRICS MOT. On seven plates no fewer than 225 coins are figured, either one side or both. We heartily thank the author for this contribution to Runic and numismatic science. It is only a step from coins to another branch of old-lore, *The Beginnings of the Iron Age in Northern Europe, a Study in Comparative Prehistoric Archaeology*.* This inquiry has been taken up by Dr. J. Undset, the gifted Norse old-lorist, and his book is the result of long labours in the chief museums at home and abroad. It is not too much to say that this is the best work on the subject yet published, and that its perusal will immensely help and enrich all who feel any interest in this wide and wonderful field. The material is well mastered and arranged; thirty-two plates of antiquities are added, besides several in the text, and various valuable notices are given. Thus it will soon be in many hands. I would only remark that, in my eyes, my excellent friend makes his Scandinavian dates far too low, for I look upon both Iron and Runes as centuries older in the North than Dr. Undset will admit. I also claim other centres whence olden arts and art-motives have come than Switzerland on the one side, and Austria on the other. Behind and older than these, are the East, Asia Minor, Greece, the Crimea, Grecian colonies in Scythia, and so on. I will only now speak of one other Norwegian book, the charming Essay by the Rev. Dr. Bang, on *Julian the Apostate*.† It only holds 170 pages, but is full of matter. Its tone is entirely objective, does justice to every better quality in that famous pervert (who, in fact, never was really a Christian), and as little hides his faults. Every source of information has been ransacked, many ingenious results obtained. The whole is admirable reading.

Coming now to Denmark, the great literary event has been the establishment—at last—of "The University - Jubilæum Danish Society," formed in commemoration

* *Sveriges Medeltid. Kulturhistorisk Skildring.* Af Hans Hildebrand, i. 3. 8vo. Stockholm. 1881.

† *Det Aryska Elementet i den Fornsvenska Familjens och Släktens Organisation.* Af J. Kreüger. 8vo. Lund. 1881.

‡ *Myntfundet fra Græslið i Thydalen, beskrevet.* Af Dr. L. B. Stenersen. Christiania. 1881.

* *Jernalderens begyndelse i Nord-Europa: en studie i sammenlignende forhistorisk arkæologi.* Af Dr. Ingvald Undset. 8vo. Christiania. 1881.

† *Julian den Frafaldne.* Af Dr. Theol. Chr. Bang. 8vo. Christiania. 1881.

of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Danish University. Owing to the lamentable misunderstanding in late years of the Icelandic language, which is a *modern*, very peculiar and very difficult local dialect (though of immense value on account of its literature, like as Anglo-Norman, Provençal, Tuscan, Castilian, or any other), looking upon it as once *the mother-tongue* of all the folk-lands *afterwards* united as Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and England—northern philology has in this century taken a wrong direction. It has in fact regarded the ancient languages and dialects of the Scandinavian main as contemptible peasant-patois compared with the “holy” Icelandic, monstrously and absurdly by this school called “Old Northern.” People now see that this whole idea is impossible nonsense; that the northern lands, like all others, have had very many continually changing clan-dialects; that all book-languages are, to a certain extent, “schooled” and conventional; and that to understand the national speech in general we must study everything of every age, from the oldest runes to the modern provincial talks. Hence a great Dialect Society has been formed in Sweden (Upsala), another in Norway (Christiania), and a third in Denmark (Copenhagen). All three are of special interest to us, as the bulk of our population and speech is of Scandinavian origin. But this renders a knowledge of English, in all its older and later forms, necessary for Scandinavians, for England is Scandinavia’s oldest great colony, as Iceland is its second, and English speech is even yet essentially (apart from its Romance element), *the same language* as that of Scandinavia *before* the latter locally developed the post-article and the passive (or middle) verb, changes which sprung up in Scandinavia so late that they were unknown to the ninth and tenth century Wiking settlements in Great Britain and Ireland. Particularly are the old North English dialects the key to the Scandinavian, for they show the same rapid nasalizing of the N, and other such slurrings, as the Scandinavian; while the old South English (the vulgar “Anglo-Saxon”) for centuries holds fast the N and other olden forms. Hence, also, no one can know English who has not examined the monuments and dialects of the mother-

country, particularly Danish, for the northern colonists in England (from the third century downwards, and through the Wiking period) were chiefly from Denmark.

The Danish Society is, therefore, highly to be encouraged by all English-speaking lands. Its object is, to publish dictionaries of the book-language and of the great local dialects, to prepare works on proper names and place names, to print olden Danish manuscripts or *unique* pieces already in print, to help the study of all these things by papers in a journal, and so forth. It consequently unites in itself *more* than is attempted by both the Early English Text Society and the English Dialect Society put together. Its members receive all its publications gratis (*plus* book-post). Life members pay only 100 kroner (less than £6 sterling). Annual members pay 10 kroner (about 11s. 6d.). But even this small sum will be reduced when a sufficiently large number of members has joined. It has already about 200 on its roll. Fresh names will be gladly received by its honoured treasurer, the Danish publisher, Carl Reitzel (Address: Løvstræde, Copenhagen, Denmark). British and American students and libraries should hasten to help, by sending in their subscriptions.

This excellent club has only been one year in active existence. But it has already published:—1. A facsimile reprint, with woodcuts, of a unique Danish fly-sheet, dated 1607, curious and laughable, *The Legend of St. Peter’s Three Daughters*. 2. *Blandinger (Miscellanea)*, contributions on Danish, among them an *English* paper, by Prof. G. Stephens, on a Dano-English name-list from Yorkshire, early eleventh century, here first printed. 3. Parts 1 and 2 of a *Lexicon of Olden Danish*, from 1300 to 1700, by Otto Kalkar, 208 pp., in double columns, large octavo, running to the word *BIVRE*. This will be an immense work when completed. Its publication has been assisted by a large grant from the Carlsberg Fund. 4. *Old Jutlandic Law Documents*, part 1, edited by Dr. Ol. Nielsen, from 1444 downwards, of great value, as written by unlearned scribes, and thus *largely in the Jutlandic dialect*. The next part will contain a learned introduction and glossary. The Society has received an annual grant from the Danish Ministry of Public Instruc-

tion, and many gifts of money from private persons are coming in. In preparation are:—The costly olden Danish Leech-books; Tales and Legends in the Vendelbo dialect, N. Jutland, with Danish translation; the Alexander Saga; the Rev. H. F. Feilberg's great Dictionary of the Jutlandic Dialects; Thomas à Kempis in olden Danish, &c. &c.

Nearly connected with all this activity is the completion of the remarkable chartulary, called *Codex Esromensis*, edited by Dr. Ol. Nielsen. This vellum carries us back to the establishment of the famous Cistercian monastery at Esrom, in Zealand, in the middle of the twelfth century, with its subsequent fates. As might be expected, the older writs are in Latin, the Danish commencing in the middle of the fifteenth century. This work is of great value for Danish history, as well as in other directions. Lastly, the Danish poet, Ernst von der Recke, has published a highly interesting book on Danish verse-systems. It is a storehouse of information on this head; but it errs in basing the whole on the classical metrical systems, instead of on the accent-verse of our Northern forefathers.

GEORGE STEPHENS.

MONARCHY

Reviews:

History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn; with Introduction, containing the History and Description of the present state of the Mother House of the Order of Vallis Caulium (Val des Choux) in Burgundy. By Rev. S. R. MACPHAIL. (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1881.) 4to, pp. xxii. 285.

THE ruins of the Priory of Pluscarden in the west end of Elgin are truly magnificent. The church was never completed, as the foundations of the west part of the cross were only laid. There are small pieces of fresco painting that remain under an arch in the church which are tolerably accurate in the design, and the colours lively.* These are the few significant words which represent, to a considerable extent, the species of vague and incomplete information which has hitherto obtained about Pluscardyn and its religious house. Mr. Macphail has now come forward to tell us a longer and a better story. His book is one to be appreciated, because he goes into the question from the very beginning, and carries it right out to the end.

* Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1793, v. 18.

The Priory of Pluscardyn was founded as a house of the order of Vallis Caulium, or Val des Choux. Its mother house was in Burgundy, and Mr. Macphail rightly goes there for the initial facts of his history. Having traced out the fall and destruction, and given a view, ground plan, and other illustrations of this Burgundian priory, Mr. Macphail transplants his readers to Morayland, civil and religious, before the founding of Pluscardyn. There they find a record of primitive life and primitive beliefs and fancies; the former gained from chronicle history, the latter from the study of popular superstitions still existing. Any one who thus pursues the instructive history of monastic life will at once see it in its true and full significance. From this era of wild and uncivilized life we come to the facts attending the founding of the priory. The original foundation charter is dated 1230. Other charters are dated 1233, 1236, and 1237. These three original charters are reproduced in facsimile, and are also extended in an appendix. They grant to the priory twenty nets above Inverspey, the mill of Elgin, with the mills of the Castle of Forais, the mills of Dulpot with all their multures, the fishing of Polfode, &c. These and such like grants convert the monastery into a civil corporation for the administration of great landed estates, and it is this fact that makes early monastic history of such great value to the general historical student. Mr. Macphail does not lose sight of this important phase of his studies, as, for instance, when he points out the true significance of the Convention of Burgesses in the churchyard of St. Giles at Elgin, in 1272, when a dispute between the monks and the town was settled—a fact that the author rightly concludes to be an item of positive evidence of meetings being held in *cimiterio*, as against the negative evidence of the same fact advanced by Mr. Gomme in his *Primitive Folk-moots*. Into the internal history of the priory, and the interesting personal account of the priors, we will not venture to enter. Of the structural beauty of Pluscardyn we have ample evidence in the exceedingly good illustrations which have been supplied to the volume. Like Elgin Cathedral, the priory is partly of the first-pointed period, and partly of the second-pointed period. The author tells us of the "finds" that have been made in the neighbourhood, and from this evidence gives us an interesting chapter on the art and industry of the monks. There are the beautiful frescoes, in want it seems of preservation; the remains of an extended system of horticulture, the working of iron, and above all, the manufacture of glass. All this is extremely interesting, and adds greatly to the varied interest of a work which is well illustrated throughout, has a good index, and is worthy of the attention our readers despite some faults of style.

The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I., 1637-1649. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.) 2 vols. 8vo.

Mr. Gardiner is the authority for this interesting period of English history. He has long been working up to this book, and now that it has come there is but one opinion as to its right to a place among the best histories of our nation. That so short a period should occupy so large a space is evidence that nothing has

been neglected to make the book worthy of its subject. Preoccupied with no fanciful theories, patient in the research and study of original authorities, paying just attention to the labours of previous authors, possessing a most excellent and pleasing, if not actually brilliant, style, Mr. Gardiner has succeeded in giving us a work which should interest a large class of general readers, as it will, no doubt, those who study this period of English history. Is it too much to say that every family in England has a word to say about the struggle that brought out the best of Charles's character, and revealed the heroism of Cromwell? We mourn the martyr king, but we glory in the Englishman who made himself feared throughout Europe. But Mr. Gardiner deals not with these nineteenth century reflections, but with the hard stern facts of the seventeenth century. He divides his book into chapters, having for their subjects the religious opposition, the constitutional opposition, the riots in Edinburgh and the Scottish Covenant, the Assembly of Glasgow, the march to the Borders and the pacification of Berwick, the Assembly and Parliament of Edinburgh, the Short Parliament, passive resistance, the Scottish invasion, the Long Parliament, the trial of the Earl of Strafford, the King's visit to Scotland, the Irish rebellion and the grand remonstrance, the arrest of the five members, and the eve of civil war. Throughout all the events foreshadowed under these heads, Mr. Gardiner leads his readers safely and securely; and in addition to the qualities of his good authorship, we have excellent maps, good indexes, marginal notes, and all that makes a book useful and valuable to the student. We should like to see the records of English history dealt with in this way right throughout its long years of great and grand existence. There are still great gaps in the chain between Mr. Gardiner's History, Mr. Froude's, and Mr. Freeman's; or, looking to later times, from Mr. Gardiner's and Lord Macaulay's there are still greater gaps. Neither Mr. Freeman nor Mr. Gardiner can or should widen their area of work, but with two such names before us, are there no other students capable of completing a work begun like this?

Report on the Phœnician and Roman Antiquities in the Group of the Islands of Malta. By A. A. CARUANA, D.D., Librarian of the Public Library, Malta. (Government Printing Office, Malta. 1882.)

It would be difficult to find gathered together elsewhere so much information on the early and historic remains of Malta before the time of the Knights, as is embodied in this Paper, and it greatly enhances its value, that Dr. Caruana has added to a certain number of copies about forty photographs illustrative of the objects of his Report. He describes many of the principal monuments from personal inspection, comparing their present state of preservation with the descriptions of older writers; where possible he takes note of all remains in private possession, as well as of those carried to foreign museums abroad; he records those of which now little or nothing but records exist; and he takes account of all inscriptions, whether Phœnician, Greek, or Roman, connected with Malta.

Beginning with the early or "Rough Stone"

monuments, commonly attributed to the Phœnicians, the author gives very interesting accounts of the three great remains, the *Gigantia* in the isle of Gozo, and those at Hagiar Kim and at Mnajdra in Malta. No settled theory for the object of these famous buildings has yet been found, some doubt even attaches to the idea of their Phœnician origin, which, however, Dr. Caruana does not share; while he considers Mr. Fergusson's conjecture that they were places of sepulture as untenable, grounding his opinion on the knowledge of the localities and of known local burial-places. Indeed, the thoughtful visitor to these striking monuments of ancient skill and strength finds it hard to agree with Mr. Fergusson's argument. Passing on to the ruins of the Temple of Melcarte and a few others, a bold attempt is made "to trace the primitive Phœnician topography of Malta," and the old centres of their habitation.

Still among the Phœnicians, we have a chapter on their pottery and glass, which are said to be distinguished from the Greek by various marks; another upon relics of sculpture, some of which looks rather Egyptian, though there is no trace of the Egyptians ever having been in Malta. Several very good photographs from the collection in the Public Library illustrate these chapters, among which may particularly be instanced one of the seven queer squat stone creatures called *Kabiri*. Fifteen Phœnicic-Maltese inscriptions are known, and of these particulars are given as to their discovery, where they are preserved, publication, &c. The "five undoubted Phœnicic-Maltese coins" are the subject of a short chapter and a photograph; and, going beyond the bounds of tangible relics, a chapter on the "Phœnician remains in the Maltese idiom" forms the conclusion to this section of the antiquities.

The second portion of the Report is devoted to Greek, Carthaginian, and Roman antiquities, for the period between 216 B.C. to 400 A.D., usefully introduced by a slight historic sketch. The only remains of the Carthaginian rule appear to be some gold and brass coins. The Greek and Roman remains are classed together; architectural monuments, such as temples, villas, baths, and other signs of dwellings; sculpture; pottery; gems; coins; all pass under review, and the story gives a lamentable view of demolition and dispersion. Very few remains of the buildings now exist or are cared for. A long number of inscriptions are dealt with, copies and other details given, and three or four classes of coins are described and photographed. Nor must be forgotten two chapters, one on Pagan (*i.e.*, Phœnician, Greek, and Roman) tombs, the other on Early Christian tombs and cemeteries, an interesting and little-known theme.

Dr. Caruana does not claim to be exhaustive, even for the period to which he was limited; but enough has been said to show the interest of the volume. Of the numerous photographs the best are those taken from objects in the museum; there are some, also highly instructive, copied from Houël; but with the beautiful photographs of the Royal Engineers at hand many of those representing the "Phœnician temples" are disappointing. Yet, with all the difficulties attending the production of a work of this kind in an island like Malta (and they are not a few), it is ungrateful to look at shortcomings. The author's

English is for the most part excellent, only casual expressions recalling that he is not born to the language.

The Regulations of the Old Hospital of the Knights of St. John at Valetta. With Translation, Introduction, and Notes explanatory of the Hospital Work of the Order. By the Rev. W. K. R. BEDFORD. (Blackwood & Sons. 1882.)

To provide for the sick in hospitals has been through all ages a work of Christian charity, but the casual visitor in Valetta does not always ponder over the representative character of the old hospital buildings he perchance visits at the bottom of Strada Mercanti. Those buildings mean that before the first Crusades a hospital was founded by a few good souls in Jerusalem for the sick and weary pilgrims who resorted thither, that the founders presently banded together to defend the pilgrims, and that thus arose what became the mighty brotherhood of the Knights of St. John, called of Jerusalem, of Rhodes, or of Malta, according to their then abode. Wherever the knights were located, it was an essential part of their existence to provide and to care for a hospital for the sick; and whenever their history comes to be written from their records, not the least interesting part will be that which gives details concerning the old hospitals before they came to Malta. That some such details exist, for example, of the provision made for food and service for the hospital in Rhodes in the fourteenth century, there is no doubt; and a careful search among the archives at Malta would be probably well rewarded. The compiler of the handsome book before us, however, does not lay claim to such exhaustive work, though we cannot but think he has missed a good opportunity. The knights came to Malta in 1530; their hospital in Valetta was opened in 1575; we have here a reprint of the "Regulations" (in Italian), printed at Rome in 1725, with a description and plan of the buildings (pp. xi. 48). The notes contain a few illustrative particulars, including John Howard's Report on the hospital in 1789, and heraldic descriptions of nineteen coats-of-arms of the French governors of the hospital. A curious facsimile is given of an old print of the great ward for the sick, taken from a German work printed in 1650; but the title of this work is nowhere given. The "Regulations" afford a most interesting insight, not only into the management and service of the Hospital (Infermeria), but also into a system of charity connected with it for all the sick poor of Malta. Tables at the end show the number, amount, and kind of their officers, stores, and charities. We commend the work to others besides the members of the present "Order of St. John" in England, whose thanks Mr. Bedford, as one of their chaplains, deserves.

The Western Antiquary, or Devon and Cornwall Note-Book. Edited by W. H. K. WRIGHT, Public Librarian, Plymouth. Part IV., March, 1882. Index Number, Vol. I.; New Series, No. 1, May, 1882. (Plymouth: Latimer & Co.) 4to.

With the fourth part of this interesting journal Mr. Wright completes his first volume. Mr. Borlase, M.P., has written an Introduction, in which he

answers the question why a line of demarcation should be drawn between the two counties of Devon and Cornwall and the rest of Great Britain. He points out that the main factors which have contributed largely to give to these counties a joint individuality and make them what they are, are first their geographical position, and secondly, their internal resources. In the two hundred and sixteen pages of this volume a vast number of curious antiquarian points are raised, and in many cases settled satisfactorily. In the present day subscribers object to waiting a quarter of a year for a new number, and Mr. Wright has therefore thought it advisable to change the *Western Antiquary* into a monthly. The first number of the new issue is before us, and it quite keeps up the high character which the first volume had already attained. We wish every success to the new series, and we do not doubt but what a large increase of subscribers will prove the wisdom of the change.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Society of Antiquaries.—May 4.—Mr. Freshfield, V.P., in the Chair.—Mr. J. H. Middleton communicated a note on an interesting discovery which had been made in the library of the Deanery of Westminster. On removing some of the boards of the floor, a pavement of encaustic tiles was discovered. It is possible that this may eventually, on further examination, prove to be the floor of the chapel of the old abbot's house, the position of which has hitherto been a matter of doubt.—Mr. F. M. Nichols laid before the Society an historical poem of the fifteenth century on the mutability of fortune, illustrated by the fate of Eleanor Cobham, and the deaths of John, Duke of Somerset, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and containing some interesting particulars as to the cause of King Henry's animosity.—The Rev. J. Baron read a Paper on certain representations of St. George and the Dragon, in continuation of a previous Paper on the same subject.

May 11.—Mr. A. W. Franks, V.P., in the Chair.—The Rev. W. F. Creeny, of Norwich, exhibited a collection of rubbings of monumental brasses from the Low Countries and Germany.

Archæological Institute.—May 4.—Mr. T. H. Baylis in the Chair.—A communication from the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer was read, consisting of notes on the Priory of Dartford, Kent, compiled from the archives of the Dominicans at Rome.—A Paper, by Canon Venables, on Carrow Priory, Norwich, was read. This house was so utterly demolished at the dissolution that nothing of it remained, except the prioress's house, which was turned into a dwelling-house, and the cores of the walls of the cloister garth, which were preserved to enclose a garden.—The Rev. Edward King exhibited a dish, bearing the name of "Thomas Toft," which he has had the good

fortune to pick up near Werrington, in the county of Devon.

British Archaeological Association.—May 17.—Mr. T. Morgan in the Chair.—Mrs. Dent sent a plan of the Roman villa now being excavated in Spoonley Wood, about a mile from Sudeley Castle.—Mr. E. Walford described two Roman coins found at Hampstead.—Rev. G. B. Lewis exhibited photographs of the little known tapestries now preserved in Knowle Chapel, having been found in an attic several years ago by Lady Delaware.—Mr. G. M. Hills read a short description of several examples of acoustic pottery found in ancient churches.—Sir H. Dryden exhibited a photograph of a remarkable chessman of Norman date, found at Northampton Castle.—Rev. S. M. Mayhew described a fine series of glass pottery carvings, and other works of much artistic merit.—The first Paper was by Mr. J. Greenstreet, on the Camden Roll of Arms recently found by Mr. W. de Gray Birch in the British Museum, where it has remained for many years apparently unnoticed. It is the earliest known series of arms, there being 270 shields, and the length of the parchment being five feet three inches. It was in Camden's possession about 1605; but it dates from the time of Henry III. or Edward I.—The second Paper was by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, on the remains now being excavated on the site of the new Stock Exchange.

Anthropological Institute.—April 25.—Mr. Hyde Clarke, V.P., in the Chair.—Mr. E. H. Man read a second Paper "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands." He touched first upon the important subject of language; and next proceeded to describe the Andamanese system of adoption and the recognized degrees of affinity, especially as bearing on the question of marriage. Numerous superstitions, beliefs, and traditions were related. Mr. Man was careful to state that he had taken the precaution to obtain his information from members of distant tribes, who had had no opportunity of intercourse with Europeans or other aliens residing at Port Blair; and he added that it was extremely improbable, for the reasons noted in his Paper, that any previous generations within historic times of these islanders could have obtained their versions from strangers.

May 9.—General Pitt-Rivers, President, in the Chair.—Mr. G. M. Atkinson made some remarks upon a palæolithic implement found eighteen feet below the bed of the Thames at Chelsea, and upon a jet ornament from Garvagh, Co. Londonderry, exhibited by Mr. A. G. Geoghegan. Mr. Worthington G. Smith exhibited a series of large palæolithic implements recently discovered.—Dr. Beddoe read a Paper on "The Evidence of Surnames as to Ethnological Changes in England."—In a Paper on "The Survival of Early Racial Features," Mr. J. P. Harrison showed, from measurements derived from ancient skulls and tracings from plates in the *Crania Britannica*, that the facial skeleton of the men of the Bronze period in this country differed essentially from that of the Saxons (1) in the greater prominence of their brow ridges, (2) the sharp projection of the nasal bones, (3) the length of the face, and (4) a more pointed chin. Now, a long, but not narrow, face, prominent brows, a high-bridged nose, and a fine chin, accompanied by a

stature above the average, fair hair and eyes, and thin lips, characterize a large part of the population of the three kingdoms at the present day. And another equally well-defined type is also seen among us. Its distinctive features are a smooth brow, a straight or slightly incurved nose, ending in a bulb, a rounded face, a heavy chin, moulded lips, light hair and eyes, a stature about the average, with more or less substance. Mr. Harrison said it could not be doubted that living subjects, possessing respectively all these peculiarities, represent the two races above alluded to. The first, considered by the late Dr. Rolleston to be Cymric, would appear to include Danish, Belgic, and, perhaps, Anglian tribal varieties; the second, Saxons, Franks, and Teutons generally. Early Danish and Belgic skulls differ from German in like manner.

Royal Society of Literature.—May 24.—Sir P. de Colquhoun in the Chair.—Mr. J. H. Heaton read a Paper "On the Origin, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the Natives of Australasia."

Numismatic.—May 18.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the Chair.—Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited a four-ducats piece of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (1474-1504) struck at Segovia, also a denier of Stralsund, *obv.* MONETA SVNDENSIS and a broad arrow, *rev.* DEVS IN NOMINE TVO and a cross patée.—Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a proof in silver of the gold broad piece of Oliver Cromwell, also a rare half-groat of Edward III. with an annulet on each side of the king's head.—Mr. C. J. Rodgers exhibited nine silver coins of Cashmere bearing the names of different kings, but all dated in the year 842, the reason for which Mr. Rodgers was unable to explain.—M. J. P. Six communicated a paper on a unique silver stater of Cyprus, struck in the names of the two kings Nicocles and Demonius, sons of Euagoras I., B.C. 410-374. The coin was probably issued shortly after the death of Euagoras. On the obverse is a seated figure of Zeus, and on the reverse a goddess standing, holding a patera and a branch.—J. F. Neck read a Paper on a hoard of coins of Edward I. discovered at Northampton, in which he also made some remarks on the coinage of Edward II. and Edward III.

New Shakspeare Society.—May 12.—Mr. F. J. Furnivall, Director, in the Chair.—A Paper was read by the Rev. W. A. Harrison on "The Juice of Cursed Hebenon" ("Hamlet," I. v. 62), which he described as being complementary to that by Dr. Brinsley Nicholson on the same subject. Premising that the poison intended must be the same as Marlowe's "Juice of Hebon" ("Jew of Malta," III. iv.), he pointed out that the yew is called Hebon by Spenser and by other writers of Shakspeare's age; that in its various forms of Eben, Eiben, Ihben, &c., this tree is so named in no less than five different European languages, and produced most important medical testimony on the point.

Royal Asiatic Society.—Anniversary Meeting, May 15.—Sir Edward Colebrooke, President, in the Chair.—The Secretary, Mr. Vaux, read the Report of the Council, which stated that fifty-five new members had been elected during the past year; and, at the same time, gave brief biographies of deceased members and of others distinguished for various Oriental

researches, including those of Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, Sir Erskine Perry, Profs. Benfey, Dowson, and Gregorief, and Messrs. Muir, Kraff, Bramsen, and Nain Singh. A notice was also added of the progress of Oriental studies since the last anniversary.

Philological Society.—May 5.—Mr. A. J. Ellis, President, in the Chair.—A Paper, entitled "Some Notes on Grammar," was read by Mr. E. L. Brandreth. It was contended that words ought to be classed as parts of speech with reference to their functions in a sentence, not by attaching meanings to them independent of such functions, and that some of these functions were primary, others secondary.

PROVINCIAL.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.—May 8.—Professor Duns, D.D., in the Chair.—The first Paper read was "An Examination of the Place-names in Islay," by Captain F. W. L. Thomas, the list of farms in the Valuation Roll of Argyshire being taken as a basis for the modern forms; the charters of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Blaeu's Atlas, and other sources, having been consulted for the older forms. Having collected all the forms of the names that could be got, maps and lists were searched for cognate names in the Hebrides and West of Scotland, and such as were considered to be of Norse origin were sought for in Orkney, Shetland, and Iceland. The greatest peculiarity in the Norse names of Islay is the prevalence of *bolstadr*, homestead, which is found in about one-third of the whole Norse names, and usually indicates good land. The frequency of this term and the absence of *völdr* (usually Englished as the termination *wall*) points to some dialectic peculiarity in the Norse "name-men" or settlers. The difference between the place names of Islay and those of the neighbouring island of Mull is so marked that it has given rise to a proverb. The result of the examination was that in the Valuation Roll of Islay there are (including English names) 162 entries, of which 55 are place names derived from the Norse, and 107 derived from the Gaelic. In Lewis, when the English names are rejected, the Norse are three-fourths of the remainder, and the proportion of Norse to Gaelic is as four to one. It follows from this that the Scandinavian element, when compared with the Gaelic, is eight times stronger than in Islay.—The second Paper was a notice by Dr. John Alexander Smith, Secretary, of an ancient ecclesiastical bell, of the Celtic form, now preserved in the Kelso Museum. The bell is 11 inches in height and 8 by 6½ inches at the mouth. It is of the usual Celtic form, tall, narrow, and tapering, with flattened edges and bulging sides. It is made of sheet iron, rivetted up the sides and bronzed by being dipped in melted bronze after it was made. Dr. Douglas has found evidence that it was brought from the parish of Ednam. It is the only relic now extant which is old enough to carry us back to the days of Thor the Long, the founder of the church and parish of Ednam, and is specially interesting as being the only specimen of its kind now known in the southern districts of Scotland.—In the

third Paper, which was entitled "Observations on the Structure of St. Giles's," by Robert Rowland Anderson, and Andrew Kerr, architect, the results of a visit paid to St. Giles's on the 4th of March last, were communicated to the Society. Their attention had been principally directed to the outline of five pointed windows which had been built up, situated immediately over the arches between the south pillars of the nave, remains of springers of arches—roof outlines of different dates which were then made visible by the operations for the restoration. It was considered probable that the church to which the Norman door taken down in 1829 belonged, may have been erected in the reign of Alexander I., and may have been the church burned in 1355 by Edward III. The contract entered into in 1380 to vault over a part of the church implies that a new structure had been erected, which was again burned by Richard II., 1385. The portion of St. Giles indicated by the octagonal pillars, embracing the choir, transepts, nave, and central tower, was apparently the church erected at this period. The vaulting of the north aisle of the choir is the oldest in the building, and remains apparently in its original state.—Mr. David Cameron contributed a Paper on "The Ancient Circular Dwellings, Hill Forts, and Burial Cairns of Strathnairn." The Paper, which was illustrated by sketch plans of a number of the structures described, gave a summary of the Author's observations as to the character and contents, the dimensions and situations, of the various classes of structural remains that are met with in the district. The most numerous are the circular dwellings on the hill slopes and valleys, of which he had enumerated 118, varying from eight to fifteen yards in diameter. The district is also rich in cairns, and stone circles, and hill forts are not rare.—Mr. James W. Cursiter communicated an account of the stone balls found in Orkney. Mr. Cursiter also exhibited casts of the two sides of a curious medalet in horn of early workmanship, showing on one side St. George and the dragon, and on the other, two figures supporting a cross. A fine cinerary urn dug up at Quarryford, and presented by the Marquis of Tweeddale; an urn of drinking-cup type dug up at Drem, and presented by Mr. James Reid; an urn found at Carnousie, near Turriff, and presented by Dr. A. J. Manson, were exhibited. Mr. Kirsop also exhibited an urn found at Dalserf, and some Abyssinian and Indian curiosities. Rev. Dr. J. Joass exhibited an anvil of the Bronze age, and two massive bronze blades found in Sutherlandshire.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—May 8.—Professor Babington in the Chair.—On behalf of the Mayor of Cambridge, two yellow vases (5½ in. and 5¼ in. high) were exhibited, that had been found during excavations in King Street, last July, at the depth of nine feet; they probably belong to the latter part of the 15th century, and are notable for the unusual perfection of the glaze.—Professor J. E. B. Mayor read a Paper on "A Marsupial in Cambridge in 1700." In a note on Lucian's *Vera Historia* i. 24, Moïse Du Soul (Solanus, as he called himself; Soulius, as he is also called by Reitz and Gesner) tells us that a live marsupial was exhibited here in 1700. Passing from the spectacle to the spectator, Du Soul, it appears that he is unknown to almost all

biographers. Meagre notices in Haag's *La France Protestante*, and in Nichols' *Lit. Anecd.* iv. 286, are the only voices of the *vates sacer* to do him justice. He was grandson of Paul du Soul of Tours, Rector of the Academy of Saumur in 1657 and 1661. He fled from persecution; was in Cambridge (possibly drawn by the fame of Bentley) in 1700; A.M. per regias litteras 1701 (the year when Bentley was Vice-Chancellor); in 1702 a dissertation from his pen on the style of the New Testament was inserted in the *synagma* of Rhenferd; in February, 1708, he published at Cambridge a specimen of an edition of Lucian; in 1720 he sent his collections for Lucian to the Wetsteins; in 1722-1723 we find him at the Hague; in 1722 he published at Amsterdam a French translation of Pridcaux' *Connexion*; after the death of Augustine Bryan of Trinity he was engaged by Tonson to complete his edition of Plutarch's *Lives*, Lond. 1724-9, 5 vols. 4to. At that time he was living in the country. He lived to 1733, or beyond that year.—Mr. Griffith exhibited a series of rude pottery rings of two distinct types, found near the river at Harston and Barrington, which appeared to belong to the Roman Period, and which he suggested might have been intended for sinking nets. He compared them with rings of the same two types found in the Swiss Lake-Dwellings, which have been supposed to be stands for round-bottomed pottery vessels.—Mr. Jenkinson gave some account of the discoveries made at Giron in September last. The traces of the Roman period had culminated in a rubbish-pit, which contained below broken urns of Roman fabric, several fragments of sculpture in oolite. He exhibited a lion's head about the size of life; the *torso* of a military figure that had stood about four feet high; the broad collar, the belt, the close-fitting coat, apparently of metal, and a short kilt-like garment peeping from under it, were clearly visible: one arm had been raised. These features showed a certain similarity with those of the bronze statuette found at Earith in 1826. Large numbers of Saxon urns had continued to occur, a diagram showing upwards of seventy in an area 50 feet square. One had been made with a square piece of glass in the bottom, for what purpose was not known; a similar one, but smaller, had been procured from Haslingfield. Three spindle-whorls, one of stone and two of bone, two faceted crystal beads, shivered in the fire, were found; and an incomprehensible implement of bone, consisting of two narrow pieces an inch and a half long, held parallel and six inches apart by a broad brace behind and two narrow ones in front, rigidity being secured by two rivets at either end. The two pieces first mentioned had each two deep notches on their inner edge, the lower of which notches was continuous in outline with a shallow depression cut in the edge of the braces. More beads and brooches had been found; and also a bronze basin, of the usual Saxon type, in company with a bronze-hooped pail: these lay on either side of a body. The cemetery appeared now to have been completely explored.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Annual Meeting, May 22.—The Rev. R. Burn, President, in the Chair.—A Paper by Mr. C. W. King was read upon an antique cameo of agate-onyx (of which a cast was exhibited) measuring 8 in. x 7 in.: the bust engraved upon it was identified by the flowing

and massy curls, by the *agis*, and especially by the prominent forehead wreathed with chestnut-leaves, as Jupiter of Dodona, under which type it was added that a portrait of the Emperor Antoninus Pius may possibly be adumbrated.—Dr. Bryan Walker exhibited a Terrier of Landbeach drawn up in 1549 by order of Matthew Parker, who was then Master of Benet College and Rector of Landbeach. The parish contained at that date two Manors, of which the lands were intermixed, one belonging to the College, the other—now the Manor of the Worts Trustees—to Sir Richard Kirkby. The arable land of the parish was 884 acres, divided into four fields or *Campi*, containing respectively 279, 259, 229, and 117 acres. There was also a field of meadow, containing 189 acres. These fields were each subdivided in 15 or 20 smaller portions called *Quarentela*, and each *Quarentela* into *Selions*, averaging about half an acre each, but not uniform in size. Thus the 884 acres of arable land lay in 1,806 separate portions, separated by balks or strips of grass.—Mr. Jenkinson exhibited two Roman rings from Chesterford. One of these was of brass; and the device, a mask, was embossed upon a thin plate of metal, which had been soldered to the ring. The other was of iron, and exhibited in two places a simple form of decoration: the metal being worked to resemble two ends meeting, one of which is forked to receive the other which tapers, and a few transverse lines convey the appearance of binding or lashing. From a rubbish-pit recently encountered by the gravel-diggers several pieces of pottery were shown as specially interesting in form. A Samian saucer, having an upright inner rim and, in addition to this, another rim or horizontal ledge projecting outwards, was the first complete specimen of the kind that had been obtained; and it was suggested that the outer rim was original to the design, the inner one being a development to increase the capacity. The potter's mark was *CONSTAS*. The bottom of a Samian saucer was also shown, which—after the upper part was gone—had the fractured edges ground down, apparently to be inverted and used as a small cup. It showed a potter's name, apparently unpublished, *SATINVS*. The only other vessel worthy of notice was of shining black ware, about six inches high. The upper part was concave in outline: there was a sharp angle between this curve and a short horizontal line inwards, from which the lower part springs with a convex outline to the base. The rubbish-pit which furnished these objects had not yet been worked out, but its contents were remarkable. Three human skeletons occurred, whose position proved them to belong to the Roman time. The brass ring above described lay close to the head of one of them. A layer of burnt wood lined the whole width of the pit at a low level; and the fragments of an *amphora* formed an adjacent layer almost as extensive.

North Hants Archæological and Field Club.—May 25.—An excursion was made by the members of this Club to Bramley, Silchester, and Beaupaire. The excursionists first proceeded to Bramley. The church was visited. Mr. Cooksey explained the objects of interest, first drawing attention to two mural paintings, in tolerable preservation. One represented the murder of Thomas à Becket, and the other St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ across the

stream. These are acknowledged of Early thirteenth-century work. Having inspected the font of ancient Sussex marble, attention was directed to the magnificent tomb to the memory of Bernard Brocas, who died November 8, 1777, aged 48. He was the lineal descendant of Sir Bernard Brocas, Knight, son of Earl Foix, of Normandy, who attended the fortunes of William the Conqueror in England, and was rewarded for his services by a grant of land near Basingstoke, on which he built a mansion-house, calling it after the name of the ancestral seat in Normandy—Beaurepaire. Immediately within the rood-screen was pointed out the dedication cross, painted on the wall to the left as one enters. The church is essentially Norman, as indicated by windows and doors, though very little of the original remains. It is dedicated to St. James. The tower appears to have been built in 1625. The party then started for Silchester. The Forum was thoroughly inspected, and the party then passed on to the remains of the Temple. Having inspected a recent excavation of a Roman villa, the party crossed over the roadway to the baths, and there Mr. Cooksey explained the probable method of heating the baths. The party then passed to the outer wall; at one point in this is a hole which is called "Onion's Hole," from a tradition of a giant who lived at Silchester. The coins found about here are called by the people "Onion's pennies." Near the south gate the old Roman guard-rooms were pointed out, and by the gateway were capitals of pillars. Passing out by the south gate they walked round by the wall, which is here very distinct and shows its massiveness plainly. The party having returned to the Forum, the Secretary read a Paper on Silchester, by Dr. Stevens. The Paper was accompanied by a map of the ruins and their surroundings. The party next went to the Museum, which has been re-arranged, and were received by the Rev. Mr. Joyce. Here they inspected the interesting collection of archaeological curiosities which had been collected from the excavations adjoining.

Manchester Field Naturalists' Society.—May 13.—Mr. Carr read a sketch of the history of Holford Hall. "Holford," as a surname, was first adopted about the year 1316. The mother of these first Holfords was descended from one Gralam, whose inheritance included the neighbouring estate of Lostock, and hence the present name of the railway station hard by. The last of the Holfords in the direct line was an only child, the celebrated Lady Cholmondeley, and it was by her that this place was rendered noteworthy. Originally the old hall composed three sides of a quadrangle, the boundary of the fourth side being formed by the moat and the bridge, the latter still intact, though the former has long since been dry, and now serves as an appendix to the orchard and kitchen-garden. A very curious feature of the hall is the piazza upon the inner western side. The upper storey projects considerably over the lower one, and is supported by crude wooden pillars. The eastern portion of the hall has totally disappeared. Such of it as remains is now used as a farmhouse, no Holford appearing to have resided here since 1625, the year of the decease, aged sixty-three, of the "Bold Ladie of Cheshire," as King James I. was wont to style the vigorous mistress

with whom the celebrity came to an end. The epithet would seem to have been merited, since she not only "buildd anew, repayred, and enlarged" the hall, but waged war with her relatives over the lands to which they laid claim for forty years, when the mediation of friends at length prevailed. Her son was created Earl of Leinster by Charles I.

Bath Field Club.—May 23.—An excursion of the Club to the Seven Springs, the supposed source of the River Thames, took place. A Paper was read by the Vice-President, in which he examined the opinions that had been expressed by earlier writers as to the source of the river and the origin of the name. He also gave an account of the ancient worship of streams, the remains often found at their source, both in Britain and on the continent, but stated that no such remains had been found at the Thames head, nor yet at the head of the Tiber, of which he also gave a brief account. A single stone alone marked the rise of the Thames, and no coins are recorded to have been discovered. The remains of the Roman villa at Witcombe were afterwards inspected. They lie in the ascent of the rising ground to the south sufficiently high to command a good view of the valley as it extends to Gloucester and the Severn, having the ancient Roman road from Cirencester to Gloucester running in a direct course through it. Two rooms of the villa having tessellated pavements, now enclosed under sheds, were examined, and the patterns noted. The decorations are composed of cubes worked into the form of fishes of different kinds, chiefly salmon, and the outer border formed into the key pattern. These floors, divided into apartments, the doorways of which remain, rest upon supports, and are hollow underneath. Some of the supports have fallen, and they are therefore rendered uneven. Near there is another chamber containing the bath, and an adjoining chamber, which has also a hypocaust underneath, and the external stove for heating. Higher up are the remains of the tank which supplied the water, but the stream is now diverted.

North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club and Archaeological Society.—May 23.—The second excursion of the present season took place at Wetton and the valley of the Manyfold. Arrived at Grindon, they proceeded to walk down the fields through Lady-side Wood to Thor's Cave. Here the president for the year, Mr. W. D. Spanton, read a description of the cave, written by the late Mr. Samuel Carrington, of Wetton. A splendid view of the surrounding country was obtained from the summit of the cave, the eye having an extensive unbroken reach over some most charming hill and valley scenery. Leaving the Thor, headway was made up the Manyfold valley. The party rested at a picturesque nook at Wetton Mill, returning to Grindon by way of Ossam's Hill, from which spot another exceptionally fine view of a splendid country was obtained.

Edinburgh Architectural Association.—The closing meeting of this Society for the session was held on May 17, when the retiring president, Mr. MacLachlan, read "Notes of some Old Edinburgh Architects." The first architect mentioned was William Burn (a pupil of Mr., afterwards Sir Robert, Smirke), who restored St. Giles's Cathedral.

The buildings in Edinburgh designed by him are St. John's Episcopal Chapel, the New Club, the Melville Monument, John Watson's Hospital, and the Music Hall. The next architect mentioned was David Bryce, to whom we are indebted for the British Linen Company's Bank, the Western Bank, now the Scottish Widows' Fund Office, in St. Andrew's Square, the Clydesdale Bank, Subscription Library, North British Insurance Office, Fettes College, Sheriff Court House, Royal Infirmary, Union Bank, and the addition to the Bank of Scotland. The other architects of whose lives sketches were given were Robert Reid, who designed St. George's Church and the frontages of Charlotte Square; James Gillespie Graham, the friend of Pugin, and the author of the Assembly Hall—the spire of this hall is claimed for Pugin, who seems to have assisted Graham with many drawings—St. Mary's Roman Catholic Chapel (Pro-Cathedral), and St. Margaret's Convent; John Henderson, who designed Trinity Episcopal Chapel, Dean Bridge, St. Luke's Free Church, St. Columba, Morningside Parish Church, also Episcopal College, Glenalmond, Lady Glenorchy's, Greenside and Holyrood Church and School, Highland Society Office and Museum; Alexander Black, of Heriot's Hospital, and several of the Outdoor Schools; David Cousin, many Free Churches after the Disruption, Corn Exchange, Slaughter Houses, Savings Bank, Music Class-room, Park Place. These notes were a continuation of Mr. MacLachlan's inaugural address, when he had sketched the lives of James Craig, who designed the plan of the New Town; Robert Adam, architect of the Register Office; Elliot, of the Regent Arch and the Calton Jail; Thomas Hamilton, of the High School, George IV. Bridge, Royal College of Physicians, Burns's Monument, and Free St. John's; W. H. Playfair, the Interior Front of the University, Observatory on Calton Hill, Regent and Royal Terraces, Royal Institution, St. Stephen's Church, Surgeon's Hall, Donaldson's Hospital, and Free Church College.

Liverpool Naturalists' Field Club.—The second field meeting was held on June 1, at Malpas. At Edge Hall Mr. and Mrs. Dod met them. The garden is on the site of the old moat. The present house, which is very picturesque both in structure and situation, is of about the time of Charles I. but there are vestiges of an ancient mansion, probably the original residence of the family, who date back to the time of Henry II. An Edward Dod was Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of James I. From Edge Hall the route lay across the park and through a dingle, hiding an old mill, then up the meadows by Kidnall and under Overton Scar, passing the gipsy caves in the rock by Chorlton Hall, the seat of Sir William Hamilton, to Overton Hall, the summer abode of Mrs. Gregson. The chief part of the building is now a farmhouse, adapted to dairy purposes; but some additions have been made to accommodate the family when they seek retirement. A part of the old building in the Cheshire half-timbered style remains, and also of the moat with an old pointed stone arch.

Cambridge Philological Society.—May 4.—Mr. Munro, President, in the Chair.—Professor Mayor sent a Paper on "*Senec. Ep. 121. 4, non desistam...*"

uoluptates ituras in dolore compescere et uotis obstrepere. quidni? cum maxima malorum optauerimus et ex gratulatione natum sit quicquid adloquimur." Madvig, *Adversaria* II. 522, proposes *amolimur*. But if any word ought to be sacred from corruption, it is *adloqui*.—Professor A. Palmer (T.C.D.) sent an emendation of Horace, *Sat. i. 6. 6*.—Mr. Heitland sent a reply to Mr. Ridgeway's Paper on *Ar. Pol. i. 2. 6*.

Monday Shakspeare Club, Glasgow.—May 31.—The annual business meeting of this Club. During the past session eleven Papers have been read—two on *Hamlet*, two on *Othello*, two on *Macbeth*, one on *Lea*, one on *Julius Caesar*, and three on general Shakspeare study. The committee recommend that the reading meetings of the Club should be suspended for a time. Mr. William George Black was elected president; and Mr. Robert MacLehose, M.A., hon. secretary and treasurer for the session 1882-3.

[We have been compelled to postpone our reports of the meetings of the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, June 14; and Tottenhall Antiquarian Society, May 29.—ED.]

Obituary.

COLONEL JOSEPH LEMUEL CHESTER.

Died May 26.

Our announcement last month of the dangerous illness of Colonel Chester has to be followed, as we then feared, by our record of his now spent life. English students of history have suffered a severe loss by his death. He was by birth an American citizen, and upwards of twenty years ago sat as a member of Congress. For many years past he had devoted all his energies to the study of genealogy, and with a patient thoroughness for which few equals can be found in the whole range of literature, he investigated every source whence the knowledge he required could be drawn. His manuscript collections are enormous, and relate to all classes of the people, but more especially to those families whose connections helped to found the colony of New England. Colonel Chester's generosity in communicating his hard-earned knowledge was remarkable. No fellow-student ever applied to him without receiving a courteous reply, and few without receiving substantial help in their pursuits. In the last year of his life Colonel Chester received the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Oxford. Although the only published work from his invaluable archives is the *Registers of Westminster Abbey, 1876*, yet we can well judge from this, which is a most remarkable monument of accurate scholarship, of the untiring energy and great skill which characterized all his researches. His true function was that of collector, and the material he gathered together from all England will form the means of giving work to generations of future genealogists.

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Wayland Smith's Cave.—On the western limits of Berkshire, in an interesting district which borders on Wiltshire, there is in the parish of Ashbury a monument which has obtained more individual celebrity than most similar remains. It has suffered great dilapidations, but enough remains to show that it has consisted of a rather long rectangular enclosure, with two lateral chambers formed by upright stones roofed with large slabs, and the whole was probably once covered with a mound of earth. The group of stones is made up of four large blocks and of a number of smaller pieces, part supporting, but most merely lying on the ground in the immediate neighbourhood. There can be no doubt of the sepulchral character of



this monument, and it belongs to that class which is commonly called Celtic. Mr. Fergusson says:—"It is a three-chambered dolmen, almost identical in plan with Petrie's No. 27 Carrowmore, but with this difference, that whereas the arch of stones in the Irish example contained thirty-six or thirty-seven stones, and was sixty feet in diameter, this one contained probably only twenty-eight, and was only fifty feet in diameter. This, and the fact of the one consisting of sarsens, the other of granite blocks, account so completely for all the differences between them, that I cannot believe that so great a lapse of time as eight centuries could have taken place between the erection of the two. I fancy it must have been erected for the entombment of a local hero in the early centuries of the Christian era" (*Rude Stone Monu-*

ments, pp. 123-124). It appears evident, says Mr. Akerman, in *Archæologia* (xxxii. 313), from the scattered fragments lying around that, although these chambered tumuli have been almost obliterated, they were often originally enclosed within a circle of stones. Traces of this circle are still visible around the cromlech, and in the arrangement of the vault we recognize a striking similarity to that of the dilapidated *Cromlech du Tus*. But though Celtic in origin, it bears a legend which is undoubtedly of Teutonic origin. Mr. Wright thus describes the current popular tradition. The cave was supposed to be inhabited by an invisible smith; and it was believed that if the horse of a traveller passing that way happened to cast a shoe, he had only to take the animal to this cave and, having placed a groat on the capstone, withdraw to a distance from which he could not see what was going on; on his return he would find that the horse had been well shod during his absence, and that the money had been taken away.—*Journal Archaeological Association*, vol. xvii. p. 50. It is well known how Scott uses this tradition in his romance of *Kenilworth*, but those who wish to follow up the traditional history should consult Mr. Wright's article mentioned above, and also a work written on the subject by G. B. Depping and Francisque Michel, translated from the French, with additions by S. W. Singer, and published in 1847. This monument is included in Sir John Lubbock's *Ancient Monuments Bill*, and is described and figured in Mr. Hains Jackson's *Ancient Monuments and the Lands around them*, pp. 6, 7, from whom we are permitted to borrow an illustration.

Curiosities of Parish Registers.—Now that parish registers are receiving more than usual, because legislative, attention, the following note is apropos. It is from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1783, p. 579. Extract from Worldham Register, 1621 or 2:—

"Mem. That at this present, viz. June 9th, there are, in Worldham parish, ten women living who have buried fifteen husbands, of which women two have married again, and eight remain widows, which eight have buried thirteen husbands, and might perhaps have had buried many more, if they had had them; but all the men of Worldham parish at this time living have had buried but three wives."

"1622. George Fay, born, as himself saith, 1563, was buried Allhallows Day. At this time there are so many women dwelling in Worldham parish as have buried fifteen husbands, but all the men now dwelling in Worldham have buried but one wife."

The *Gentleman's Magazine* asks why the air of Worldham should be so particularly fatal to married persons of the male sex.

Lists of Round Towers in Ireland.—The following publications contain lists of the Round Towers in Ireland:—*Map of Ireland*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1845); Vallancey's *Collectanea* (1786) ii. pp. 141-2; Beaufort's *Memoir of a Map of Ireland* (1792) pp. 138-141; *Anthologia Hibernia* (1793) i. pp. 90-91; Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland* (1804) pp. 167-8; Hoar's *Journal of a Tour in Ireland* (1807) pp. 288-292; Bell's *Essay on Gothic Architecture in Ireland* (1829) pp. 77-98; Hall's *Ireland* (1843) vol. iii. p. 191; Wilkinson's *Practical Geology and Ancient*

Architecture of Ireland (1845), pp. 69-81; *Kilkenny Archaeological Society Transactions*, ii. pp. 253-254.

The Via Sacra and the Regia.—We summarize the following important account of recent discoveries from the *Times*. The Minister Baccelli has succeeded in accomplishing his desire in removing in time for the celebration of Rome's "Birthday" the greater part of the 15,000 cubic feet of accumulation which, two months ago, formed an embankment-like roadway, 35 ft. in height, across the eastern end of the Forum, from the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina to the corner of the Palatine. The results of the excavations thus far have been most interesting. When, about the year 1876, the works had extended from a little in front of the arch of Septimus Severus to past the remains of the Temple of Julius and the podium of the Temple of Vesta was being uncovered on the one side beyond, and the space in front of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina cleared on the other, it was expected that each blow of the pick would disclose the remains and site of one of the earliest, if not the first, of the triumphal arches erected in Rome, the celebrated Fornix Fabius mentioned by Cicero, which commemorated the triumphs of the Fabii, including that of Q. Fabius Maximus (Consul B.C. 121) over the Allobroges, who is supposed to have built it. But not a fragment or indication was found. There appeared to be no doubt that the arch must have been situated on the strip of ground still covered by what we have likened to an embankment. At the beginning of the last week in February the work of cutting it away was commenced. When about a third of it from the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina had been removed, a number of the *voussoirs* of the arch, with some of the blocks belonging to the piers, and other details, were found all lying close to each other among the rubbish. Each following day it was expected that at least the foundations of the piers would be discovered *in situ*, but it remains as much a mystery as before. The discovery of its site was the more especially desired because of the light it was expected to throw on the direction of the Via Sacra as trod by Horace. The portions of the Regia left buried in 1879 under the embankment have been uncovered, and from their position, importance, and construction, it is now declared that these mosaic pavements and walls undoubtedly formed part of the Regia, where, according to Servius, "Numa habitaverit, in radicibus Palatii finibusque Romani fori." The Regia in which Numa lived, and which was built by him, had, however, disappeared long before that which replaced it was burnt in the year 210 B.C.; but in the vestiges now disclosed—after having been hidden for more than eighteen centuries—we see the remains of the Regia in which Julius Cæsar dwelt after his election to the dignity of Pontifex Maximus there can be no doubt. It is the house from the doorway of which he went out on the morning of the fatal Ides of March, after Calphurnia had dreamt that its pediment, erected by the senate to do him honour, had fallen down, and to which his corpse, with one arm hanging from the bier, was carried back from the curia of Pompey. The same into which Clodius, disguised as a female musician contrived, some years before, when Pompeia was mistress there, to gain admittance during the celebration of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. The

Regia was burnt down in the Neronian conflagration. Its use had passed away when Augustus, on assuming the Pontificate, removed the residence to his house on the Palatine, and other edifices were built over it, their walls diagonally crossing its pavements, and their floors, placed on a level some three feet higher, covering and preserving at least as much of them as has been found. Alas! since 1879, left uncared for, and exposed to the devastating effects of the weather and *Forestieri*, they have greatly suffered. Some of the more beautiful coloured details have disappeared; but now that their historical interest is at last recognized, efforts are being made to preserve what is left from further dilapidation. The most important features remaining, or, at any rate, discovered thus far, are fragments of some of the mosaic floors, and what may have been a grand entrance or part of a peristyle. Of this there is a pier with an engaged column of travertine—of which the base and some four inches of the shaft remain—covered with a thick coating of *intonaco* painted a deep red, and on what covers the remains of the shaft there are perpendicular lines indented a third of an inch to represent flutings. In exact line with this is the base of an isolated column, corresponding in every detail, and between it and the pier there doubtless stood another, the base of which may still exist under the remains of later constructions built across at this point. That these are remains of the Regia, as rebuilt after the fire in 210 B.C., the material and style afford sufficient proof, and to the same period belong other details, such as some of the mosaic floors, a well-head, two other travertine bases of columns; also *in situ*, and in line, and some of the walls. But there is also evidence that alterations had been made before the house was destroyed, for together with the walls of opus quadratum, of tufa, and travertine, there are some of early brickwork. There are no traces of marble decoration or panelling anywhere, but on the walls of the rooms looking towards the Temple of Vesta are remains of the painted stucco facing. What has been found of this historic building is far from sufficient to permit of any attempt to restore its plan, but there is enough, taking the direction of the columns and the lines of the walls and floors behind, at more or less right angles from them, to show that the Regia stood with one side—probably the front—facing the Temple of Vesta, and somewhat diagonally towards the area of the Forum, and the other on the Via Sacra as, coming along it from the Capitoline, it turned gently to the left after passing in front of the Temples of Castor and Pollux and of Vesta. That that was the original direction of the Via Sacra these last excavations have clearly established, and especially do they disprove the theory that the road descending from the Velia continued on at any time in a direct line only to the Arch of Septimus Severus. By the western corner of the Temple of Romulus there is a distinct bifurcation, going towards the Forum. Between that point and the Temple of Castor and Pollux there is a flagged pavement of travertine, roughly laid, where the level had, in still ancient times, been raised to the extent of some 3 ft. or 4 ft. above the road which passed onwards by the Temples of Vesta and Castor and Pollux to where it appears again in front of the Basilica Julia. The area between the Temples of Antoninus and Faustina and Vesta may be described as a kind of

topographical palimpsest, of which the earlier characters have yet to be deciphered. There are, however, indications of constructions of apparently an early date a short distance in front of the Regia, which may merit notice from the fact, which may be accidental, that they are on a line exactly parallel to the columns, and because, on the same line, and more or less also on the original line of the Via Sacra, are two piers, apparently the remains of a gateway, which, judging from its construction, must have been built in the Middle Ages. Considering the peculiar position in which it stands, with no remains of a corresponding edifice to which it belonged, and the mystery connected with the site of the Fabian arch, which, according to all records, stood somewhere about this spot, one is tempted to hazard the conjecture that its foundations may, perhaps, be hidden under these piers, built upon them. From measuring the *vousoirs* of the Fabian arch found, it has been ascertained that its span was 4.95 metres; the openings between these piers measure 4.50 metres. The fragment of the Capitoline plan found among the accumulation describes the space situated exactly between the Temple of Vesta and the east side of that of Castor and Pollux, and shows that no paved street passed between those edifices; nor have indications been found of any street passing between the Temple of Vesta and the Regia. On the bit of the Capitoline plan there are, to the south, lines which seem to indicate the beginning of a *clivus*, with steps across at intervals, and this, it is thought, may be the foot of that ascent to the Palatine which Signor Rosa named the Clivus Victoriae.

[We have received contributions to our "Dates and Styles of Churches" from Mr. T. Powell, on York Minster, and from Mr. J. Jones, on Staffordshire Churches, which we hope to print next month.—ED.]



Antiquarian News.

Among the more recent finds in clearing out the old Roman Bath at Bath, is a small figure of Minerva in high relief, with a stone frame rising to a peak on the upper side. The figure is very rudely carved, and is somewhat defaced, but the emblems are sufficiently well preserved to identify it as the goddess of wisdom. More funds, we understand, are required to prosecute the excavations, which, we trust, will not be stopped from this cause.

A large Lacustrine canoe, in excellent condition, has been found near Bex, 4,000 feet above the sea-level, and nearly 3,000 feet above the Valley of the Rhone. No Lacustrine relics have ever before been met with in Switzerland, at such an elevation.

The architect Senhor da Silva has discovered in the neighbourhood of Thomar, in Portugal, the old Roman town of Nabancia, to which references occur in the classics. Four streets and sixteen houses have already been cleared out, and columns and capitals of white marble, coins, and mosaics have been dug up. The explorers are in hopes of finding the forum, theatres, circus, baths, and temples. Thomar is in

the province of Estremadura, sixteen miles north-west of Abrantes on the Nabao.

The beautiful structure of Archbishop Zouche's chapel at York Cathedral, with its fine-grained roof, was built by Archbishop Zouche during the time he was Primate, between 1342 and 1352, in the reign of Edward III. The mullions of the windows and the buttresses had for a long time been in a very dilapidated state, and some months ago the dean and chapter resolved that the necessary repairs should be effected. The work is now rapidly approaching completion, and the windows are in course of being re-glazed with cathedral glass. The fragments of old stained glass will be preserved, and again inserted in the window.

The ancient Parish Church of Adwick-on-Deerne, near Mexbro'—which has been closed for several years—has been re-opened after thorough restoration. The edifice, which is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, dates from the time of Henry I., and probably even earlier. Twelve months ago it was determined that the church should be restored. The repairs consist of re-roofing the whole church, the re-glazing of the windows, the removal of the old-fashioned pews, and the substitution of open pitch-pine benches, the renewal of the base of the pulpit, and a new reading desk.

During the excavations now in progress for the improvement of Little Bridge Street, Blackfriars, the workmen have discovered a fully-developed skeleton of a man beneath a cellar. Appearances indicate that it must have been buried there at a comparatively recent period; but that is a matter of conjecture. Several members of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society have inspected the remains, having been informed that they may belong to the pre-Roman period; but at present this theory is defective, as no trace of any coffin has been found.

The Kent Archaeological Society have just issued to members vol. xiv. of the Society's Transactions, illustrated by portraits, views of churches, houses, &c. The Society has now been in existence twenty-four years, and numbers 900 members.

The annual meeting of the Folk-Lore Society will be held on June 30, and ladies or gentlemen desirous of cards for admission should apply to the honorary secretary, Mr. G. L. Gomme, 2, Park Villas, Lonsdale Road, Barnes, S.W.

The ancestors of the poet Longfellow were originally settled in Yorkshire. The local papers say that in a sale which has just taken place at Bradford there was an old chest from a farmhouse at Ilkley, which upon its centre panel bore the following inscription: "Jon Longfellow and Mary Rogers was married ye tenth daye off April, Anno Dm. 1664."

Major D. Papazoglou invites visitors to his rare collection of antiquities found in Roumania during the last forty-five years, and consisting of statues in bronze, marble and terra cotta, antique Roman vases, ancient jewellery coins, &c. He has recently discovered an antique sword of great rarity. His address is Rue Vacaresci, Bucharest.

The Old Manor House, Carlton Miniott, which is supposed to be between four and five centuries old, and known as the Durham Ox Inn, in the village of Carlton Miniott, was unroofed by a recent gale, and now it will be necessary to pull the structure down. Some few weeks ago the lord of the manor, Mr. R. Bell, caused the principals to be secured, otherwise the roof must have fallen inwards. The rafter pins broke from the centre beam, and the mass of thatch and rafters fell into the front garden, greatly alarming the villagers. The walls are cracked in various places.

Mr. J. Jones is preparing for publication a History of Tettenhall Church and Parish, Staffs. The work, which will be ready early in August, will embrace the ecclesiastical and topographical antiquities of the parish. It will also contain full genealogical lists of the Wrottesly, Fowler, and Wightwicke families, folk-lore, inscriptions on old tombstones, and abundant extracts from the parish accounts. The work will be fully illustrated throughout, with several etchings, and numerous engravings of the principal objects of interest in the parish, and will be published by subscription.

The interesting church of Ashill is now being restored under the guidance of the diocesan architect, Mr. T. D. Sedding. It contains a larger quantity of ancient Norman work than any church in the neighbourhood, and also several handsome old mural monuments of good design, probably of the twelfth century, although for whom erected is now unknown. The roof of the church, which was concealed by a lath-and-plaster ceiling, has been opened and restored. The tower-arch, being of decayed stone-work, ought to be restored in solid masonry, and we are told there are several other details requiring attention.

There is now, we understand, on exhibition, at the Post Office, Brading, a beautiful cornelian, cut as a stone, and bearing the crest—a lion encircled with the Order of the Thistle, and surmounted by a coronet. The seal was picked up close to Brading Quay, and, assuming it to be what it is stated, it is an interesting subject for speculation how it came there. King Henry VIII. is known to have visited the Island, and the supposition is that the wearer of the seal might have been one of his attendants, and dropped it.

The St. Albans' Abbey Reparation Committee having finished their work of repairing the nave and paid off the whole of the debt, it was unanimously resolved at their last meeting "that they do now resign to the Bishop their powers under the Faculty of 1877." There are, it is said, still three important and most interesting works of reparation required—First, the groining of the north aisle of the nave to correspond with the south aisle; secondly, the erection of stalls of carved oak befitting the choir of this great church; thirdly, the reparation of the Saints and Lady Chapels.

Messrs. Puttick and Simpson have issued their catalogue of the third portion of the great Sunderland Library, which is to be sold from July 17 to July 27. It contains, as the former parts did, many great rarities, among which are some fine copies of Homer, Horace, Juvenal, Livy, Justinian, and other classics, and

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Louis XIII.'s copy of the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX. Some magnificent vellum books are included, one of which, *The Customs of Orleans*, by A. de Harlay, printed at Orleans by S. Hotot in 1583, is beautifully bound in ornamental morocco, with the arms of the town on the sides. The alphabet is continued from "Germon" to "Martinellus."

The ancient and interesting parish church of Llanpumpsaint, South Wales, has been re-opened after restoration. A communion cup of the church bears the date of 1574. The font is evidently a great deal older. A holy-water stoup has been preserved. A great flat stone, on which the communion table now stands, has been removed from the churchyard. A number of crosses are inscribed upon it, so that it probably formed part of an altar tomb, but some earlier and more obscure marks have suggested the theory that it was used in pre-Christian times in connection with religious rites. For some unknown reason the country people have been accustomed to call it "the Stone of the Five Saints."

On Ascension Day the ancient custom of "beating the bounds" was observed in the several parishes of the metropolis. After the parochial authorities and the Charity School boys attended the special morning services at the various churches, the processions were formed. These consisted of the boys in their quaint uniforms, armed with long willow canes, and marching in twos, headed by the clerk and beadles of the parish in their official dress. In some cases the processions were marched through houses and factories. On being told the spot that divides the respective parishes, the boys struck the ground with their canes, repeating the words of the clerk, "This is the boundary."

What is supposed to be an ancient grave was discovered a few days ago on the farm of Kirkton, Fyvie, in a pit from which material for road-making is being taken. In the course of the excavation the end of the grave became exposed. It is built of stone on the sides and top, and has the appearance of a common drain. The bottom of it is about 3 feet from the present surface of the ground. Its internal dimensions are—length, 6 feet 3 inches, width, 15 inches, and height, 22 inches. It lies from W.N.W. to E.S.E. A soft honeycomb-looking stone in connection with it has a rough circle about 3 inches in diameter hewn on it. Such stones do not belong to the locality.

A meeting of gentlemen interested in the preservation of parish registers was held in Leeds on June 3, to consider the proposal to remove these records to London. The meeting, while recognizing the desirability of better care being taken of the registers, expressed in the strongest terms its disapprobation of the proposal to remove them. A committee was formed to frame a scheme for the preservation, and, as far as possible, the publication of the Yorkshire registers: The Rev. Canon Hubbert, of Almonbury, presided, and amongst communications read from clergy interested in the matter but unable to be present were letters from the Rev. R. V. Taylor, of Richmond; the Rev. T. Milville Raven, of Crake, and the Rev. T. Parkinson, of North Otterington, and many others.

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The annual ceremony of dressing or decorating artificial wells was observed at Wirksworth on Wednesday, May 31. There was the usual amount of rejoicing in the town. Wirksworth, Tissington, and Buxton are now the only places in North Derbyshire that observe this custom. Tap dressings, we believe, have been honoured in other parts of Derbyshire, and have gained much popularity; but they have now become extinct. However, Wirksworth has lost none of its ancient appreciativeness of this annual event. The street decorations were elaborate and numerous, and many garlands were displayed, which appeared to have demanded a lot of attention. Many houses also displayed some kind of evergreen, which it could be seen was some new design, and fresh treatment.

The visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Leicester is an event which happened, says the *Daily News*, in spite of two superstitions. One of these is historical. It is set forth in a book of antiquarian lore that it forebode evil to a king, as the prince some day should be, who should enter or even behold the town. Mr. W. Kelly, the author, not only records this ancient superstition as preventing a visit from King John, but points out that, commencing with the legendary woes of Leicester's legendary founder, King Lear, down to one of its latest royal visitors, Philippe of Orleans, misfortune attended most of those royal princes who came within Leicester's walls. The evil spell was, however, broken by a certain visit paid in 1843. The Queen and Prince Albert then passed through the city and were splendidly received.

It has been definitely decided to restore the fine old Norman church of St. Michael's, Malton. We understand that the restoration is a continuation of work commenced twenty-five years ago, soon after the endowment of the living by Earl Fitzwilliam, but then stopped for want of funds. Mr. Fowler Jones, architect, of York and Malton, has been entrusted with the restoration, which will include the enlargement of the chancel; the removal of two old galleries, which destroy the lines of some fine examples of Norman architecture; the re-roofing of the two aisles and nave; enlargement of vestry, and erection of new organ chamber and choir stalls; and the provision of an outer protection for the church, which stands in the centre of the market-place, and is frequently subject to much desecration by the proceedings taking place therein.

The Hall Barn Estate, Beaconsfield, which has just been sold to Mr. Levy Lawson, is one of the most interesting properties in Buckinghamshire. Hall Barn was built by Edmund Waller, the cousin of Oliver Cromwell, who settled at Hall Barn in 1652, after his return from exile, and he there hung up the portrait of the stony-hearted "Sacharissa"—Lady Dorothea Sidney—who is said to have made fun of the amorous verses which he wrote in her honour. Hall Barn is a "substantial family residence" of red brick, and stands in a delightfully-timbered park, in the midst of the most charming portion of Bucks. The estate extends to over three thousand acres, and includes the Manor of Beaconsfield. Since Waller's time it has had more than one distinguished owner,

among them Sir Gore Ouseley, who, we believe, once entertained there King William IV. and Queen Adelaide.

Neen Savage church was re-opened on May 17, after restoration. The edifice dates back to an early period, and to the antiquary presents many interesting features. These the architect, Mr. Thomas Gordon, has preserved with care, all that was really interesting having been retained, and some hidden features of the building have been brought to light. The ceiling has been opened, the walls have been scraped and replastered, the floor tiled, the tiles in the Sacrament being an imitation of a few which were found in the building, and which dated from the 14th century. Open seats have taken the place of the old-fashioned pews. By the removal of the gallery a Norman arch at the west end of the building has been brought to view. The windows are Norman decorated, and late perpendicular. The porch, which is of the decorated period, has been restored. Below the tower is the vestry. The spire, which was destroyed some sixty years ago, has not been rebuilt.

As a labourer of Montacute, near Yeovil, was clearing rubbish from the rocks near the famous Ham Hill quarries, to repair the parish roads, he struck his shovel against a piece of crockery, which turned out to be a Roman urn filled with coins, and near the same spot another man found a crock, also containing medallions, some of large size and heavy weight. The whole find is said to be considerably over a hundredweight. The coins are in a good state of preservation, and date chiefly from A.D. 81 to A.D. 182. Specimens are found with the heads of Severus and Commodus. Unfortunately, the men sold a number of these coins for a few pence, but eventually the majority of them found their way to a neighbouring rectory and mansion, the occupants of which are in communication with the authorities as to the right disposal of these antiquarian treasures. The village of Montacute and the adjacent hills abound with interesting relics of the Roman occupation, and also of monastic times. On Ham Hill is the celebrated Frying Pan, once a Roman circus and a camp of observation overlooking Sedgemoor.

An interesting discovery has within the last few days been made at Abbots Kerswell, in Devonshire, the church of which place is to be shortly restored. The outline of an upright figure was seemingly visible behind the plaster of the south wall of the chancel, leaning apparently against the left jamb of the easternmost window. On taking off the plaster, all doubt was removed. The figure, nearly 7 feet in height, proved to be that of a female, crowned, and sculptured with a cope, fastened by a clasp or brooch under the throat. There has also been the representation of a full flowing robe, of which some of the painting and gilding remains, the colours being a pale brown, black, and red; but the sculpture of the folds of the dress is much defaced; in fact, the whole figure has been sadly mutilated; the entire face, both the breasts, and a great part of the right arm, apparently, are gone. The bend, however, of the latter is quite distinguishable. The figure, with the exception of the head, has been at some time hollowed out behind. The curls falling loose on the shoulders are

very carefully sculptured. It would be interesting to know how this figure came to its present place.

A humble building, but the cradle of the last two centuries of English history, is threatened with destruction. The house in which the Revolution of 1688 was plotted might surely have been deemed historic enough to justify its careful preservation, but it is, we are informed, about to be pulled down. The "Cock and Pyot" was the name of this quaint thatched building in the days, two centuries ago, when it was an inn. It stands in the village of Whittington, some ten miles south of Sheffield, and is now occupied as a cottage. According to tradition, the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Danby, and Mr. D'Arcy met here, one day in 1688, and leagued themselves together to bring about the revolution. The story is that the three conspirators were hunting on Whittington Moor, when they drew away from their companions and rode hastily to the "Cock and Pyot." The room in which they deliberated received the name of the "plotting parlour." The descendants of the conspirators visited the house on the first centenary of the Revolution. We learn that the Duke of Devonshire will probably erect a memorial on the site of the cottage, should it be demolished; but we hope the report of its coming destruction is unfounded.

Several ancient silver and bronze coins have been found during the formation of the new street called Grove Park Avenue on the Clifton Grove Estate, Clifton, and several broken pieces of Roman pottery have been found in the excavations for the villas now being built on the estate. In close proximity to the sites we are told, in the Rev. C. Wellbeloved's *Eboracum*, that in 1813 a small portion of a tessellated pavement was discovered at Clifton Grove by the workmen employed in digging a sunk fence about the garden. It is very probable that much more than was brought to light and destroyed yet remains buried in the earth. In the same work it is stated that in the same year some workmen found two very large coffins of grit stone placed close to each other; one side of each neatly panelled, and the lids as usual slightly ridged. Each coffin contained an entire skeleton. These coffins were presented to the dean and chapter of York, by whom they were deposited in the north aisle of the choir of York Minster among incongruous monuments of modern ages, where they suffered much damage in the burning of the choir in the year 1829. It is much to be wished that they could be seen with coeval remains in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

The Berlin sculptor, Alexander Tondeur, has received permission from the Berlin Museum to copy (restoring the missing parts) two of the most beautiful and best-preserved bas-reliefs of the Pergamen antiquities. In the centre of the first bas-relief is seen Zeus, brandishing in his left hand the ægis with which he has overcome a youthful Titan; with his right hand he flings forth his lightnings against another Titan, who is hurling a rock with the right hand, while the left is stretched out, enveloped in the skin of a wild beast. The body of this giant ends in two serpents, which are attacked by the eagle of Zeus; a third Titan has sunk to the ground, wounded in the

leg by the lightning. The second relief represents Athene dragging a young Titan to the ground by the hair, her serpent has at the same time wound itself round the giant's body. Above floats a goddess of victory, who places a wreath of laurels round the helmet of Athene. Between Athene and the Titan the body of the earth-goddess, Gau, half issues from the ground, her hands are raised in an attitude of petition. From these copies models in bronze are being cast, and from these models are taken copies in ivory and plaster of Paris, which resemble in colour the originals. The plaster casts preserve all the sharpness of outline only to be procured, in such small dimensions, in bronze.

The handsome court at South Kensington Museum, lately occupied by the celebrated antiquities from the site of Troy, is now occupied by a collection from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Only a small portion of the present exhibition deals with those remarkable antiquities of the Bronze age, for which those northern countries are so remarkable, the mass of the collection consisting of articles of textile fabrics, pottery, jewellery, carving, saddlery, and so forth, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, yet the greatest proportion is throughout so strongly tinged, if not altogether imbued, with the essence of far earlier origins and designs, as to give it a singular and unusual value. The *Handerbetets Vänner* of Stockholm have contributed a number of articles, such as bed and bench covers, curtains, tablecloths, and lace, woven after different styles and patterns by the peasantry of various districts, many of them from old traditional designs. Amongst similar articles contributed by the Nordiska Museum of Stockholm, are many costumes and some marriage girdles worn by brides, and ribbons for the decoration of the hats of bridegrooms. The Royal Museum of Copenhagen contributes a fine series of Danish drinking-horns; one, carved with interlacing ornament and mounted in silver, being from Iceland. Of tapestries there are also two very interesting examples, one series representing King Eric IV. of Denmark (A.D. 1241 to 1250); the second, King Abel of Denmark (A.D. 1250 to 1252), and made partly at Elsinore and partly in Iceland, by Knieper, of Antwerp, between 1581 and 1596.

On Tuesday, May 23, there were discovered in Milborne St. Andrew, Blandford, a large number of very ancient swords. They were accidentally brought to light by the iron prongs of a drag, which in cleansing the field of weeds entered the earth to a depth of about six or eight inches. It was with the greatest difficulty that the blades could be separated one from the other; in fact, in order to facilitate this they were roughly knocked against the iron drag, and about eight of them were broken into several pieces, the remainder being in fairly good preservation. There were eighteen in all, all being rusted together in a mass. They laid on the chalk just underneath the surface soil, the edges of the blades being uppermost. The spot in which the swords were discovered is situated about two-thirds of a mile due west from the celebrated Roman encampment of "Weatherbury Castle," or "Castle Rings," as it is locally termed, and not far distant from the road which connected the camp with the high road leading to Dorchester,

These swords are of the simplest construction, consisting of a blade which is compressed, or rather turned over at the broadest end, thus forming a rude, but serviceable handle. They do not appear to have any sharpened edge, but are tapered to a point. The following are the measurements of the most perfect specimen: Length of blade, 2ft. 4in.; length of handle, 4½in.; width of blade at broadest part, 1½in. The only other localities in which similar weapons have been found are in the neighbourhood of Pimperne, Hodhill, and Spetisbury, in Dorset, and near Montacute, in Somerset.

The recent number of our contemporary *Romania* contains an account of an important manuscript French poem of the thirteenth century, lately unearthed at Cheltenham, in the Philipps' collection. This poem, hitherto unknown, contains in 19,214 lines the history or biography of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who was one of the wisest and greatest barons of England under King John, and regent of the kingdom during the first three years of Henry III., then a minor. Beginning with the earl's family, and some part of his father, John Marshall's life, William first appears in the history as a young boy at the siege of Newbury, in 1152, respecting his part, in which some touching things are told. M. Paul Meyer, the discoverer, tells us that "the poem is completely independent of all the historic narratives that we possess for this period." Many details are entirely fresh throughout, filling up, or confirming, what other chroniclers tell—for example, in the stirring story of the death of Henry II. Thus, the work, which was written after the earl's death in 1219 by order of his eldest son, chiefly from material supplied by John of Erly, a trusted servant and friend, promises to be a valuable contribution to English history. The author, a skilled writer, is at present unknown. It is likely he was a herald, an eye-witness of much he describes, English in spirit, though probably of Norman-French origin. The work ought to attract the notice of our historians. In France it has excited quite a sensation among scholars on account of its literary merits. It is declared by competent judges to combine historic interest and literary value to a degree not found in any work, prose or verse, before Froissart. This is saying a great deal; but it more nearly concerns us that we should be enabled to know our manly old English hero better than we do. We trust the work may soon be put into print.

On June 10 the fine collection of antiquities belonging to the late William M'Pherson, of Loch Kinnord, was exposed for sale by public roup. Among his heterogeneous collection, which he was always willing to show to the curious, were numbers of curious firearms—from the ancient flint lock to the modern revolver; ancient swords begrimed with rust, some of which were said to have been at Drumossie Moor; fine wrought ivory-handled dirks, stone hammers, stone cannon-balls, flint arrow-heads, &c. There was a large attendance at the sale, nearly 300 being present. An old cartridge case and bayonet, said to have been taken from one of Napoleon's men at Waterloo, was sold for 3s. 6d. A very ancient-looking blade, said to have been out in '45, was sold

for £3 4s. The price of a couple of stone cannon-balls was 8s., while that of a curious stone hammer was £1 13s. A very strange pebble, which goes by the name of an "adder stone," and which, it is maintained, will cure the stings of adders on being applied to the wounded spot, be it ever so severe a bite, after a spirited competition, was knocked down at £1 14s. Three flint arrow-heads, complete and in capital condition, were sold for 7s. A very antique-looking sporran, with a pouch of such dimensions as would hold provisions enough to serve the most ravenous Highlander for several days, was disposed of for £1. A number of ancient copper coins fetched 5s., while twelve rare silver ones brought 10s. A powder-horn, with the date 1692, fetched 30s.; one of the year 1439 brought 17s. A very fine large-sized horn was sold for the sum of £3 12s. 6d., and a pretty bugle-horn, dated 1774, and grown on the shores of Loch Kinnord, was taken out at 12s. A very old and decrepit sporran top was sold for 11s. 6d.; and a "kail gullie"—a very ancient-looking article—fetched 11s. A sheep-clip—an instrument which one may not see in a lifetime—was taken out for 1s. 6d., while a weapon for spearing foxes fetched 10s. 6d.

Since Easter, another church in the North of Devon has been taken in hand for a thorough restoration, that of Nymet St. George or George Nympton, near Southmolton. The building, which consists of nave, chancel, north aisle, and tower, with a porch on the south side, and vestry on the north side, is of the usual type of Devonshire churches (except the tower), built in the perpendicular period of Gothic architecture, the nave and chancel both having had barrel roofs, some remains of which have been found. Fragments of the original east window have also been found embedded in the east wall. The nave has now two perpendicular windows on the south side, while the north aisle has a very early two-light perpendicular window, and two others of more recent date. It is proposed to rebuild the east and south walls of the chancel, placing a new traceried head to the east window. The whole of the plastering and the ceilings of the nave and chancel have been removed, and the latter will be restored as nearly as possible to its original form, with ribs and carved bosses. It may be stated here that the ceiling and ribs of the north aisle do not require renewal, and are in good preservation. The porch will be rebuilt, and the tower arch opened out. The two remarkable features of the church are the tower and the remains of the old carved seat ends. The tower was rebuilt of brick—or cloam as it is called in North Devon—in the years 1669-74, the church being known for miles round as having a "cloaming tower;" the bricks were made on the glebe from a pit which was filled in, some twenty years ago, by a man now living in the village; and the churchwardens' accounts of that date are still preserved in the parish church, giving many interesting and amusing details. The other feature is the quantity of old carving found sadly cut up and ill-used throughout the church. The base—the panels and sill—of the old oak screen were found *in situ*; and under the square seats were found the remains of some twenty carved seat ends, many of which can be restored, though none are complete.

Mr. J. H. Middleton communicates to the *Academy* particulars of the discovery of Roman remains in Westminster Abbey. It appears that when the grave for the late G. E. Street, R.A., was being dug, the interesting discovery was made that a Roman villa had once stood on the site of the nave of Westminster Abbey church. Some ten or twelve feet below the level of the present pavement various fragmentary remains of a hypocaust were found; and some of the large square bricks which had formed the pilae, or short pillars supporting the hollow floor, were apparently *in situ*. Fragments also were discovered of the broad flange-tiles which rested on the pilae, and carried the cement and mosaic, which formed the upper layers of the floor. The mortar is of two kinds—one very coarse in quality, made of lime and gravel, used to bed the pilae-bricks; and another finer variety, made of lime, sand, and pounded brick, such as the Romans generally used to bed the tesserae of their mosaic floors. The ground where Westminster Abbey now stands was probably, when this villa was built, a small island in the middle of a large but shallow lake, extending over the present St. James's Park, most of Lambeth, the south part of Pimlico, and other land besides. Across this lake there was, in Roman times, a ford, which probably passed from the shore to the island, and then from the island to the opposite side. This ford was on the line of a Roman road, the position and direction of which is still marked out by the long straight Edgware Road, and its southern continuation, Park Lane. After crossing the lake the road passed on, extending through Surrey, and then probably (as suggested by the Rev. W. J. Loftie in his pamphlet on "Roman London") joined the southern branch of the Watling Street from Dover to Canterbury. It is impossible to say when the site of Westminster Abbey ceased to be an island. The term Thorney Island is applied to it till after the Norman Conquest; but this of course proves nothing, as the name "island" often survives long after a piece of land has ceased to be surrounded by water. This discovery of Roman remains is not altogether unexpected. John Flete, Prior of Westminster, who wrote in 1443, mentions a tradition that a Christian church had been built on Thorney Island in 184, and that in the time of Diocletian's persecutions it was taken from the Christians and dedicated to the service of Apollo—"Thurificat Apollini suburbana Thorneia." Though much reliance cannot be put in this statement, yet the tradition as to the Roman temple may have some foundation in fact.

Correspondence.

THE DOMESDAY OF COLCHESTER.

(v. 244.)

Mr. Round's very interesting Paper was especially attractive to me, because in several points he arrives at conclusions very similar to those which have forced themselves upon me while investigating the development of agricultural communities in other than English lands. Mr. Round's view that the town was originally not "a walled town with land belonging to

it, but an urban district of which a small fraction was comprised within walls" (*Antiquary*, v. 247), is one which I think no anthropologist would deny. Everywhere, I fancy, the appropriation of a district has preceded the erection of a town. Nomad peoples have always their own hunting or pasture grounds on which no trespass is allowed; but on which they themselves wander without fixed abode. A little higher in culture there are numerous people with portable habitations, such as the Wahuma of Central Africa, who "roam about with their flocks and build huts as far as they can from cultivation" (Speke, *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, 124). One could fill several columns with the different kinds of portable dwellings in use over the world. The impulse to the formation of the town occurs when two or three small tribes join together for mutual protection, and build their hamlets close together. Thus Pethe- rick speaks of "the village, or rather the group of hamlets amounting to five in number, called Neangara . . . an insignificant capital for a large district extending southwards and eastwards" (*Travels in Central Africa*, i. 276). So, too, the Arabian Meccah arose out of a similar congregation of tribes, and Sir W. Muir's account of its institutions shows that its inhabitants were still nomads at heart (*Life of Mahomet*, chaps. ii. iii.), each tribe living its own independent life in its own quarter of the town. It will be seen that we have here come upon parallels to Mr. Round's "five limbs" of Colchester, and there is another in the five families who seem to have formed the typical Ur-Aryan community. But from India we get a closer parallel. A Hindu king "shall cause to be built a town and a palace . . . (At a little distance) from the town to the south (he shall cause to be built) an assembly-house with doors on the south and on the north sides" (*Āpastamba II.* 10, 25 (3, 5) in *Sacred Books of the East*, ii. 159, 160). This exactly hits Mr. Round's point that the Colchester court was a "hundred court," and now see how the urban district is shown to date from pastoral times. The elders appointed by the king "must protect a town from thieves in every direction to the distance of one yojana [and of] one krosha from each village (*Āpastamba*, *u.s.*, 162). On which Dr. Bühler's note, *ad locum*, is: "A yojana is a distance of 4 krosha. A krosha, kos or gau, literally 'the lowing of a cow,' is variously reckoned at 1½-4 miles." Nothing can be clearer than that the town is here a mere appendage of a rural pastoral district. Very similar evidence will be found in von Maurer's *Dorferfassung* respecting the German communities. Mr. Round will, I hope, be gratified to find that there is so much collateral support for the doctrine which I apprehend he is right in claiming as novel in respect of the English town.

I have left myself bare space to speak of Mr. Round's theory of the transformation of the *civitas* into a *burgus*. Here again I substantially agree with him. In writing on the Hebrew village community a year ago, I had occasion to sketch the development of the village into the town, both in Germany, Italy, and Phœnicia. I must refer the curious to my book itself for details (J. F., *Early Hebrew Life*, Trübner, 1880, pp. 54 ff.). I will only mention that, following von Maurer, I traced the change to the influence of

the "outsiders," the "metics," instead of to the citizens, as Mr. Round does. The divergence is interesting, as showing the influence of local circumstances upon the development of individual communities.

These notes have, of course, only an indirect bearing upon Mr. Round's Paper, but I hope they will prove interesting, and perhaps afford one or two serviceable hints.

JOHN FENTON.

8, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.



TRENCHARD FAMILY.

In Chalmers' *General Biographical Dictionary*, vol. xxx. p. 18, it is stated that "John Trenchard, an English political writer, of the democratic cast, was descended of an ancient family, the son of Sir John Trenchard, Secretary of State to King William III.," &c.; and in *Biographie Universelle*, tom. xlv. p. 472, "Jean Trenchard, écrivain politique anglais, fils d'un secrétaire-d'état de Guillaume III.," &c. In these two standard authorities there is a mistake with regard to his parentage, inasmuch as he was the son, not of Sir John Trenchard, but of William Trenchard, Esq., of Cutteridge, in the parish of North Bradley, Wilts. Burke, in his *Landed Gentry* (1849), is correct in this particular, and rightly says that Sir John Trenchard, Knt., of Bloxworth, the Secretary of State, was the younger son of Thomas Trenchard, Esq., of Wolverton. Some, however, have adopted the statement of Chalmers and the *Biographie Universelle*. I therefore think it well to give the following literal copies (lately taken) of inscriptions in the south aisle of the parish church of North Bradley, which have reference to the family, and decide the point in question:—

I.

"Near this place is deposited | the body of William Trenchard, Esq., | of Cutteridge, in the County of Wilts | (by y^e body of Ellen, his beloved wife), | in the year of our Lord 1713, | and in the 70th year of his age. | His wife was the daughter of | S^r George Norton of Abbots Leigh, | in the County of Somerset, | by whome he had ten children, | whereof four lye bury'd in this church, | and only four survived him, | viz^t, John, Anna, Frances, & Ellen, | w^{ch} three daughters he made joint executrixes, | who in performance of his will, | & in gratefull memory of their indulgent | parents, erected this monument." |

II.

"Underneath are deposited | the remains of Henry Long, Esq^r, | of Melksham, in the County of Wilts, | who departed this life 23^d of October, 1727, | aged 40 years. | And also of Henry Long, Jun^r, his youngest son, who | departed this life 30th of August, 1739, aged 26 years. | As likewise | of M^{rs} Ellin Long, relict to the first & mother | to the last of those gentlemen. She was the youngest daughter of | William Trenchard, Esq^r, of Cutteridge, in this parish, | & sister to the celebrated author of the Independent Whig | & other valuable works. She inherited the virtues of that | ancient & worthy family: in every stage of life pious & prudent: | charitable to the poor,

& a most sincere friend. Thus, much | beloved while living she died lamented July the 9th, | 1752, at the age of 65 years, & to her memory | particularly this monument was erected by the | appointment of her gratefull daughter, | Mrs. Ellin Thresher, in May, 1756." |

The only other inscription in the same part of the church (commonly called the Trenchard or Long chapel), refers to one connected with the Trenchard family, and may fitly be appended to the foregoing two:—

"In memory of | William Long, Esq^r, | of Melksham, who departed | this life June the 15th, 1773, in the | 64th year of his age."

BEAVER H. BLACKER.

Clifton, Bristol.



HAMPTON COURT PALACE.

(v. 132.)

Will you allow me to correct one or two inaccuracies in your description of the new groined ceiling, West Entrance of Hampton Court Palace? In your issue for March you say: "The ceiling has elaborately moulded ribs springing from the shafts in each angle of the gallery, and spreading in a fan-like form towards a central compartment filled with tracery panels with Tudor details, and ornamented with quatrefoils containing shields upon which will be carved the arms and other devices appertaining to the various offices held by Cardinal Wolsey. Upon the centre boss, or keystone, will be carved the royal arms of the Tudor period." There are no shields in the quatrefoil panels of the centre compartment, but twelve square paterae, one to each panel, on which are carved, in groups of three, alternately, the Crown, V. R., and the Rose of England,—The Mitre, T. C., and the Pallium.

On the centre boss is a shield, surrounded by the garter, on which is carved the royal arms of the present period.

SAMUEL RUDDOCK,
Sculptor.



SHAKESPEARE.

It may be of interest to notice an inscription in the Church of St. Mary at the Tower, Ipswich, which is almost a copy of that over the grave of Shakespeare in Stratford-upon-Avon. It is a flat stone let into the floor at the south-west corner. On it is the following inscription:—

"Under this marble resteth the body of William Edgar of y^e Parish, Gent. who was born 1st January 1637 and dyed single 3rd October 1716.

"Good friends for Jesus' sake forbear
To move the dust entombed here.
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones."

The arms above the inscription are—party per chevron, two fleur-de-lis in chief, across the base six lozenges, each charged with an escalop, above the shield the helmet of an esquire. The crest: on a wreath are two figures; the dexter one appears like a number of thongs bound together part of the way

up; the sinister, a bird's head to left, with long neck; the whole being in a circle with mantling.

This inscription is remarkable, as being used just 100 years after the death of Shakespeare. Is it known in any other part of England? I do not remember ever having seen before the announcement that the person buried was "single." Has that word been much used in similar cases?

Colchester.

T. FORSTER.

BRASSES OF CORNWALL. (v. 278.)

Referring to the letter of the Rev. F. W. Davis in your June number, in which your correspondent remarks, "I trust some gentleman in Cornwall will emulate Mr. Sparvel-Bayly on the subject of brasses ere it be too late," I have much pleasure in informing your correspondent, and any other reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* who may take an interest in "brasses," that I have in the press an entirely new work on *The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall*, which will contain sixty-two plates in royal quarto. Many wills are introduced into the letterpress, and most of the material is new, being only obtainable from MS. sources. Many old Cornish families are represented—the names of Arundell, Basset, Boscawen, Coryton, Cosowarth, Courtenay, Eryssy, Killigrew, Lower, Mohun, Pendarves, Rashleigh, St. Aubyn, appearing with many others. My work seems to "do" for Cornwall just what your correspondent desires.

E. H. W. DUNKIN.

Kenwyn House, Kidbrooke Park, Blackheath.

THE HOLY GHOST CHAPEL AND MARIE CUFAUDE. (v. 239.)

Your contributor, "F. C. L.," asks for further information concerning the children of Sir Geoffrey Pole, of Lordington.

I have a *History of the Life of Reginald Pole*, published in 1767, 2 vols. (2nd ed.), without author's name. This contains a pedigree of the family "taken out of the Herald's Office." According to it, Sir Geoffrey Pole, in right of his wife of Lordington, = Constance, elder daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Packenham of Lordington.

His son, Geoffrey Pole, = Catherine, daughter of — Dutton, of Dalton, in the County Palatine of Chester.

Then the daughters:—

Catherine, died without issue.

Catherine, first surviving daughter, = Sir Anthony Fortescue, Kt., Marshal of Ireland.

Elizabeth, = Wm. Nevil, of Torksey, Lincolnshire.

Mary = Wm. Cuffold, of Cuffold, county of Southampton.

Margaret, = Walter Windsor.

Anne, = — Hildershaw, Esq., of Tetsworth, Cambridgeshire.

This, therefore, gives six daughters.

Five sons are given—viz., Arthur, Thomas, Edmond, Geoffrey, and Henry.

M. OPPENHEIM.

ST. THOMAS À BECKET.

There is a valuable representation, in glass, of St. Thomas à Becket and St. Thomas of Hereford in the church at Credenhill, near Hereford. The figures are perfect, about fifteen inches in height, surrounded by quarries and a border. Both are in vestments, with mitre, pastoral staff in left hand, right hand being erect. Legend above records their names. The work appears to be Early Fourteenth Century. As I am about to publish a facsimile in colours, I should be greatly obliged for any reference to other examples, in glass or MSS., of these celebrated ecclesiastics.

F. P. HAVERGAL.

Upton Bishop, Ross.

DOCTOR'S HOOD.

An artist engaged on an historical painting would be grateful if any reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* could inform him, through the medium of your journal, what distinguishing colours the hood, gown and cap of the Doctors of Philosophy (Leipzig University) were in the olden time.

E. J.

Aberdeen, June 12, 1882.

CHURCH MONUMENTS. (v. 275.)

In reference to a remark in your last number, permit me to say that I never believed that the resources of any society could meet what is wanted for the preservation of our church monuments. In my opinion nothing short of an Act of Parliament will be any avail. This I ever advised societies to keep steadily and earnestly in view.

C. ROACH SMITH.

Strood.

LAMBETH PALACE CALLED CANT HOUSE.

In a succession of entries occurring in the Lambeth Burial Register, for the year 1645, recording the deaths of prisoners within the Palace, then turned into a State Prison, each is thus described: "A prisoner in Cant House." Can any of your readers refer me to any book or newspaper of that time in which Lambeth Palace is thus described, or is it merely used in irony by the Puritan Rector, Dr. White, who had taken the place of the deposed Dr. Featley? If any of your readers can enlighten me, and will communicate with me direct, I shall deem it a great favour.

J. CAVE-BROWNE.

Detling Vicarage, Maidstone.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE FEAST.

Amongst some old sermons in my possession, I have one entitled: "A Sermon preached at the Huntingdonshire Feast, June the 26th, 1702, at St. Michael's, Cornhill, London." Where can I find some record or account of the said Huntingdonshire Feast, which from the tone of the sermon was for a charitable purpose?

H. R. PLOMER.

Ettrick Bank, Birkdale Park, Southport.

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The Antiquary.



AUGUST, 1882.

Lammas Tide.

By G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.

IF among my predecessors in these articles devoted to the customs and festivals of the months I note that the history of Easter is claimed as a representative "story of humanity," and that "New Year" and "Midsummer" take us back, by very sensible stages, to far-off primitive types of society, I may claim also that the customs of Lammas Day remind us of the time when lands belonged, not to the individual, but to the village community; when the village community represented an almost independent unit of what was scarcely a national society; when, in short, society was just at that initial stage which precedes the dawn of progress, when, as in the Western world, civilization goes on, and which crystallizes into stationary fragments when, as in India, we meet with the stage of arrested progress. I shall, it is true, be able to give only the outline of this primitive period in the history of Britain, to sketch out one or two typical examples of the evidence necessary to prove this position claimed for Lammas customs; but if I leave my readers on the border-land of this interesting subject, there are not wanting works devoted to the inquiry which they can consult, and learn therefrom how much modern times are intermixed with the survivals of ancient times.

Lammas Day is properly the 1st of August. The Act of George II. which established the new style in England excepted the days for the commencement of Lammas rights from the operation of the statute. Lammas Day, under this operation, is now the 13th of August. It is one of the four cross quarter-days, as they are now called. Whitsuntide

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was formerly the first of these quarters, Lammas the second, Martinmas the next, and Candlemas the last. Such partition of the year was once as common as the present divisions of Lady Day, Midsummer, Michaelmas, and Christmas. Some rents are still payable at those ancient quarterly days in England, and they were not long ago, even if they do not still continue, general in Scotland.* It is a day on which many quaint customs were enacted; but the one great custom which marks it as a link with a very remote past is the removal of the fences from many lands throughout the country, and the throwing open to common pasturage of lands which, till this day from the end of last Lammastide, had been used as private property. In fact, it is not too much to say that in this custom of Lammastide we have the key to the whole system of ancient agriculture. Wherever we find Lammas customs in England we may take it for granted that it is the last remaining link of a whole group of customs which together make up the history of the primitive village community. It is curious to observe with what varying degrees of integrity customs have lived in various parts of the country. In some places, for instance, we may find only the bare mention of Lammastide, and the throwing down of fences and the consequent opening of the land to common. In other places, as I shall show, there is much more at the back of this single Lammas custom—there is sufficient to enable us to open the great book of comparative politics, and to take our studies to that ancient Aryan land, India, or even still farther back in the history of primitive society, the native savages of Africa. But we must stop far short of this just now. It will not do in the limits of one Paper to wander far away from the immediate subject, and therefore we must restrict our researches to the comparatively narrow limits of Lammas customs. There is the one important fact to note, however—namely, that old customs have been, as it were, fighting these thousand years or more against the advancing progress of civilization. In some places this fight has been successful, but in the great majority of instances, one by one of the old features and the old elements of the once-prevailing customs of ancient

* Brady, *Clavis Calendaria*, ii. p. 107.

times have been lopped off ; and hence, while we have many instances of Lammastide being known by its old name, having some of its old features, there are very few instances indeed where Lammas customs remain one with another a part and parcel of a great and important whole.

We have such an example recorded from the tenantry customs of Sussex, and I shall proceed to give the details of this as recorded in the third volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, and with the less hesitation because, strangely enough, this particular volume of this valuable set of books is extremely scarce, and there are many sets which have to mourn the loss of this one of their brethren. The Paper is by Mr. William Figg, and it relates to the Drinker Acres.

Many of the parishes on the South Downs, in the neighbourhood of Lewes particularly, have a considerable quantity of brooks (locally so called) or marshes within their limits, and generally, where the Down land was fed in common and the arable was in tenantry, some portions of the brooks were in tenantry also. In the parishes of Kingston, near Lewes, and Southease, it was so until they were enclosed, the former in 1830, the latter in 1842. In both these parishes were particular brooks called Wishes, and in each also there was a small piece of brookland called The Drinker. It has been for years past a matter of curiosity to know the origin of the name and the purpose for which these Drinkers were originally set out. In Kingston, the custom connected with the Drinker appears to have been discontinued for many years, but at Southease it was kept up until the inclosure took place. The arable in these parishes was divided into yardlands, and according to the number of yardlands held by each proprietor the rights of depasturing the Downs and mowing and feeding the tenantry brook were regulated.

It appears that up to a certain day in the spring the brooks called Wishes were fed in common by the stock belonging to the tenants, in proportion to their rights ; they were then laid off for mowing, and were, on a subsequent day, trodden out—that is, divided into pieces—to be mown for hay, each tenant taking such quantity as he might be entitled to according to the number of

yardlands he held. The Drinker in Kingston appears to have been used by the tenants of certain yardlands in a regular rotation of ten years, as described in "A true and certeine note" of the custom as practised at Kingston, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and of which Mr. Figg embodies in his Paper a copy from a contemporary manuscript. The above note fully explains this custom in Kingston ; and it would appear that the person or persons to whose lot the Drinker fell by succession had the right to mow and depasture the same during the whole year, or until the next "trading of ye wish" took place, he or they paying eighteenpence "to make them a drinking," that is, the other or "resydue" of the tenants who were present at the treading out of the Wish.

In the parish of Southease the custom appears to have been somewhat different. The rights with which the Drinker was connected were confined to a portion of the North Wish, which was divided into fourteen parts called hides, and thirteen called clouts ; this land was cleared of stock, or, as it is usually called, laid off for mowing, on April 6 (old Lady Day) in every year. On July 10, those tenants who possessed rights met on the ground and drew lots for the hides, commencing at the south end. The mode of drawing lots was as follows :—Fourteen pieces of stick five or six inches in length were severally notched or marked with a knife, with certain characters, named as follows :—

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. One score. | 8. The Doter. |
| 2. Two score. | 9. Dung hook. |
| 3. Three score. | 10. Cross. |
| 4. Four score. | 11. C. |
| 5. Five score. | 12. C. |
| 6. Six score. | 13. D. |
| 7. Seven score. | 14. The Drinker. |

These hides were not each mown wholly by one tenant, but in various proportions ; for instance, No. 8 was in six parts ; No. 9 in six parts ; No. 10 in three ; 11 went to a tenant in Heighton ; 12 to two tenants in Heighton ; 13 the same ; while the whole of the seven scores were held by tenants of the adjoining parish of Telscombe in various proportions. The tenants having met, the following was the mode of proceeding : these marked pieces of stick were put into the pocket of one of the party and drawn at

random by those who had rights. As soon as the first stick was drawn it was stuck into the ground on the south side of the first hide, and the turf was cut with a mark similar to that on the stick, in order that no mistake might be made as to whom the hide belonged at mowing time; and so on, till all the sticks were drawn and the several pieces marked. Another portion of the North Wish eastward of, and lying between the hides and the river Ouse, was divided into thirteen pieces called clouts, which were mown and divided in the same manner and proportions as the hides, beginning at the north end, each hide taking a clout, except the Doter, which had no clout.

If the hay was not cleared off by old Lammas Day the tenants of Southease could carry away all that might be remaining.

The right of mowing and feeding half the Drinker hide was, at the time of drawing lots, let yearly by auction to the highest bidder, and the proceeds spent. The tenants dined together, spending one half the amount, and the other half was given to the labourers of Southease, "to make them a drinking," in order that they also might enjoy themselves. The man who acted as auctioneer was called the crier, and received one shilling for his trouble, and was afterwards employed in setting or treading out the hides and clouts at mowing time. Some portion of the North Wish (lately called stumped pieces) was formerly called Garlands.

Now here we get the full surroundings of Lammas Day. It occurs, not as the set ceremony of one particular period of the year, having no reference to any customs or ceremonies that have gone before, but it takes its place in the long series of agricultural events which, having survived in Sussex in this unique form, enable us to travel back over the centuries of political nationality in Britain to times when the tribe and the village commune were the boundaries of society. This, it appears to me, is the true way to study customs. Isolated and detached, they mean very little in the science of archæology, but, linked on to their proper units in the chain of social development, we can view them in their own archaic setting, and not in a modern setting. In this Sussex custom we have some of the principal features of the primitive

village community, and when we go forward to collect our examples of Lammas-day customs we can refer back to this as the type of the primitive times to which they belong.

Professor Nasse, of Bonn, in his remarkable monograph on the agricultural community, thus connects Lammas lands with the state of things just described:—

In many parts of the country plots of arable land in the same township lay intermixed and unclosed, so that the lands of a rural property consisted of narrow parcels lying scattered in a disconnected manner all over the extent of the village district. These arable parcels were for the separate use of individual possessors from seed-time to harvest, after which they were open and common to all for pasturage. They were designated "open commonable intermixed fields," and also "Lammas lands," because "Lammas" is the *fête Petri ad vincula* on August 1—or, according to the old calendar, by which the reckoning was then taken, August 13—which was the period of the commencement of the common rights of pasturage.*

Now, it is well known that the end of the harvest is in almost all lands, savage or civilized, a time when the gratitude of man breaks out into actual demonstrations. We cannot, of course, go into the large question of harvest thanksgivings. It is a subject that stretches all along the line of human progress from the savage to the civilized eras. But there is evidence that Lammas Day is one of the days which has retained some of the most archaic forms of harvest thanksgiving. The derivation of its name is often given as from "Loaf mass," a mass of thanksgiving for the firstfruits of the earth. In that curious collection of old customs published by the Master of the Rolls, Cockayne's *Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms*, there is the following fragment of a charm, which is peculiarly parallel in *môtif*, if not in form, to the practices of many primitive peoples:—

So that there be a mark of a cross upon it and take from the hallowed bread which is hallowed on Lammas Day, four pieces, and crumble them on the four corners of the barn.†

This should be compared with the following quotation from Moir's *Inquiry into some of the most Curious Subjects of History, Antiquity, &c.* (London, 1857), pp. 167-168:—

The solemn blessing of new grapes was performed both among the Greeks and Latins in some places on

* Nasse, *Agricultural Community*, p. 4.

† See vol. iii. p. 291.

the 1st, in others on the 6th day of August, and is expressly mentioned in ancient liturgical books, as Cardinal Bona and others take notice. See Bona, *de Rebus Liturgicis* and Constantine Porphyrogenetta, *de Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, c. lxxviii. p. 217, who describe the ceremonies with which the Emperor and the Patriarch went before the vintage, from the country palace of Hieria, to a neighbouring vineyard with a great procession, where on a marble table the Patriarch blessed a basket of grapes, after which the Emperor gave a grape to each patrician nobleman and officer among his attendants, &c. For the Latin, see the Notes of Don Menard on the *Sacramentary of St. Gregory the Great*, and the comments of the Jesuit Azevedo on the *Ancient Missal of the Lateran Basilic*, published by him at Rome in 1754.

I will now give an account of some customs which are strangely typical of primitive society.* In the first volume of the *Archæologia Scotica*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1792, there is a very good description of the manner in which the Lammas festival used to be celebrated in Midlothian about the middle of the eighteenth century. This account is all the more valuable because it is in all probability unique. From this Paper it appears that all the herds within a certain district towards the beginning of summer associated themselves into bands, sometimes to the number of a hundred and more. Each of these communities agreed to build a tower in some conspicuous place near the centre of their district. This tower was usually built of sods, though sometimes of stones. It was for the most part square, about 4 ft. in diameter at the bottom, and tapering to a point at the top, which was seldom about 7 ft. or 8 ft. from the ground. In building it a hole was left in the centre for admitting a flagstaff, on which were displayed their colours on the great day of the festival. This tower was usually begun to be built about a month before Lammas, being seldom entirely completed till a few days before. From the moment the foundation of the tower was laid it became an object of care and attention to the whole community, for it was reckoned a disgrace to suffer it to be defaced. As the honour that was acquired by the demolition of a tower, if effected by those belonging to another, was in proportion to the disgrace of suffering it to be demolished, each party endeavoured to circumvent the other as much as possible. To give the alarm of the approach of an attacking party every

person was armed with a tooting-horn. As the great day of Lammas approached each community chose one from among themselves for their captain. They marched forth early in the morning on Lammas Day dressed in their best apparel, each armed with a stout cudgel, and, repairing to their tower, there displayed their colours in triumph. If news was brought that a hostile party approached, the horns sounded to arms. Seldom did they admit the approach of the enemy, but usually went forth to meet them. When the two parties met they mutually desired each other to lower their colours in sign of subjection, and if there appeared to be a great disproportion in the strength of the parties, the weakest usually submitted to this ceremony without much difficulty. But if they were nearly equal in strength none of them would yield, and it ended in blows, and sometimes in bloodshed. When they had remained at their tower till about midday, if no opponent appeared, or if they themselves had no intention of making an attack, they then took down their colours and marched with horns sounding towards the most considerable village in their district, when the lasses and all the people came out to meet them and partake of their diversions. Boundaries were immediately appointed and a proclamation made that all who intended to compete in the race should appear. A bonnet ornamented with ribbons was displayed upon a pole as the prize of the victor. The prize of the second race was a pair of garters, and the third a knife. When two parties met and one yielded to the other they marched together for some time in two separate bodies, the subjected body behind the other; and then they parted good friends, each party performing their races at their own appointed place.

Perhaps, in conclusion, I may be permitted to point out how valuable would be a list of places in Great Britain where Lammas lands exist. It is not enough to know of the custom, to know its historical importance, to know its archaic origin. There is a great lesson yet to be learnt by tracing out the lines along which certain old customs exist. Such a work would tell us a great deal about the ethnological peculiarities of the English people. If, for instance, we had on record a complete list of the localities of Lammas

* See Spencer's *Political Institutions*, p. 249.

lands we should have mapped out before us, I venture to think, the area of Anglo-Saxon influences and settlement. By comparing such a list with that other much needed list—namely, of places where Borough English exists or has existed—a custom which Mr. Elton has done so much to elucidate—we can scarcely over-estimate the value of the new light that would be unquestionably thrown upon the primitive times of English history; and THE ANTIQUARY could not perhaps devote itself to more fruitful sources of inquiry than the compilation, by the aid of its readers, of those materials for the science of archæology.



The Cradle of Modern Commercial Enterprise.

IN the city of Genoa, down by the quays, can be visited to-day a spot of surpassing interest to the mercantile world. The building may not stand long. It has been already condemned by the Vandalism of the present Government to demolition, to make room for a fine new street, yet as it is the old Bank of St. George still exists, the origin of which is to be traced far back into the Crusading days, and the building itself dates from 1260.

The inscription which confronts you as you enter runs as follows:—

Guglielmo Boccanegra, whilst he was captain of this city, ordered in the year 1260 that I should be built. After this was decreed, Iva Oliviero, a man divine for the acuteness of his mind, adapted me with great care to whatever use should then or ever after be applied to me by the Captain.

Now the use to which it was applied forms the object of our search.

Ascend the stairs begrimed with the filth of an Italian custom-house, and you enter a vast hall surrounded by statues of Genoa's worthies, shareholders in this bank, who gave of their riches to the support of the State. These statues are arranged in a scale, peculiar to themselves. Those who only presented 25,000 francs to the State were deemed worthy only of a commemorative slab; their more liberal brethren, who gave 50,000 francs,

were honoured with a half-figure bust. One hundred thousand francs entitled the donor to a full-figure statue, standing over the heads of the most liberal of all, who, in a sitting posture, were placed close to public gaze.

We loved that hall, tho' white and cold,
Those niched shapes of noble mould,
A princely people's awful princes,
The grave, severe Genovese of old.

TENNYSON, *Daisy*.

In this hall were originated some of the most important steps in early commercial enterprise; early financial speculators assembled here; all that is now brought to perfection by money-makers of the nineteenth century passed its infancy within these walls—floating debts, irredeemable debts, funded capital and the manipulation of interest were all discussed here and initiated. There is the tribune still to be seen, where once sat the directors of this bank; there are the niches still where the numerous clerks once had their desks. Moreover, there are the archives, now placed with those of the State, with the help of which we may hope to unravel the history of the rise of banking systems under the roof of the building whence was advanced money for European enterprises centuries before the Fuggers of Augsburg, or the Rothschilds, came into notice.

It is difficult to assign to this bank an exact origin. The Crusades and the preparation of galleys, which foreign monarchs entrusted to the Genoese, introduced the idea of advancing capital for a term of years as a loan to the Government on the security of the taxes and public revenues; but the Crusades were soon over, and the Government took care to secure its profits with all speed, and to pay off its creditors. However, the Saracen and Moorish wars were otherwise, and were undertaken at considerable risk. The town of Ceuta, in 1231, had to be defended against the Moorish king of Seville. It behoved the Genoese to man a fleet, and to do this they sold a portion of the revenues to capitalists who were willing to advance money for the expedition; these capitalists were called *monisti*, and in the Genoese dialect their loan was called a *maone* or *Mahone*, a word of doubtful origin. To this Mahone there might be any number of subscribers, merchants, religious corporations, and so

forth, and if the expedition was successful they got a large share of booty, or grants of land; in this manner the Genoese family of Giustiniani became lords of Chios.

This system of Mahones was the key of Genoa's future success, and the origin of the Bank of St. George. The first debt was thus incurred by the Government, and to meet the occasion the same system was adopted which continued in vogue, subject, of course, to great development, down to the days of the French Revolution, when the Bank of St. George ceased to exist.

A meeting of creditors would be held immediately the money was advanced, and from amongst themselves they would elect a council of administration, to which council the Government handed over the revenue in question. The council of administration would then elect consuls. Every 100 francs would be termed a share (*luogo*), and each creditor was called a *luogatorio*.

Each shareholder's interest in the loan was summed up as a *column* (*colonna*), and entered in a book called the *cartulario*.

Each loan was called a *compera*, and collectively these loans by degrees became known as the *compere* of St. George, which in later years became better known as the Bank.

When a loan was raised it was called after the saint on whose day the subscription fell, or the name of the object of the loan was given to it; for example, there were the loans of SS. Peter and Paul, the loan of Scio, Cyprus, the Great Peace of Venice, &c. The subscription was obtained by public auction in the *loggie*, with which ancient Genoa was full, when the auctioneer would sell the investment to the highest bidder.

As early as 1252 the number of these loans began to create anxiety, and it was deemed advisable to unite them under one head with a chancellor, and other minor officials to watch over them.

Again, in 1302, the archives tell us how commissioners were appointed at a general meeting, two hundred and seventy-one articles and regulations were drawn up to give additional security, and for the future no loan was to be raised without the approval of the consuls of the loans, and the consent of the great council of shareholders.

It was thus that this curious monetary

system gradually established for itself a hitherto unprecedented power within the Republic; it was as time went on a Republic within a Republic, and essentially the ruling power of the whole. No interference was tolerated on the part of the Genoese rulers; if they were in difficulties the Republican governors would apply to the Bank for financial aid. If the governors of the Bank saw the necessity for advancing money, they did so willingly; if not, they closed their purse-strings.

Now and again, when in difficulties with their colonies, the Genoese rulers would hand them over to the Bank. Thus Cyprus was once ruled over entirely by the Bank of St. George. When the Turks came, the Genoese colonies in the Crimea were given to the Bank. Corsica, too, and various towns on the Riviera, fell under the same jurisdiction. Their archives are full of volumes in which are entered the minutes of these temporary governments. Unfortunately for the honour of the Bank, they invariably were harsh and grasping taskmasters; they drained the colonies of all they could, and then handed them back to the Genoese rulers in a deplorable state. Thus the Turks easily subdued the Crimea. The island of Cyprus cast off the Genoese yoke, and even Corsica, close at hand, was for ever in open insurrection.

But let us consider more closely the constitution of the Bank in its earlier days. The consuls of the debts were always interested in them, and bore the name of *Sapienti*. Under them were numerous minor officials, such as key-bearers, visitors, &c., who overlooked the different departments; and whereas the Government of the outer Republic was factious, revolutionary, and for ever changing, the Government of this inner Republic remained firm and maintained its credit unflinchingly.

The year 1337 was a great date in the annals of this financial corporation. After several large loans, or *mahones*, had been raised to conquer Cyprus and quell the insubordinate nobles in Monaco, it was deemed necessary to put the affairs of the Bank in the hands of a Commission, and this date many give as the origin of the Bank; but the archives, as above mentioned, prove that this

was merely a step in the direction of consolidation. The results of the conquests were farmed out to the shareholders for three years ; all the several loans were united into one, and half a century later the final act of consolidation took place, which fixed the organization of the Bank, and which remained unaltered to the end.

During certain political troubles which harassed Genoa towards the close of the fourteenth century, the scheme of multiplication of interest was invented by a patriotic citizen, whose name calls for a much more prominent place in history than has been allotted to it. At the time in question taxes were placed on every available commodity ; a man could not sweep snow from his doorstep without paying a tax ; the State had reached the threshold of bankruptcy.

Francesco Vivaldi was a retiring, hard-working merchant of Genoa, who had gained for himself the name of a miser rather than otherwise ; but at this critical moment he stepped forward, and by one single act of generosity he saved his country.

On the 12th of April, 1371, Vivaldi came down to the Council Hall of the Republic. All were silent ; they knew he had something to propound for the welfare of the State. I will give his speech as it was entered in the documents of the Bank :—

Sirs, I recognize the wants of my country, and I feel the burden of our debt, as it is befitting a good citizen should. I have carefully kept for you the value of my shares in the Bank of St. George, since they belong to you, being the governors and administrators of the people ; use them in accordance with the design I have now in mind as I offer them to you. These shares are inscribed in my name, inviolate and sacred, and so shall they remain, as I despoil myself of them. Those of you who have the charge of the "*compere*," seek to draw the interest from this sum never later than the fall of each year. With this interest I propose that other shares be bought, to bear fruit also in their season ; and thus fresh fruits and fresh gains may multiply with the course of years, until a sufficient sum is accumulated to pay off the shareholders in the loan you call of "*the great peace*." * This accomplished, the capital must be employed in laying by interest to pay off all the other loans, be they heavy or be they light. Nor must you ever stop, as long as a single debt remains in the Republic, and whilst you read in the books a single subsidy which weighs on you and on my fellow-citizens. This is my will, and if it is

transgressed, or in part neglected, I will cancel the gift, either myself if alive, or by the hands of my successors if I am no more.

It is to be regretted that Vivaldi's gift, at a time of great misery, only entitled him to a bust, now hidden by cobwebs in a corner of the building of the Bank. He was the great financial mover of his day, far more deserving of praise than Andrea d'Oria and other Genoese heroes whom posterity has chosen to remember with honour.

The credit of the Bank of St. George was universal. Hospitals, churches, confraternities, placed their capital in it. If a wealthy man wished to endow a church, he presented the building with some of his *luoghi* in the Bank, and it was secure. Vivaldi's example was followed by many who were anxious to tie up the interest on their capital until some large amount had been realized ; but though in Vivaldi's case the working was excellent, as each loan was paid off in succession, yet these frequent "multiplications" caused the State no little trouble, diverting money out of profitable channels and tying up large sums for an indefinite period.

In 1407 the Bank directors appointed a Commission for regulating the expanded business of the Bank. All the shares were again united into one. Seven per cent. was to be the interest on all. An agreement was drawn up with the Government of the Republic, by which unlimited power was given to the "protectors" of the Bank, as they were henceforth called. Every judicial sentence passed by them was without appeal. Self-government was granted to them without any interference from without.

Out of thirty-two citizens elected by ballot from amongst the shareholders, the ballot was to extract eight, and these were to be the *protectors*, and were to have the chief executive power. There was the president, the treasurer-general, superintendent of the sale of shares, and three judges, who looked into frauds, &c., and two secretaries. These eight officials remained in office for a year.

The general council of 480 controlled the protectors, and to this council every one over eighteen years of age, and whose interest in the Bank was over ten shares, whether Genoese or alien, was eligible. This council could put a veto on the advance of any new

* A loan raised to indemnify losers in a war with Venice.

loan, and had a power in the State superior even to that of the nominal ruler of the Genoese Republic.

There were naturally in so large an undertaking many minor officials. The syndics, to whom all complaints were made, and who decided on minor points of law; the consuls, who sold the shares at the street auctions; bookkeepers, clerks, and lawyers, who sat in alphabetical order round the great hall, and were ready to show the accounts to every comer.

Thus, if a curious Genoese was anxious to find out how much his neighbour was worth, he had but to step into the great hall, and cast his eyes down the neatly-written columns of assets and debits, as we can to-day in the grimy old books up in the archives, which are now chiefly consulted by those who are anxious to make out their pedigrees.

In 1425 we have an instance given us of the absolute power conceded to the Bank, when safe-conducts granted by the Government of Genoa were not recognized by the Government of the Bank. And later on, in 1528, it was definitely decided that no person could hold an appointment in both Governments at one and the same time.

A Floating Debt was created in 1456, when owing to the Turkish onroads in the East, the bank had advanced a considerable sum of money, what were called *entered debts*, were then invented. In the fourth year they paid the interest due on the first. On the fifth year the interest due on the second, and so on in perpetuity.

An irredeemable debt was not introduced till about a hundred years later, when the Government of the Republic was somewhat hard pressed, and saw fit to hand over to the Bank certain revenues in perpetuity, instead of for a fixed term of years, or until the loan was paid off as heretofore.

It is difficult to find a parallel elsewhere for so much power being possessed by a body within the State apart and distinct in every way from the regular governing body. Our own East India Company suggests itself at once as a case in point; but the Genoese Bank differed from the East India Company inasmuch as the government of one was seated in the heart of the metropolis, whilst the other ruled at the opposite side of the universe.

So fond were the Genoese of their time-honoured building, and of the old custom of selling investments by auction in the streets, that it was not until 1675 that the Bank thought it necessary to open branches in the city and provinces, for the more convenient transaction of business. And it was not till that date that the old name of the *compere of St. George* gave place to the more modern appellation of *the Bank*. The old *Strado delle Compere*, in Genoa, is all that is left to record the name which this flourishing commercial Republic bore throughout the whole of its palmyest days.

Though hard pressed many a time by drains on its resources, the Bank of St. George never once lost its credit. In 1745 the Austrians invaded Genoa, and demanded large instalments of money. These the Bank supplied, though it was found necessary to impose taxes on commodities, &c., of a most startling nature. For instance, we read, that "every dead body was taxed for the benefit of the creditors of St. George." By such means the protectors managed to stave off the threatened bankruptcy, and it was not until the revolutionary days at the close of the last century, that this time-honoured Bank gave way. The new order of things which Genoa had learnt from France deemed it inconsistent with liberty that taxation should be in the hands of a corporation, and when the taxes were taken from them the directors of St. George found their notes of but little value.

In 1814 attempts were set on foot for the revival of the Bank, but its day was done; it had worked a great work for the world at large by initiating those systems of finance so essential to the well-being of commercial enterprise. On it the fortunes of Genoa were built, and of it Machiavelli spoke, when the Bank was a marvel of success, even to the opulent Florentines.

An example indeed most rare, by philosophers in all their imaginations and conceptions never found, is that system of administration adopted in Genoa in the *compere of St. George*. . . . So that if it could happen that this city (Genoa), full as it is of ancient and venerable customs, might fall entirely into the possession of the Bank of St. George, which doubtless with the process of time will happen, it will then be a Republic of greater importance than even that of Venice.

There is a romance attached to the building itself, though squalid as seen to-day. At the date at which it was built (1260), the Genoese had obtained, by treaty, large commercial advantages from the Emperors of Constantinople, to the detriment of the rival Venice; Michael Paleologus gave them the fortress of Pancratore, which had been built by the Venetians; so by way of spiteful revenge they carried off this fortress stone by stone, to Genoa, and built their Bank with them. There are three lions' heads let in on the outside of the building, which point to rude Eastern workmanship, and go towards attesting the veracity of this tradition.

On the walls outside were hung the chains which once went across the mouth of the Pisan harbour. When Conrad D'Oria broke these chains, and ruined the rival Pisa in 1295, he brought them home, and part of them were hung up here. Only a few years ago, when Genoa and Pisa were brought into the fold of Italian unity, generous Genoa gave them back to Pisa, and they hang to-day in the Campo Santo of that city.

The bell of the Bank, which tolled regularly over the waters of the Genoese harbour, to warn the busy mariners of the lapse of time, has long been silent. It was brought from Canea, in Crete, and has an inscription in it, which reads thus:—"Divide thy time, like the measured tolling of this bell."

No more instructive, and at the same time melancholy, visit can be paid at Genoa than to this wreck of Genoa's greatness. There are exquisite slabs of carving still to be seen, representing St. George in his mystic struggle with the dragon. There are the very niches into which letters were dropped 400 years ago for the directors, the consuls, and the syndics of the Bank. The antiquary who wishes to study mediæval maritime law can do so to his heart's content in the volumes of the *Archives*. There is the old Gazzaria code by which Genoa governed her colonies and her merchandise in the Black Sea. There are lists of the duties and taxes on all commodities, both at home and abroad. Here we see the complete ruin of Genoa exemplified in the very heart of her former greatness, the keystone of her mediæval prosperity. Her palaces, her grandeur, her collections of art, rivet the attention of the

traveller, but they all emanated from this spot down by the quays. And not only did this Bank enrich Genoa, but it taught others how to develop their financial affairs. Without the lessons learnt from Italian traders, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, would be centuries behind in their knowledge of commerce.

J. THEODORE BENT.



The Neville Monuments at Brancepeth and Durham.

IN the church of St. Brandon at Brancepeth, besides many very interesting memorials, and some architectural features both curious and rare, there are remaining some monuments of the Nevilles, Earls of Westmoreland. These, however, are by no means of so striking a character as those described in the Paper on the Neville tombs at Staindrop, nor can they lay claim to the same remarkably fine construction. The church, it may be said, *en passant*, is replete with objects which cannot fail to be noticed by the antiquary. There is a screen in front of the chancel elaborately carved, which contrasts strongly with the very sombre colour of the pulpit and pews, which follow an old Elizabethan type, and which resemble not a little the dark balustrades in the church at Ryton, in the same county. Over against the chancel walls are the celebrated geometrical panels, presumed to have formed part of the rood screen, and to a description of which the archæologist Billings devoted a volume. A quaintly carved oak chest, dated 1450, of excellent workmanship and design, is in the old chantry of Jesus, founded by Ralph, Lord Neville, and Isabel his wife. The registers kept here begin on the last day of the last year of the sixteenth century. A brass on the pavement of the south aisle was purloined from its place, but accidentally discovered and restored, the memorial fitting into an indentation in the pavement. Under a panelled semicircular arch in the south wall of the chancel are stonework and a slab, on which the ancient wooden figures once reposed,

Reverting to the monuments, the oldest of the Neville family is that of a knight crusader, carved in stone and habited in chain mail. He has a shield over the left arm, on it are the arms of the Nevilles, whilst a small sword, something like a misericorde, depends from a belt underneath the shield. The hands are elevated as in prayer, the legs are crossed. Though portions of the figure are injured, yet the whole is in very good preservation, and it lies on the floor of the chancel facing the altar. No positive evidence can be found as to the identity of this effigy. The Nevilles held possession of the adjoining castle, of Brancepeth soon after the Conquest, and no other family of anything like the same importance resided near. The hauberk, according to Father Daniel, was the proper armour to be worn by a knight. In France the double coat of mail was appropriated only to persons having certain fiefs or estates called *fiefs d'haubert*. The account given by Daniel tallies very exactly with the appearance of this Brancepeth crusader. "One may judge," says he, "by all this how our knights were loaded when they had all their arms, for they had besides their ordinary clothes, the gambeson, which of itself, in summer, must have been very hot, being stuffed with wool or cotton; above this was their coat of double mail, and consequently of an extraordinary weight." The shape of the shield on this knight resembles that on a knight engraved in Montfaucon's *Histoire de la Monarchie Francaise*, and is also very similar to those seen in the Bayeux tapestry. As a general rule the shields on effigies of cross-legged knights are triangular. Similar shapes prevail on seals, and in the devices on stained glass windows. Stone effigies of cross-legged knights were sculptured down to the reign of Edward II., if not a little later. It is certain that the Brancepeth figure has not always been in its present situation, but has, at some time or other, been removed from a less conspicuous site. By its side are the wooden effigies of Ralph, the second Earl of Westmoreland, and his second wife the Countess Margaret. The hands of both these figures are pressed palm to palm. The carving resembles, in character and general design, that on the tomb of the fifth earl in the church at Staindrop. Formerly they were

placed on an altar tomb, the sides of which were richly sculptured with niches and a variety of imagery, and stood in a different position. It may be noted that the shield of the great house of Neville occurs amongst the decorations of the roof of the nave, which dates distinctly from the fifteenth century. Armour at about this period had begun to lose much of its special beauty and excellence. Accoutrements, equipments, and individual parts degenerated. This deterioration can be succinctly traced in the brasses where all kinds of armour are so admirably engraved. We turn from the effigy of Sir John de Cobham, *circa* 1375, in the church at Cobham, in Kent, or the very fine representation of Nicholas, Lord Burnell, A.D. 1382, at Acton Burnel in Shropshire, to the later century, when in the Abbey Church at St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, we behold the figure of Sir Anthony de Grey, A.D. 1480, altogether less splendidly worked. There is, however, much to admire in the Brancepeth Nevilles, and it is interesting to observe a kind of similarity in the features of these departed worthies. Time or human spoliation have destroyed the inscription which was at one time to be seen.

Archæologists will be certain to observe other features of interest in the church, such as the sanctus bell turret on the gable of the chancel arch, as well as a sculptured stone of the date of the tower, 1260, representing the Deity seated on a bow within the vesica piscis, the spandrils being filled with the symbols of the Evangelists. The baronial castle of Brancepeth adjoins the church, and here are traces of the Nevilles. One of the towers is called Neville, and in the Baron's Hall there are some fine modern stained glass windows. One of these represents the great battle of Neville's Cross. There are also life-size or full-length portraits of the first Earl of Westmoreland and his countess in other windows in the same hall. Brancepeth living was formerly in the gift of the Nevilles, but after their attainder it was vested in the Crown. The estate was the sole property of the Saxon house of Bulmer, and they built the castle for a baronial residence. Bertram was the last of the line; he left an only daughter, Emma, who married Geoffrey Neville, grandson of that Gilbert de Neville

who came to England at the time of the Conquest. The marriage which united the properties of the Bulmers and Nevilles took place in 1190. The dun bull, which is the badge of the Norman Nevilles, was in reality derived from the Saxon Bulmers, though it has been thought by some antiquarian searchers to have had its origin from the wild cattle which, once on a time, like those still existing at Chillingham, roamed in the park here, then, and at a later date.

Passing from the quiet sanctity of Brancepeth, a walk of nearly five miles takes us to the Cathedral of Durham. Here may be noticed very dilapidated remains of the Neville monuments. In the south aisle there stood the chantry of the family, where John, Lord Neville, contributed largely to the cost of the altar screen of fine alabaster, and to other parts of the edifice. The chantry was used as the place of sepulture of the Nevilles of Raby. It is now destroyed, and the tombs of these once famous lords stand between the grand, massive pillars which divide the nave from the aisles. They are in utter ruins, with small trace of their old grandeur. The first in order is the altar tomb of John, Lord Neville, who died 1388, or as some say, 1389, and his wife, Maud, the daughter of Henry, Lord Percy. The sides are filled with canopied niches, with small figures, in better preservation than the effigies of alabaster above, which are too mutilated for any kind of recognition. This tomb was once coloured and gilt. Near to this is the monumental slab of the good Robert Neville, the Bishop of Durham. It is composed of grey or blue marble. The outline of the brass which at one time adorned it is distinctly visible. He was the fourth son of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, by Joan of Lancaster, the sister of Henry IV. Further on to the east is another altar tomb in memory of Ralph, Lord Neville, the hero of Neville's Cross, who died in 1367. The mouldings of this monument remain, the rest is really a shapeless mass. Once the effigies of Ralph and those of Alice, his wife, were to be seen on the slab. He was buried in the nave, and was the first layman to whom the honour was granted. The originators of the grievous mischief by which these memorials were defaced were a large body of Scottish prisoners who were enclosed in the

cathedral after the battle of Dunbar. This great family of Nevilles came to an end at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Camden says that from them sprang one queen, five duchesses, six Earls of Westmoreland, a Marquis of Montacute, a Duke of Bedford, one Baron Ferrers, one Baron Latimer, and one Baron Abergavenny, besides countesses and ladies innumerable. It seems more than probable that the fall and decline of the illustrious family took its origin from the "Rising of the North" in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Duke of Norfolk, a relative of the sixth Earl of Westmoreland, tried to induce Mary Queen of Scots to marry him. The earl escaped to France, and lived there in indigence and seclusion.

WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.



Old Footsteps of the Saxon Ancestors of the English Nation in Germany.



WE would like to lead the reader into a region of Germany which, though not very well known, and lying out of the way of travellers, nevertheless would be of no little interest, especially to your English countrymen. It is that hilly district which is situated near the Porta Westphalica, near the old Prussian fortress Minden and the Doehrenschlucht, in the neighbourhood of Detmold, that little capital of the little Prince of Lippe. The Weser, and the Suental, a picturesque mountain on the banks of this river, form the northern borders of this province, whilst the Teutoburger Wald bounds it on the south. The Westphalian Werra flows through it in a south-western direction, and the river Ems takes its origin at the foot of the Toensberg (Mount of St. Antonius), near Oerlinghausen, a little Lippian village. It is not a large area, indeed, which this region has, but there is no doubt that the history of Germany has had, in its earliest period, one of its principal scenes between these hills; and, as I shall try to show, there must have been then a near connection between the inhabitants of this district and the old Saxon colonists of Great Britain.

Whether, however, those are right who maintain that this is the region where the Roman legions of Augustus were beaten by the German Duke Arminius, is very difficult to prove. Sixty years ago Mr. Klostermeyer, the historiographer of the Prince of Lippe, in his essay, *Where Hermann defeated Varus*, affirmed it confidently; and in our time Mr. Schierenberg, at Horn, near Detmold, defends the opinion with all the vigour of his Lippian patriotism, but most modern historians no longer allow us to think so. The scene of that battle, which has been of such important consequences, was, according to those, rather to the south of that mountain that Tacitus calls "Saltum Teutoburgense" on the banks of the river Lippe, or Lipia. In confirmation of this, they cite especially the fact that there is on the banks of that river a little village which yet keeps the name of the Roman castle Aliso, mentioned by Tacitus as the centre of that combat, which was so destructive to the legions of Augustus.

But however that may be, we can assert, without fear of contradiction, that this district is one of the centres of early German life. This was the scene of those bloody and important wars between the Franconians and the Saxons during the second part of the ninth century, and the name of Wittekind is still in memory of the people there as the great national hero. They show his dwelling-place at Wedigenstein, near Minden, and other places, where he is said to have had his residence. They show also his tomb at Engern, near Herford, where also you can see some remains of his skull, carefully and piously preserved. You can hear many stories of this hero told by the people on the long winter nights; you will meet also with old families, who proudly derive their origin from that great Saxon duke, and from his knights.

And we shall find footprints of even remote times. Not that we have any written documents from this early period of the German nation, but there are many other memorials left in that country, which show that the original German civilization, whatever it was before Christianity was brought from Scotland and England, had here a prominent centre. If a few stakes, put in certain order,

as we find in the lakes of Switzerland, and the remainders of some primitive household furniture, give us the right to conclude that this was formerly a scene of human life, should we not be entitled to the same conclusion, when we find in the names of mountains, villages, forests, and other places, traces of times which are no more? And of such names we meet in that country between the Weser and the Teutoburger Wald, with a great number reminding us of a religion and of events that are forgotten now by the people, that used them, but that, nevertheless, are the remains of a civilization which had a full life in the hearts, as well as in the actions, of the people during that early period.

There is, for instance, in the neighbourhood of the small Lippian town Salzullen, a hill, called the "Asenberg," that is "Mount of the Asen." Who would not think immediately of the old German gods, of whom the "Edda" gives us intelligence, especially when he knows that there is still at this time a tale in the mouth of the people, that the "Wild Man" has his abode in the forest? For this "Wild Man" is no other than the old German god "Wodan" or "Wuotan," the chief of the German gods, whom they call in other places—for instance, in the Bodethal of the Harz—the "Wild Hunter." There was an old church in the neighbourhood of the "Asenberg," at Schoetmar, sacred to St. Kilian, one of the old Scotch apostles in Germany, which, without doubt, was one of the eldest Christian churches in that country. It was said that when they removed an old crucifix that stood on the altar, there appeared immediately the leg of a horse. Does not also this legend remind us of "Wodan," to whom the horse was sacred, and from whom the devil, in the imagination of the people, had got his horsefoot. There are still other places which derive their names from the "Asen"—a village, the name of which is "Asendorf," and another called "Asemissen." The name of "Freyesmissen" calls to our mind "Freya" or "Frigga," the old German Venus; and the "Hollenstein," and the "Hollenhagen," two other hills near the "Asenberg," probably have received their names from "Frau Holle," the protectress of matrimony; "Lokhausen," a village nearly two English miles from the "Asenberg," sounds as if it might have been

the abode of "Loki;" and the name of the hamlet, "*Wadenhausen*," is simply "*Wodanhausen*," derived from the old father of all German gods. The name of the forest, *Seligen Wörden*, situated also not far from the "*Asenberg*," can be traced to the same origin. The people say that there is heard there sometimes beautiful music and the sound of a banquet, at which many heroes are assembled—perhaps a remembrance of the "*Walhalla*"—where, they say, the heroes are dining and drinking after their battles. They speak, also, of an old true-hearted man, warning those who venture to approach—the true Eckart, who plays the part of monitor in the tale of the "*Wild Hunter*." There is also a legend of a huntress having often been seen making a strange and dreadful noise—possibly one of the old goddesses. The people say that it was the mistress of an estate in the neighbourhood, who had killed her son, and was therefore condemned to rove about through the forest; but those who know that she was banished by the Christian priests into a lake, from which she was not allowed to escape, unless the water would dry up, can see in this merely a recollection of that time, when the Christian priests were fighting the old Pagan idols of German people.

But besides these and others of a like kind, there are names in that country, like those we have mentioned, old, and showing us the early age of the German nation; but remarkable, above all, for their similarity to names of estates, as well as of villages and towns, and even of persons in *England*. You have in *England* a *Buxton*, and in this region of Germany, of which we speak, you will meet also with a large estate called *Buxten*, and there is no doubt that this name in Germany is as old as in *England*. You have a great sailor, Sir Francis *Drake*; but here is an estate, the owner of which has had the same name, *Drake*, ever since the estate existed—that is, since the most remote period. For the custom in this country is, that every one who inherits an estate, or marries its heiress, or even buys it, must adopt its name, and this has been the custom from times immemorial; so that we can rightly say the names that are attached to the estates have come down from the time when the Saxons

lived there. But, further, you have a Lord *Lyndhurst*, and in the neighbourhood of the Weser there is also a place called *Lindhorst*; you have a *Bathurst*, there is here also a *Pathorst*; you have a *Hereford*, there is a *Herford* here; you have an *Exder*, you will meet here with an *Exter*; you have a *Ravensburg*, and here a county near the Teutoburger Wald is called *Ravensberg*; and so it would be possible to find a great many names which are the same, or nearly the same, in both countries, as old in the one as in the other, and all lying closely together in that small district the borders of which we have sketched above.*

Moreover, the language which is spoken by the people in that region between the Weser and the Teutoburger Wald, would strike an Englishman by the similarity of many of its sounds and many of its words to those of his own language, and these are no longer used in the modern German dialect, but preserved here in the mouth of the Ravensburg people and the peasant of Lippe. Your English language, of course, has got its own peculiar and highly cultivated form since that early period when your Saxon ancestors left Germany for a new home; but he who knows English literature, as well as the dialect, which is spoken still in our days on the banks of the Westphalian Werra, and around the source of the river Ems, cannot but recognize a near relation between the two languages, originating, without any doubt, at that time when the Anglo-Saxons were still Germans. Such striking peculiarities of pronunciation, of grammar, and of word-roots, are still preserved by the inhabitants of that region, that this affinity is undeniable, and I do not hesitate to say that this affinity is in no part of Northern Germany so evident as here to the south of the Porta Westphalica.

Let me give a few examples. "Yes," for instance, is in some remote valleys of this region—viz., in such as have kept the old dialect in its oldest form—not "*Ja*," or "*Jo*," as with the other German people, but "*Yea*," pronounced nearly in the same manner as you pronounce this old word in your language. In the county of Ravensberg and of Lippe, as well as in *England*, you will meet

* Cf. Taylor's *Words and Places*, cap. vii., on this interesting subject.—[ED.]

with the word "meet," quite forgotten in the modern German dialect; or with such words as "pink," "pin," "black," to "blacken," "unawares," "rail," to "wring," to "burst," in the meaning of a "runaway," to "spread," "stake," "steak," "quick," "slower," "skill," to "shake," "drove," "boast," "shall," "egg," "heaven," "tell," "one," "noon," "goose," "inlet," "tough," "broom," "knife," "throat," "flour," "among," "sister," "ox," "barn," "big," &c. &c.; and he who would take the trouble to search would find many more of the same kind, and words which those who are educated only in the modern German language, would not understand at all. So also with reference to pronunciation. The inhabitants of that county at the Werra would never pronounce, as the modern Germans do, an "sh" before the "w," or before any other consonant, but always in such cases an "s" only. The old dialect of the Teutoburger Wald makes no difference between the dative and accusative, especially in regard to the personal pronoun. "Me," "de," "em," "us," "ye," "se," are significations as well of the dative as of the accusative, and the nominative of the plural is "we," "ye," "se," the last word pronounced almost as you pronounce "they." Then, in reference to the verbs, the coincidence is as great in their conjugation as in their construction; and he who considers that both languages have had their own history, uninfluenced by each other in any way for more than a thousand years, will be struck by this conformity, and must believe that there is an historical connection between them.

But it would be the work of a book and not of a short treatise, as this only can be, to enumerate all the coincidences and resemblances between these two languages. If we were to inquire, however, as to the cause of these striking circumstances, would we not be right in saying that these facts we have stated prove that there, on the banks of the Westphalian Werra, in the counties of Lippe, and of Ravensberg, was one of the German regions where the Anglo-Saxons lived formerly, and from whence they emigrated to the British Isles? Not that this region was the only one from which England has got its Saxon colonists, but that emigrants came from this

part of Germany also, for there seems to be no other way of accounting for this surprising conformity. There is also another fact that would seem to confirm this view, though I would not lay much stress upon it. There is in the mind of the people still a remembrance of "a great hero," or "general," called "Hengist," who had, they say, emigrated from here. There, in the neighbourhood of Lemgo, an old Lippian town, is a large plain called "Hengstheide," and once, when I was there, I met with an old peasant from the neighbourhood, of whom I inquired as to the origin of that name, whether it had not been formerly a horse pasture? for the word "Hengst" means a stallion in the German language. But "No," he said, "he had been told that once, a long time ago, a great general had gathered (his folk) there;" and when I asked him who had told him that, he answered, "I have heard it from my ancestors; it is a common saying here about." However that may be, I would not urge this popular tradition. For even if it contains somewhat of an historical basis, it is so uncertain and deformed, that we cannot use it as a proof of our view.

A more significant fact, however, is that the region we speak of was in that early period the meeting-place of the Angle and Saxon limits. No doubt the Saxons in the northern parts of the Weser were settled; but in the neighbourhood of the Werra, and on the banks of the Ems, we meet with another tribe of the German nation, which, I believe, was that from which the British island got its name England. Remember that *Wittekind*, the hero of this district, was the Duke of the Engern and Saxons; and there is yet near Herford the old residence of this great antagonist of the Franconian Emperor, Charles the Great, which bears the name of *Enger*, or *Engern*. Why cannot this tribe of the "Engern" be that of the *Angles*, from whom, by mixture with the Saxons, the Anglo-Saxons took their origin? Tacitus places in this region, on the banks of the Ems, the "Angrivarians;" and the tribe of the "Engern" is called in old documents—for instance, in the History of Westphalia, by Schaten—the "Angern." Certainly, there is no reason why we should not believe that "Engern," "Angern," "Angela," are the same

words, and that the district of the Engern tribe—viz., the region on the banks of the Werra and Ems—is Old Anglia in Germany, and at least one of the German countries, from which the Anglo-Saxons departed for that island, that was to be their new and glorious home.

Add to all this, not only that the people in that region yet are accustomed, every year in spring time, to migrate to the western parts of Europe in search of work, returning in the Fall, but also that here you will meet with a race of men who have in their stature and face, as well as in their character, a surprising resemblance to your countrymen, and you will concede, at least, that there is reason for examining into these matters more closely.

FREDERICK H. BRANDES, D.D.

Göttingen.



Old Iron Work.

THERE are few more satisfactory results of the modern æsthetic revival than those which follow from the renewed interest in arts that had previously been allowed to fall into neglect. The art of the blacksmith is one of these, and Messrs. Gardner have done a good work in gathering together a representative Loan Exhibition of Ancient Wrought Iron Work at their house in West Strand, London. It is understood that this is intended to prepare the way for an exhibition on a larger scale, to be arranged later on, under the auspices of the Ironfounders' Company.

The initial difficulty in arranging an exhibition of this sort is found in the unwieldiness of many of the objects. The old blacksmiths beat out the most elegant designs on the gates and railings intended to ornament the fine old buildings of former days. These are not likely to be removed unless the building itself is destroyed; but, owing to the ruthless destruction of many of the City churches, much fine work is available for exhibition. It would be, however, a serious mistake to suppose that the worker in iron confined his attention to large objects, for he was as much at home in emulating the minute skill of the worker in the precious metals. Specimens of both large and

small objects were to be seen at Messrs. Gardner's interesting Exhibition, which remained open from the end of June to the middle of July.

In ironwork, as in most other arts, the distinctive characteristics of the different nations are very marked. Probably, it will be safe to place Germany and Flanders in the first rank as leaders in the art, the city of Augsburg being specially distinguished. The open grilles to be seen in all parts of Germany are often singularly beautiful, both in design and execution. There was in this Exhibition a very fine specimen of the landiers, at one time so common in the fireplaces of mediæval mansions. This was Flemish work of the fifteenth century, and very elaborate in its arrangements. Besides the ordinary dogs, there were braziers for warming small pots that could not be placed on the ordinary fire, and hooks for suspending pots.

French work of various periods was well represented; for example, a beautiful grille of the date of Francis I., in which the reticulations are formed into *fleurs-de-lys*, and some fine work attributed to the respective reigns of Louis XIII., Louis XIV., and Louis XV., each with the distinctive characteristics of its particular period. Venetian work is specially remarkable for elaborate design in flowers; this, although very artistic in itself, is not always to be admired for the use it is put to. There were in this Exhibition a shovel and tongs of the most ornate character, which, although marvellous work, did not please us on account of their unfitness for the duty expected from fire irons.

The blacksmith's art was revived in England after the Great Fire; and in a Paper on the subject which Mr. G. H. Birch, A.R.I.B.A., read before the members of the Architectural Association on their visit to Messrs. Gardner's Exhibition, some of the fine examples that still remain were specially referred to. Much of the beautiful ironwork in St. Paul's Cathedral was by a foreigner named Tijan, or Tijon; but, as Mr. Birch points out, it is pervaded by a thoroughly English spirit. Any one who will take the trouble to wander about some of the old bye streets, will find handsome gates and railings which will well repay him for his trouble. These are gradually being swept

away, and within the last few years several fine railings have disappeared from Great Ormond Street and Hammersmith Mall, which were at one time specially distinguished for fine specimens. Much, of course, still remains in the front of the old Queen Anne's houses in some of our country towns.

The City churches are rich in ironwork, such as the sword rests, communion rails, and railings round important tombs. Every day these become fewer; and some good specimens were to be seen at this Exhibition taken from the places where they should still be if those in authority had any appreciation of the importance of preserving old buildings. There was an iron bracket with pulley and chain for the purpose of raising the font cover taken from the destroyed church of St. Michael, Queenhithe. We are often told that only those churches are pulled down which are without architectural interest. Yet this church of St. Michael was built by Wren, and contained some fine wood carving in Grinling Gibbons's manner. Surmounting the tower was an iron vane in the form of a ship, capable of containing a bushel of grain, the staple of traffic at Queenhithe. The design of a pendant for a chandelier from St. Catherine Cree, is attributed to Inigo Jones, the architect of the church.

The locksmith was a man of considerable importance in old times; and to judge from the locks, bolts, and keys which have been preserved to us, we must rank him very high in the artistic scale. After speaking of the beauty of the locks and hasps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which the ironworkers seem to sport with the rebellious metal, and to find a positive pleasure in bending it to their fanciful conceits, M. Jacquemart adds:—"But these locks, these bolts, are as nothing compared with the keys—masterpieces, real jewels of iron; and one can understand why certain amateurs of the present day have made them the object of their special collection. There busts, monograms, coronets, historical enigmas, are set in their lace-works of tracery, or enriched with delicate acanthus foliage, which causes the bow of some of these keys to rival the most delicate jewellery; the guillochures of their shafts, and the complication of their

wards, correspond to this elegance, and entitle some of these keys to take their place beside those of enamelled solid gold in the collection of the Baron Alphonse de Rothschild."*

There were many fine specimens of keys in this exhibition, but the most beautiful of all was the exquisite master key, which is said to have belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots. The key is small, and the tracery most delicate in execution, initials and the thistle being worked into the design with the greatest skill. One would be glad to know the name of the artist who produced this, so that his name might be registered in the Temple of Fame. There were some iron book-covers, a clock-case, and an early two-pronged fork. We may remark, in passing, that the iron hands of some of the solid old English clocks show marks of true artistic taste in their workmanship.

A fine wrought-iron chest, with a lid hiding a secret lock, dated 1550, formed a remarkable object in the collection. Near it were two oak travelling chests, in which the wood is covered with ornamental iron bands and scrolls. Door-knockers, tinder-boxes, snuffers, and sundry miscellaneous objects were represented. One object of considerable interest was a double candle-holder with shade, which once belonged to Hogarth. It was so made that each candlestick could be taken off the stand and used separately. Of the work of the armourer, specimens of which were exhibited, we shall say nothing here, as this is a branch of ironwork in which considerable interest has always been felt. The historical importance of spurs, swords, stiletos, and daggers is at no time likely to be overlooked.

We may mention, however, some fine specimens of damascene work, a favourite style of decoration in the East and in Europe since the time of the Renaissance. There was also a fine piece of *repoussé* work of the seventeenth century, in the form of a copy of Vandyck's picture of the children of Charles I. With regard to the iron railings for staircases, which are often so elegant in old houses, we may remark that, at the end of the last century and beginning of this, they were made remarkably plain, so that in place of the flowing curves of an earlier period, we find in

* *History of Furniture*, 1878, p. 300.

good houses mere straight unornamented up-rights.

To those who know ironwork only from the lumpish and heavy railings now so common, which are weak in design as well as clumsy in execution, it will be a sort of revelation that the blacksmith may really be a decorative artist of the first class. Happily there are signs that the age of deadness has nearly come to an end. We have little doubt that it is the consumer who needs to be educated, and if he demands artistic work, there are men now living who could emulate the triumphs of Huntingdon Shaw. Towards this desirable end, the exhibition so admirably arranged by Messrs. Gardner is likely to be a great help, and we shall look forward with hope to the promised exhibition of the Iron-founders' Company.



The Influence of Pastoral Life on the Village Community.

TO what extent the Village Community owes its peculiar features to the influences of a prior civilization, is a question that has hitherto not been much discussed. Neither of the two great historians of the Village Community—Von Maurer and Sir Henry Maine—has attempted to trace the origin of the institution in any earlier stage of society. On the contrary, our English authority seems rather, by his sceptical attitude towards the doctrine of the evolution of the patriarchal family from an earlier type, to discourage the idea that any such origin can be traced. On the other hand, Sir Henry Maine's chief opponents—Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. L. H. Morgan—have recorded their belief that the Village Community, in some of its principal features, is nothing more than a continuance of pastoral life with such modifications and developments as the practice of agriculture would naturally induce. I propose in this paper to dwell upon one or two new features in which the influence of earlier times upon village life may be observed.

The beginning of the permanent dwellings which developed into the Village Community

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is to be found in pastoral or even pre-pastoral life, and is directly traceable to climatic influences. The simplest form of dwelling is naturally the cave or artificial hollow used by so many peoples to furnish a shelter from inclement weather.* Where the constructive arts have made some progress, the cave shelter rises into a double set of dwellings, one for summer and one for winter. The summer dwellings are of a light, frail character, while the winter dwellings are stronger and more substantial. The Modocs of California, who subsist on fish and wild animals, dwell in summer in light huts made of poles covered with tule matting or ferns, and in winter in huts made of stouter poles well plastered with clay.† Summer and winter houses are very common in the American races. Some of the Tatar tribes have two kinds of tent, one light for summer travels, the other stronger and heavier for winter repose.

With small and purely nomad tribes these dwellings are set up wherever the tribe may happen to be at the commencement of the dry or wet season; but when the tribes grow large and become herdsmen, a change ensues. The location of the encampment is no longer dependent upon the choice of the tribe, but upon the extent of ground which the concurrent growth of neighbouring tribes will allow it to occupy. Thus the summer and winter pasture becomes restricted in locality, and the situation of the encampment makes a corresponding progress towards permanence. Of this kind of summer and winter pasture we have a familiar instance in the Swiss Alps; while in Turkish law the two pastures are recognized as appurtenances of a village, and have distinctive names—*qishlâq*, the summer; *ïailâq*, the winter, pasture.‡ It is here, too, that the practice of agriculture begins, although subordinate to cattle-keeping; and here, therefore, the interest of the student of the Village Community deepens; for it will be seen that the permanent encampment furnishes the form of the future village.

* *E.g.*, the Kamshatkans and various Russian peoples, Armenians, Bushmen.

† Bancroft: *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 334, 336.

‡ *Journal Asiatique*, 5me serie, xix. 304.

A typical instance of the half-permanent pastoral tribe is furnished by the Hassanyeh Arabs of the White Nile. They are nomads, possessing few horned cattle, but considerable flocks of sheep and goats, and they live in small tents formed of matting, covered over in the rainy season and winter with a thick woollen cloth. During the summer, they wander along the banks of the Nile, but at the commencement of the wet season, when the Nile overflows its banks, they go into the more elevated interior of the country. Their camp consists of two long rows of huts in a straight line and parallel to each other; the huts being about fifteen yards apart, and a broad passage, like a street, fully fifty yards wide, separating both lines. Behind each hut is a small enclosure made of dry thorns, which serves as a pen or fold for the calves and lambs. In addition to the pen at the back of each hut, a large fence to confine the cattle at night is made in common by the men of the settlement. At a little distance from the encampment are the cornfields of the village. In this camp the tribe remains until the inundation of the Nile has subsided, when they pack up their huts and descend to the lowlands, returning to the neighbouring spot in the next season.* This description of the Hassanyeh encampment agrees precisely with that of an ordinary communal village. The arrangement of the huts in a wide street is that of the village houses; the enclosure for the young cattle and the space between the huts is the germ of the later courtyard and garden; and in the separation of the cattle pasture and the cornfields is the beginning of what afterwards became the pasture and arable marks. The market-place, even, of the village finds its prototype in the cattle-fold of the Basutos and the allied peoples of South Africa. The villages of these people are permanent, but they themselves are still herdsmen, migrating in the summer to distant pastures, and reverting in time of drought to their former hunting life. Their villages are formed of huts ranged in a circle, with the pens for the herds in the centre. In the centre, too, just in front of the chief's hut, is the common meeting-place of the village, where questions of police and politics are discussed, where in fact the

* Petherick: *Egypt, the Soudan, &c.*, 148, 169f.

village parliament holds its sittings.* We may even go a step further, and find a community in which the pasture mark is actually coming into existence. The natives of Kamaon leave their villages during the heat of summer after having sown their crops, and retire to the shade of the woods, where each community has its own allotted share, to which it returns year by year.†

Nor is this gradual advance of type from the simple summer and winter dwelling up to a settlement which is not a village community only because it is not permanent, an accidental one; for there is evidence that some peoples, at least, have passed through all these stages. In the Turko-Tartaric race, the catagaic *oj*, meaning a *valley, hollow or tent*, is applied in the form *øj*; to mean a *tent, house, dwelling*; and a derivative verb, *øjlenmek*, meaning literally to *get oneself a house*, and hence to *marry*, takes us up to the verge of the village community, in which the acquisition of a house is the necessary preliminary to admission to the commune and to marriage.‡ So, too, the Mongolian *yurt*, meaning originally a *tent*, is applied by those people to their own half-permanent *winter dwellings* in the *qishlâq*, and by the Russians to denote the *huts* of the subject races of Siberia.§

Coming nearer home to the village community, the early Eranians termed their dwellings *nmânem*, in modern Persian, *mân*; and this dwelling also was portable. They also used the word *khao*, modern Persian *khâna*, from the root *khan*, to dig; and the development from the hollowed cave through the movable tent to the fixed house is still preserved in the modern expression *khân u mân*, which denoted a house and all its appurtenances.|| From Germany and India the evidence is even more complete. The very Teutonic name for a large village, *tân*, *zaun*, *town*, reminds us that our *towns* started from the cattle fences like those of the Hassanyeh Arabs. The Sanskrit *goshthi*,

* Casalis: *Les Bassoutos*, 129, 130, 162, 180.

† *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 185.

‡ Vámbéry: *Etymolog. Wörterbuch d. Turko-tatarischen Sprachen*, § 47.

§ Quatremère: *Histoire des Mongols*, 54, 55. The history of this word, as related by M. Quatremère, is itself an epitome of the types of human dwellings.

|| Spiegel: *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, iii. 675.

first meaning a *cow-pen*, and then transformed to mean an *assembly*, a *discussion*, links the early Aryan village parliament, like that of the Basutos and Zulus, with the cattle-fold. The village money was originally cattle, the measures by which the land itself was sold were measures based on cattle and named after them.* Everywhere, therefore, as regards houses and land, the village community is based upon pastoral life.

Nor has pastoral life been without influence upon some customs of the village community which would seem at first sight to be of purely agricultural origin. Let us take, for instance, the prohibition of the wanton cutting down of fruit trees. The Hindu law books enforce a penalty for cutting down fruit-trees, and a double penalty for cutting down trees which grow in a graveyard, churchyard, boundary, or consecrated place, or which are "notable trees."† These "notable trees" are frequently met with in Hindu literature. They are the abode of a wood spirit, who is invoked by the people in his neighbourhood, who threaten from time to time to cut down the tree, and so end the spirit's life, unless he complies with their prayers. The cutting down of such trees is not merely a legal but also a religious offence, and they who wantonly commit that crime go to the Asipattra-vana hell, the leaves of whose trees are swords.‡ In Germany similar phenomena appear. Many of the Village Communities forbid the cutting down of fruit trees; but the prohibition popularly extends much farther. Dr. Mannhardt has collected numerous legends of human souls dwelling in trees; in the Oberpfalz, in particular, wherever a person has died a violent death, a tablet is fixed upon a neighbouring tree, in which the spirit of the deceased thereupon takes up his abode. Further, there are many trees in which the guardian spirits of the house or village reside. When these trees are injured, blood flows from the wound; frequently the evildoer is afflicted in the corresponding part of his own body.§

* See Williams: *Sansk. Dict.*, s.vv. *goshtha*, *gavya*, *gosharman*; and in general Max Müller: *Chips*, ii. 27ff; and Pictet: *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, ii.

† Stenzler: *Yajurveda's Gesetzbuch*, §§ 227, 228.

‡ Wilson: *Vishnu Purana*, 1st ed. 209.

§ Mannhardt: *Der Baumkultus der Germanen*, 39,

In both India and Germany, therefore, the felling of trees appears unrestricted originally to fruit trees; and my suggestion is that fruit trees were originally preserved as the abode of good fairies when other trees were cut down, and that as the belief in fairies decayed the prohibition remained and was kept up for its practical usefulness. As an illustration of this process, the Lake Nyassa men may be quoted. These people bury their dead near their villages, and place on the graves articles of clothing and household utensils for the service of the deceased. They do more. They plant a banana tree at the head of each grave, that the deceased may still enjoy the fruit he loved in life.* These trees are sacred, for the Lake Nyassa men are in great awe of their deceased relatives, and will do nothing that might anger them. These Lake Nyassa trees are precisely intermediate between the fairy trees and fruit trees of the Village Community. They are sacred from their connection with the deceased forefathers; and from their position near the village, they form the germ of the future orchard. As the belief in ancestral anger dies out, the traditional immunity will remain, and the Nyassa people will begin to see a utilitarian reason for retaining it. And of this stage the Chinese author of the *Book of Punishments and Rewards* is a type; for he writes that there are spirits that preside over wells and hearths, and that if you heedlessly leap over them, you not only insult the gods, but you show that you have forgotten what two things are the foundation of human life.†

In religion, too, the Village Community retains much that belongs to the preceding stage of culture. In pastoral life the sacrifices are chiefly, if not wholly, of cattle, for these form almost the only material of which sacrifices can be offered; and as Dr. Moffat well remarks, it is not to be wondered at that among peoples whose choicest viand is broiled or boiled meat, and to whom fat of any kind is like the richest cordials, every

40, and ch. 1, *passim*. Similarly in Persia trees are known as *dirakht-i-farl*, the home of the genii, and are invoked accordingly. Ouseley: *Travels*, i. 386.

* Livingstone: *The Zambesi*, 381.

† Stanislas Julien: *Le Livre des Recompenses et des Peines*, 475.

event or circumstance should be solemnized with beef.* But cattle-keeping and agriculture, as they are practised by primitive peoples, are incompatible with each other. As agriculture extends, the herds diminish, and either disappear entirely, or are confined to flocks of the smaller animals. The Hassanyeh have already been mentioned as possessing few horned cattle; their neighbours, the Dor, who are settled agriculturists, have few even of sheep and goats, while among the Dards of India a positive dislike of cows has developed itself.† It might therefore be supposed that the typical cow sacrifice would be supplanted by newer agricultural sacrifices. And, undoubtedly, agriculture does, as I hope on some future occasion to show, introduce an entirely new series of religious beliefs and customs; but yet the typical pastoral sacrifice remains with extraordinary tenacity.

Thus among the people of Kamaon it is a custom for one of the villagers, just before the beginning of the sowing season, to cross a small valley by a slight suspension bridge made of a grass rope. If he succeeds, it betokens a good crop of corn; if he fails, his life pays the penalty, and is sacrificed to avert the anger of the gods. Under our rule this latter provision is in abeyance; but the idea remains; for a bit of the rope, or some hair from the man's head, is held to produce fertility in the fields of those who can obtain it. But the anger of the gods infallibly lights on the unfortunate bridge-crosser. His fields will never yield, and the villagers who have profited by his devotion, must support him.‡ Here therefore is a survival of even a pre-pastoral rite—that of human sacrifice.

Of pastoral sacrifices among agricultural peoples, I will only mention a few, and then pass on to India, where the tenacity of the cow sacrifice is best seen. The Khyens, or hill tribes of Arakan, worship a tree, and sacrifice cattle to it, although they are purely agricultural. The Tshuwashes of Siberia have a great cattle sacrifice in early Spring, and scatter the ashes upon the fields to produce

good crops. In Esthonia, as late as the seventeenth century, an ox was sacrificed, with prayers, for successful sowing and reaping.*

In India, the veneration of the cow has long been waning, for the author of the Vishnu-Purana, taking his cue from contemporary feeling, predicted that in the coming Kali age, cows should be venerated only in so far as they produced milk. But the cow still remains an integral part of the great Agnistoma sacrifice. This sacrifice consists, briefly told, in the ceremonial offering of cattle and rice cakes. To account for the presence of both cattle and rice, the Brahmins tell a quaint legend of the sacrificial virtue passing from the human being to the horse, from the horse to the ox, from the ox through several animals to the goat, and finally from the goat into rice and barley. To what extent this legend is a systematized memorial of the traditions of sacrificial materials may be doubtful: the point of interest is, that the Brahmins, nevertheless, do not regard the rice sacrifice as sufficient in itself, but merely as the completion of the cattle sacrifice. They thus instruct the worshipper:—

When the animal is the offering, then many parts of the offering go off, are not used (hair, skin, blood, &c.) In what way is the deficiency to be made up? The answer is:—If they sacrifice purodāsa [the rice cake] divided into its proper parts along with the animal, then the animal sacrifice is made complete. When the sacrificial essence had gone from the animals, both rice and barley sprung out of it. When they offer purodāsa divided along with the animal, then they should think, "our animal was sacrificed with the sacrificial essence in it. Our animal has been sacrificed in its entirety."†

Here, then, is the pastoral sacrifice remaining alongside the agricultural and retaining the supremacy.‡ But the form in which it survives in the more popular sacrifices is still more striking. The same writer who lamented the decrease of the veneration of cows, introduces his heroes as performing a

* *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 264, 265; *Mélanges Russes* (St. Petersburg), iii. 278ff.; Grimm: *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1st ed., 119.

† Haug: *Āitareya Brahmana*, ii. 98.

‡ So, too, cow's flesh satisfies the deceased ancestors for a much longer period than cooked rice, and is, therefore, preferable. Wilson: *Vishnu Purana*, 333; *Mannu*, iii. 267, 271. The Parsis still retain the animal, but instead of slaughtering it, only present a hair of it to the sacred fire.

* Moffat: *Missionary Labours*, 277.

† Petherick: *Egypt, the Soudan, &c.*, 398, 401; *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, xlvii. 28.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 224.

meritorious sacrifice by *liberating a black bull*, and Prof. Wilson, in a note, mentions that this ceremony of liberation was a recognized substitute for slaughtering it. In this form the sacrifice remains unto this day. For, at the great Pongol festival—the feast of ingathering—in Southern India, after the new rice has been prepared, and placed over the fire, and after the joyful shout has gone forth, “It boils, O Suriya, it boils,” thus heralding a good and plenteous harvest, the cows, decorated with the sacrificial garlands, are no longer slaughtered, but are hunted madly through the village till they are wearied out, and then the rejoicing villagers spend the rest of the day in chasing hares.* Even so does the sacrifice survive in Germany, where, at the spring feast of the budding grain, hares, and squirrels, and foxes are hunted over the fields, that these may be fruitful and the harvest plentiful.†

And here, albeit much more might be said, I will end, seeing that this pastoral sacrifice still survives in the Agricultural Community.

JOHN FENTON.



The Great Case of the Impositions.

By HUBERT HALL.

PART I.

IN Michaelmas Term 4 James I. an information was brought in the Exchequer against one Bates, a Turkey merchant, for refusing to pay an imposition of 5s. on the cwt. of currants, in addition to the 2s. 6d. already levied.

The case was argued in the Exchequer chamber, and judgment given for the Crown. The immediate result of this decision was the Book of Rates for new impositions on merchandise; the gain to posterity consists in the survival of one of the most important and interesting constitutional arguments to be found amongst the unequalled historical records of this country.

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, N.S. v. 91ff.

† Kuhn: *Westphälische Sagen*, ii. 143; Liebrecht: *Zur Volkskunde*, 261.

It will be necessary to pause here to explain both the sources of information for the history of this mighty case, and the use that has been made of these by certain modern writers, especially as the course that has been there adopted may be taken as pointing to the results obtained in other cases.

There are two classes of information open to us for the study of such a question as that raised in Bates' case—the right, that is, of the Crown to impose. There are, firstly, the ancient records of the realm, rolls of Parliament and the like, to which may be added, not as a mere gloss upon them, but as living and impartial witnesses of the actual system in work, the various sets of accounts that may have happened to survive.* Secondly, there exist, and chiefly in a manuscript form, the arguments based upon the former of these records; precedents collected with a diligence and arrayed with a skill such as we can never hope to see again, by the great legal historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Now, strange as it may seem, we in this later and presumably more enlightened age, cannot, in the majority of cases, avail ourselves of either of these sources of information to the extent of our historical requirements. We, most of us, are content to take our history from the popular historian of the day, and this gentleman has neither the patience nor the ability to decipher records. His information, then, and ours in conjunction with him, is derived at second or third hand from contemporary authorities; but here again fresh difficulties present themselves.

The great lawyers, who brought a wealth of precedents to the argument of any single case, were, nearly without exception, partisans on either side in the political contests of the day. They were evenly matched in professional ability; they were dogmatic with all the confidence of historical insight, and zealous to the verge of want of scruple for the cause of Crown or people.

They asked for and stated nothing beyond a bare history of the facts; and for this purpose they appealed to none but original authorities. Indeed, each of them might have boasted with Hargrave that, “confident

* These are chiefly to be found in private collections.

in the strength of Parliamentary records, he would appeal to them only."

But what of that? It was, after all, precedent against precedent, interpretation against interpretation, assertion against denial. Let any dispassionate reader without an independent knowledge of the question follow out the arguments on both sides in the case we have before us, and he will soon become hopelessly lost in the endless citations of conflicting precedents, with the marginal reference to roll and membrane, written in the same cramped hand, or closely printed in the voluminous pages of the State Trials!

But there is something worse than this behind. Historians of far greater credit are not only unequal to collecting precedents for themselves, but cannot even read those marshalled by their unassuming predecessors; or at least they cannot always read them correctly. Probably most people have acquired their knowledge of the facts in Bates' case from Hallam and the State Trials, but chiefly from Hallam: I shall show presently how incompetent was even this great historical writer to deal with the manuscript authorities he delights in citing. The race of original historians expired with Francis Hargrave: let us be thankful that it is born again in the two Hardys, in Rogers, and in Stubbs.

We find it recorded in a Hargrave manuscript,* that Queen Elizabeth, in her thirty-fourth year, incorporated a company of Turkey merchants trading to the Levant, to have a monopoly of their trade in those parts for twelve years next following. But when the Queen attempted some years later to impose a new custom of 5s. 6d. per cwt. on currants and 6s. 8d. on the butt of canary, the merchants stoutly resisted the exaction. The Letters Patent were of course revoked on the spot, and a new company was got together, which paid as much as £4,000 for a charter granting "larger liberties" than the former one. But when, after the accession of her successor, a proclamation was issued against monopolies, this new company honestly surrendered its charter. Few commercial members of the community at this time are seen to more advantage than these Turkey merchants: yet from henceforth they were marked men.

* No. 27, fo. 92d.

We see, then, in the case of Bates a fixed and deliberate resolve on the part of the Crown to assert a right to impose by its own authority upon merchandise. The thin end of the wedge had already been inserted. Cloth, sweet wines, and tobacco, amongst others, had already been made to bear increased duties in the face of the jealous opposition of the common lawyers. But now the Crown had a body of judges after its own heart. The agent who dictated its mandate on this occasion was doubtless the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, than whom a more subtle tool never armed the hand of a graceless tyrant: but the moving spirit was Salisbury.

The Barons of the Exchequer, as was before said, gave judgment for the Crown. The case was learnedly argued, but only two of the speeches have come down to us, those of Clark and Fleming, preserved in Lane's Report.

The arguments of both these eminent lawyers are terse, dogmatic and plausible, as Hargrave himself admits. They point to the increased custom on the tax of wine under Edward I., to the new custom under Henry VIII., and the impost under Mary, and these they rightly esteem as arbitrary requisitions.

So too the prizage of wines was never granted to the Crown by any statute. The impost was, they assert, paid over and above the subsidy, and so it should be in the case before them.

I shall endeavour to show how little exception can be taken to their main argument of commercial expediency.

The most important of contemporary arguments on the other side is that contained in Hakewill's speech in the Commons during the session of 1610. He disposes very powerfully of the earlier precedents relied on for the Crown, but in answer to that of the increased customs conceded by merchant strangers for the Carta Mercatoria, he observes that the king none the less yielded liberties in return for these—namely, exemption from prizage which they yet enjoy. Now to show the unsatisfactory nature of these arguments, we may notice that Chief Baron Fleming had employed the very same deduction in exactly a converse sense. The exactions of Edward I., he says, must necessarily have been legal, or

he would never have been so highly recompensed for their abandonment.

The fact is, that although the theory of the revenue was perfectly understood by these great authorities, the actual practice in point was wholly ignored by them.

The state of the customs' revenue in the twenty-fifth year of Edward I. was as follows:—There was a prize of wines due to the Crown by ancient prescription; a customary tax upon wool, woolfells and leather; and an undefined toll upon merchandise at the ports, chiefly in the interests of a protective policy of trade, upon foreign imports.

All these had their origin in the early prerogative of the Crown: but all three were about this time regulated on a scale which endured in principle for centuries. Such, however, have been the confusion and inaccuracy characterizing the statements of even our most eminent modern historians upon this subject that it will be well to enter a little more deeply into the question.

By the twelfth chapter of Magna Carta, no unusual scutage or aid could be levied without common consent of the realm; and by the forty-first chapter of the same, foreign merchants were allowed to traffic free of extortionate imposts, notwithstanding we frequently find both of these provisions violated. A maltolte became stamped as illegal by its very recurrence, and Plowden is reported as quoting an invitation of Henry III. to the foreign merchants to visit this country without fear of paying arbitrary customs or a maltolte to the king.* In the third year of Edward I. a grant was made to the Crown of half a mark upon the sack of wool, and the same sum upon an estimated sack of 300 woolfells, with a mark upon the last of hides. Henceforth this became the ordinary charge, and any deviation from it may be ascribed to four well-defined causes, which should be clearly borne in mind—to the necessities of the Crown; to its emancipation during short intervals from constitutional restraints; to attempts to compensate for losses to or frauds upon the revenue; and to a persistent scheme of one-sided commerce.

In 1294, the Crown saw fit to extort an

* Harg. MSS. No. 27. Vesp. c. xiv. 16. II. 3. m. 20.

arbitrary toll upon the wool of foreign merchants. In 1297, a maltolte of 40s. was required from all. These exactions, coupled with the king's unpopular foreign policy,* produced the episode of the refractory earls, followed by the confirmation of the charters and the clauses De Tallagio non concedendo in the Regent's act of confirmation and pardon.

In the more authentic of the two last-mentioned instruments, the Crown had reserved the right to its "ancient aids and prises due and accustomed." Therefore it still enjoyed the custom on wool and hides as regulated in 1275, and it also had the ancient prize upon wines, and a discretionary toll upon all merchandise.

It is with regard to these two last points that such grave misconceptions have usually obtained.

In 1303, Edward had recourse to the wonted expedients for raising money to meet his necessities. He came to an agreement with the leading alien merchants, whereby he not only settled an auxiliary tariff for the great customs, but agreed besides to commute the prize for 2s. paid down on every tun imported. All other merchandise to be rated at 3d. in the £.

Subsequently, at a "colloquium" of denizen merchants, he endeavoured to extend the same principle to their case also; this, however, they stoutly refused, and continued to pay prize as of old.

Now, in dealing with this question, Professor Stubbs has stated that the object of this "colloquium" was to gain the consent of the English merchants to an increase in the custom on wool, woolfells, and leather, without mentioning any other motive, and, I venture to think, without recognizing the true position of the parties.†

The point which he and others have missed is a very fine one, but it is all important. In commenting on the scale of customs fixed by the Carta Mercatoria, this author asserts that "imported wines paid, besides the ancient prize, 2s. on the cask.‡

* The popular party wished for the repression or consolidation of Scotland and Wales, not for a French war.

† *Select Charters*, p. 490.

‡ *Constitut. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 524.

Now, if we turn to the proposals of the King in this year to the English merchants, we shall find it stated that, "because we have understood that divers merchants of our kingdom that they themselves may be quit of our prize, and may be able to use and enjoy divers liberties granted by us to stranger and alien merchants, are willing to pay to us out of their goods and merchandizes certain new charges and customs which the said, &c., do pay," &c.

How then can these aliens be said to pay prize, "besides" *zs.* on the cask, or butlerage? The contrary fact was perfectly well known to Hale, from whom Professor Stubbs chiefly draws; and Hakewill before him alludes to the exemption of the aliens from prize as "a freedom they yet enjoy."

The point is made quite clear in the answer of the assembled merchants, "that to the increase of the maltolte, or to the customs contained in the aforesaid document, they will in no wise consent." This distinction between the custom and the prize is everywhere maintained in contemporary relations. The great object of the Crown was not to get a present advance on the wool customs, but to settle permanently the scale of the charge upon wines and merchandise—of the *parvæ custumæ*, not the *magnæ custumæ*.

In this object it failed, and the distinction was always subsequently preserved to the advantage, in this case, only of the foreigner, till matters were equalized by the much-abused imposts of the later Tudors. No English merchant could bear the self-imposed burthen of the prize, though I strongly suspect that it was frequently the policy of the Crown to continue a state of things which tended so directly to preserve the balance of trade by discouraging a native carrying-trade in imported luxuries.

It was the undefined nature of the prize that was always contended for by the advocates of the prerogative in later times. The prize of wines, Baron Clark stated, in Bates' case, was not given to the Crown by any statute. The prize had survived the subsidy of tunnage, and the impost had (he implied) grown out of both. Professor Stubbs speaks of the prize subsequent to 31 Edw. I. as though it were soon practically merged in the Parliamentary grant of tunnage and

poundage, and Hallam ventured the same assertion still more explicitly.

But the gravest mistake of all is committed by the former writer, when he defines the prize of wines as the right of the Crown to take one cask out of every ten at *20s.* the cask. Such a view of the matter, indeed, at once destroys the whole force of Clark's and Fleming's argument, as proving that the prize was primarily an adjustable custom, and that any attempts on the part of the Crown to go beyond it could only be looked on as an unjust and arbitrary extortion, and not as a well-meant, though interested, endeavour to maintain that protective system of commerce which was considered of vital importance to the revenue.

The fact is, that no such scale was in use, but prize was only taken under the following conditions:—"De quaſſ nave in se hente *x. dol. vini et ultra non extend. ad xx. dol. ppsā pdcā j dol. vini*; et de quaſſ nave in se hente *xx. dol. vini et ultra ppsā pdcā duo dol. vini*."

Thus, ships carrying less than ten casks were free of prize altogether, and the heaviest cargo paid no more than two casks. How then are we to explain Professor Stubbs' assertion? This is most authoritative, and includes three references—to Maddox, to the Liber Albus, and to Hale.

It may seem incredible, but if we refer to these authorities we shall find that their verdict is exactly the opposite, in one case at least, to what Professor Stubbs has represented it to be, and alike in none. The passage in point in the Liber Albus is worth notice. It is as follows:—

Si noef tonelx des vyns, ou meyns de neof, veignent en nief ou en bat, Le Chaumberleyn le roy ne doit rizen prendre à le pryse le roy par droit. Et si *x. tonelx* veignent il prendra *j tonelle*; et silia *xix. tonelx* il ne doit prendre à la pryse de la prys fors un tonelle; et de *xx. toneux* il prendra deux. Et si *C* ou *CC toneux* veignent ensemble en une nief, le Chaumberleyn ne prendra a le prys le Roy fors deux onelx.*

With regard to his assertion that the rate was laid at *20s.* on the cask for prize, Professor Stubbs has, I believe, been misled by Maddox.

* Liber Albus, I. 247-8.

That writer, indeed, does not anywhere actually say as much, but he certainly implies that a due of 20s. on the cask of wine, "in acquietando" was an ordinary one.

Now, if I understand the question rightly, Professor Stubbs has followed Maddox in error. The above statement of the latter writer is made on the authority of the Chamberlain's accounts for London and Sandwich under Henry VII. The position, however, of the king's chamberlain in the former of these ports at least was, as early as the reign of John, an anomalous one. The fact is, that neither London nor the Cinque ports were liable to prizage,* but they were liable to "frectagium," which Maddox and Stubbs, perhaps, have mistaken for prizage. It was only from Southampton and other outports that regular prizage was taken, and the "liberi homines" of London and Sandwich, both then independent franchises, paid only freightage dues at 20s. the cask; the prizage being then worth at least twice that sum. Even as late as Henry III., an official account has an entry "*in acquietacone*" of 20s. a cask on certain wines in the port of London;† while it will invariably be found that where prizage is regularly levied, "frectagium sive alia onera" are light, and *vice versâ*.

The right definition of the prizage was used by Baron Clark, who described it as taking for the king one cask before the mast and another behind—that is, one or both, according to the bulk of the cargo. An Elizabethan customer's account also speaks of prizage as "of every shipp havinge in her tenne tunnes, one cask: and of every shipp havinge in her xx. tonne and above, two tunne; one before the maste and th'other behinde."‡

The state of the revenue from wines previous to the impositions under Mary was fairly consistent. There was the subsidy of tunnage and poundage, with certain petty dues and prizage or butlerage. The policy of 1558 was only foreshadowed by the new custom of 6s. 8d. in the reign of Henry VIII.

In his speech before the Commons in 1610, Hakewill glanced complacently at the fact of the absence of any precedents for the

impositions of the later Tudor sovereigns between the reigns of Edward III. and Mary. If we are content to admit this, the circumstance is of little value in itself. All that is proved thereby is the excessive weakness of the monarchy which could neither venture to warp commerce to its own ends, nor even to regulate it in the supposed interests of the nation. Hakewill, indeed, dwelt both upon the impecuniosity of some of these sovereigns and their notorious want of scruple in supplying their necessities.

Of Henry VI. he boasted that "As for impositions, notwithstanding his great wants, he thought not of them." Perhaps Hakewill and some of those who have endorsed all his opinions, failed to realize the depths of degradation to which the Crown could sink when placed betwixt an overwhelming peerage and an orthodox and ultramontane Church. I have seen the original draft of Letters Patent to be granted to Richard, Duke of York, for the purpose of repaying a sum of 10,000 marks for which he was out of pocket by his government of Ireland. He was to have licence to export wool, wool-fells, and leather free of custom for an indefinite period. It would be hard to imagine any better set-off against a straining of his prerogative by a strong king than such an advantage taken of the position of a weak prince by the avowed leader of the constitutional party.

The Ancient Monuments Bill.

IT is a distinct advance to observe that Sir John Lubbock's Bill of nine previous Sessions has become the Government Bill of the present Session; for, although we fear there is no chance of it being passed, yet it is something to have induced the Government to take up a measure connected with so non-political a subject as ancient monuments. But here all satisfaction ceases. It is too great a national disgrace to have to say that such a Bill has not long ago passed into a statute; it is too great a cause of regret to the antiquaries and the cultured of this country for us to be at

* Hale, iii. 133.

† This was expressly allowed for the frectagium.

‡ Galba, B. x.

all jubilant over this minor success. There are archæological societies or field clubs in almost every county of Great Britain and Ireland; we have now, and we have always had, many distinguished antiquaries and men of letters in both Houses of Parliament—there are Mr. Gladstone, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Leonard Courtney, Mr. Thorold Rogers, Mr. Boord, in the Commons; Lord Carnarvon, Lord Beauchamp, Lord Verulam, Lord Stanhope, and many others in the Lords, who take definite and well-known interest in the antiquities of our land: and yet, with all this wealth of influence, the Ancient Monuments Bill has not yet become the Ancient Monuments Act. The fact is that the Government of this country ought to encourage the study of archæology instead of ignoring it. There are ancient monuments of one sort or another in every district, in every country town. They tell us more or less of the eighteen hundred years of history which have swept over this island. But they only become known by the individual exertions of local inquirers, all of whom work independently and with different objects. What is wanted, however, is the controlling intelligence of a Government-appointed staff of workers. We ought to have a Government survey and record of every object of antiquity in our land, and at the back of this we ought to have Government control over every monument. Both in India and Malta the Government have expended, and are expending, moneys upon archæological surveys; and if in these branches of our Empire, why not in the home-land itself? Other countries are not so tardy. France and America have done work far in advance of England, and it is a burning shame to think of the yearly destruction going on, either from ignorant "restoration" so called or wanton mischief, and not a voice lifted up to say that it shall be no longer. Is it too much to ask our readers to band together into an "Ancient Monuments Legislation Association," to work towards the object that Mr. Roach Smith, in our last number, showed that he had suggested years ago—to endeavour to influence every representative in Parliament to recognize the claims of the monuments left to us by our ancestors? If *THE ANTIQUARY* succeeds in

doing this, it will be one of the proudest mementoes of its usefulness. Surely there is enough room for this good work. If every archæological society or club were to nominate one or more of its members to a central committee; if under the guidance of this central committee each society would set about compiling lists and facts concerning the ancient monuments within its jurisdiction, and then, with this accumulative power, the central committee were to frame a Bill to present before Parliament, and to obtain the assistance of members of Parliament, the country would begin to see that antiquaries were in earnest, and had really something to say on the subject. We are not without hopes that this may be done.

The Ancient Monuments Bill of the present year is not substantially different from its predecessors. The "Commissioners of Works" are appointed the guardians of the ancient monuments, and they have power to appoint inspectors, to inflict penalties for injury, to purchase or to receive as gifts any ancient monuments mentioned in the schedule to the Act. The list of ancient monuments thus to be dealt with is scanty enough, though it includes, no doubt, the most important belonging to the period of prehistoric archæology. They go as far back as the Neolithic age, and extend into the Anglo-Saxon period. Thus Stonehenge is Neolithic, Wayland Smith's cave Celtic or early Saxon. It is ominous to observe that the Bill of this year excludes the famous monument known as Cæsar's Camp, at Wimbledon. Is it because it has become past preserving—because the builders and the iconoclasts of to-day have taken legislation into their own hands and placed Cæsar's Camp out of the reach of the preservers of ancient monuments?

As the list of monuments to be dealt with has never yet appeared in the pages of *THE ANTIQUARY*, we record it here, and hope that its representative character may induce our readers to see how much even is as yet to be done to bring the ancient monuments of our land under the protecting powers of the Government.

LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS TO WHICH THE ACT APPLIES.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

The tumulus and dolmen, Plas Newydd, Anglesea.

The tumulus known as Wayland Smith's Forge, Ashbury, Berkshire.
 Uffington Castle, Berkshire.
 The stone circle known as Long Meg and her Daughters, near Penrith.
 The stone circle on Castle Rigg, near Keswick.
 The stone circles on Burn Moor, Cumberland.
 The stone circle known as The Nine Ladies, Stanton Moor, Derbyshire.
 The tumulus known as Arborlow, Derbyshire.
 Hob Hurst's House and Hut, Bastow Moor, Derbyshire.
 Minning Low, Brassington, Derbyshire.
 Arthur's Quoit, Gower, Llanridian, Glamorgan-shire.
 The tumulus at Uley, Gloucestershire.
 Kits Coty House, Aylesford, Kent.
 Danes Camp, Hardingstone, Northamptonshire.
 Castle Dykes, Farthingston, Northamptonshire.
 The Rollrich Stones, Oxfordshire.
 The Pentre Evan Cromlech, Nevern, Pembroke-shire.
 The ancient stones at Stanton Drew, Somersetshire.
 The chambered tumulus at Stoney Littleton, Wellow, Somersetshire.
 Cadbury Castle, Somersetshire.
 Mayborough, near Penrith, Westmoreland.
 Arthur's Round Table, Penrith.
 The group of stones known as Stonehenge, Old Sarum.
 The vallum at Abury, the Sarcen stones within the same, those along the Kennet Road, and the group between Abury and Beckhampton.
 The long barrow at West Kennet, near Marlborough.
 Silbury Hill, Abury.
 The dolmen (Devil's Den), near Marlborough.
 Barbury Castle, Ogbourne, Wilts.

SCOTLAND.

The Bass of Inverury, Aberdeenshire.
 The vitrified fort on the Hill of Noath, Rhynie, Aberdeenshire.
 The pillar and stone at Newton-in-the-Garioch, Culsalmond, Aberdeenshire.
 The circular-walled structures called "Edin's Hall," on Cockburn Law, Berwickshire.
 The British walled settlement enclosing huts at Harefauld in Lauderdale, Berwickshire.
 The Dun of Dornadilla, Durness, Sutherlandshire.
 The sculptured stone called Suenos Stone, near Forres, Elgin.
 The cross slab, with inscription, in the churchyard of St. Vigean, Forfarshire.
 The British forts, on the hills, called "The Black and White Catherthuns," Menmuir, Forfarshire.
 A group of remains and pillars, on a haugh at Clava, on the banks of the Nairn, Inverness.
 The Pictish Towers at Glenelg, Inverness.
 The Cairns, with chambers and galleries partially dilapidated, Minnigaff, Kirkcudbrightshire.
 The Catstane, an inscribed pillar, Kirkliston, Linlithgow.
 The Ring of Brogar and other stone pillars at Stennis in Orkney, and the neighbouring pillars.
 The Chambered mound of Maeshowe, Orkney.

The stones of Callernish, Uig, Ross.
 The Burgh of Clickanim, Shetland.
 The Pictish tower at Mousa in Shetland.
 The inscribed slab standing on the road-side leading from Wigton to Whithorn, and about a mile from Whithorn, Wigtonshire.
 Two stones with incised crosses, on a mound in a field at Llaggangairn, Wigtonshire.
 The pillars at Kirkmadrine, Wigtonshire.

IRELAND.

The earthen enclosure and mounds called the Navan Fort, Eglis, Armagh.
 Stone monuments and groups of sepulchral cists in Glen Maulin, Donegal.
 The earthen inclosure and Cromlech called the Giant's Ring near Ballylessan, Down.
 The earthen fort at Downpatrick (Dunkeltair), Down.
 Stone structure called Staigue Fort, Kerry.
 The earthen mound at Greenmount, Kerry.
 The stone monument at Ballyna, Mayo.
 Cairns and stone circles at Moytura, Mayo.
 The tumuli, New Grange, Knowth and Dowth, Meath.
 The earthworks on the hill of Tara.
 The earthworks at Teltown (Taltin).
 The earthworks at Wardstown (Taghta), Meath.
 The two central tumuli on the hills called Slieve Na Calliagh, Meath.
 The Cairn at Heapstown, Sligo.
 Sepulchral remains at Carrowmore. The cairn called Miscaun Mave or Knocknarea, Sligo.
 The cave containing Ogham inscribed stones at Drumloghan, Waterford.
 The stone monument called the Catstone and the cemetery on the hill of Usnagh, Westmeath.



Antiquarian Discoveries in Germany.

THE town of Eisenberg—known by the name of Rutiana in the time of the Romans—was recently the scene of an interesting discovery of Roman antiquities. These mostly consist of pottery ware, and prove the variety and perfection to which this branch of industry had arrived amongst the former occupants of the place. To the present day the clay of this particular district is esteemed in the higher branches of the ceramic art. In the immediate vicinity of the spot a potter's house and workshop were not long ago discovered during excavations connected with a Roman burying-place, which had already furnished objects of antiquarian interest to

the Nuremberg Museum. Thus the connection of this most recent discovery with the ancient local industry is established. The vessels found are of the substance known as *terra sigillata*, of yellow and blue colour, and in some cases glazed. A fragment of a fine bluish-grey dish bears the mark TAIVBA, a term which seems to be new to those best versed in the antiquarian lore of the Rhine districts. Some coins were also found which are considered to indicate the fact that this particular colony (about three miles to the west of Worms) was destroyed by fire about the end of the fourth century.

According to the *Bremer Nachrichten* (of Bremen) two interesting discoveries of pottery were made by country people, under almost similar circumstances, in the vicinity of Wehden and of Cassebruch. In the former case (in which the articles found are stated to be funeral urns) some of the vessels are of common clay, and are supposed to be 3,000 years old; while others, by their form and style of ornament, show a grade of advancement in ceramic art which indicates their probable age as not being more than 1,000 years. A number of objects connected with the pottery industry were found in the urns. In one of them was a smaller urn, with some remains of human bones. It is proved (according to the *Hanover Courier*) that it was an ancient custom to bury the remains of mother and child together when they both died at the birth of the latter. This is considered as the most acceptable explanation of the circumstance referred to. Some of the vessels found near Cassebruch are in a good state of preservation, and have a well-known form, being narrow at the upper and lower extremities and full in shape towards the centre. The largest are 12 inches high, with an extreme diameter of about 14 inches. They are of a brownish colour, and show traces of having been glazed. They have a high rim, and evidently once had both covers and handles. They were discovered only 12 inches below the surface, and must, it is considered, have suffered in condition from that reason.

During the last twelve months the members of the Rhenish Antiquarian Society have been actively prosecuting researches in their respective districts, the results of which have been

published in the Society's annals. Herr Keller, of Mayence, has been examining with minute attention such Roman antiquities as were met with during the progress of the sewerage works at that city. An altar of Jupiter bears only the initials of the dedicator (M. P. P.). Hence its exact date cannot be assigned. An interesting contribution is the description by Herr Hettner of a number of false moulds, for coins of dates ranging from about A.D. 193 to 235. The learned numismatist explains in detail his reasons for considering these *matrices* to have been intended for the manufacture of base coin. Professor Düntzer, of Cologne, has been investigating a gravestone of a veteran of the Twentieth Legion, and other objects found at Arnoldshöhe. These include a large head which he considers to belong to some representation of a *Deus Lunus*. Herr Dütschke, of Burg, near Magdeburg, records his views as to a bronze statuette shown at the Düsseldorf Exhibition, which had for some thirty years been at the Castle of Rheineck. He considers it is an image of the Emperor Caracalla, in the earlier part of his reign, and remarks that the excellence of design and workmanship shown in this figure prove what a degree of perfection this branch of art had reached at such an early period as that represented by the reign of the Emperor referred to.

Though not strictly within the limits of the subject of these remarks, the Austrian Archæological Expedition to Asia Minor merits attention, as the news received by the *Neue Freie Press*, of Vienna, records considerable activity on the part of all concerned. Attention has been given to the preparation of a road for the transport to the coast of the sculptures, &c., which may be selected, and though one half of the projected work has been executed, the most difficult portion of the task remains to be accomplished. It is intended for a part of the expedition to push forward, under the direction of Professor Petersen, for the purpose of exploring the ruins of a temple of Hecate at Lagina. Professor Benndorf remains at Göldagdsche in order to cope with the difficulties of the main expedition. The monument at that spot is of high antiquarian and artistic value, according to the opinion of the learned Professor

and his companions. It is considered that Attic workmen must have assisted in the erection of this monument, which was evidently intended to be in memory of some mountain prince whose seat of government was at this spot. In his attempts to decipher the ancient name of the city from the inscription, Professor Benndorf has traced more or less distinctly the name Trysa, or Tryssa.

Reviews.

A Critical inquiry into the Scottish Language, with a view of Illustrating the Rise and Progress of Civilization in Scotland. By FRANCISQUE MICHEL. (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1882.) 4to, pp. ix.-457.

THE veteran author, Francisque Michel, has come forward to give us what cannot but be considered a very remarkable book—remarkable for its varied learning, its historical and philological value, and for its “new departure” in the application of language to the elucidation of history. There can be no doubt that there is much yet to be done in the way of claiming the assistance of language in unlocking some of the hidden treasures of the past, and M. Michel has shown the way to one branch of it that has been somewhat neglected. We all know how the science of language has been applied to some of the higher branches of man's history—how it has traced out for us the lines of ethnological migrations and settlements; but in the humbler sphere, showing the influence of nations upon nations, the borrowings of one people from another, instead of the independent growths, we have not yet any important researches. M. Michel asks himself the question—What words of French origin have become incorporated in the Scotch language? The answer to this, occupying the very handsome volume before us, reveals unmistakably the fact that most, if not all, of the key words, relating to architecture, furniture, banquetting and rivers, clothing, fine arts, money, education, medicine, law, punishments, music, dances, &c., have been incorporated into the folk-speech of Scotland from the French. But, of course, the subject does not end here. M. Michel has far too wide a knowledge of his subject to leave it in skeleton form. He takes up the outlines of his first inquiry and proceeds to fill them in with the rich materials of his learning, and we soon find some interesting pictures rising before us, having for their object illustrations of the early history of civilization in Scotland. The mere incorporation of a word into a language does not tell us much, except we know when and under what circumstances that incorporation took place. In the examples M. Michel brings forward, it is shown that the words came with the objects themselves—or, rather, that before the coming of the words, the objects were absent from Scottish society. And

although, perhaps, we regretfully part with some of our old notions as to the indigenous growth of Scottish culture, although we have hitherto hesitated to trace the work of the Norman and of the later Frenchman on the northern portions of our island home, yet regret and hesitation soon give way before the new stores of knowledge M. Michel lays before us. We cannot give space for examples of the work; for these our readers must consult the book, which they will find very beautifully printed on handmade paper in all the best style of the celebrated house who issue it. M. Michel supplies a good index and useful appendices of words coming directly from the Norse, and words derived from the Celtic. It is a book that Scottish antiquaries cannot do without, and it will serve as a model for similar work elsewhere.

Notes from the Muniments of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, from the Twelfth to the Seventeenth Century. By WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY. (Oxford and London: Parker & Co. 1882.) 12mo, pp. viii.-148.

This is one of those remarkable little books that at once take the affection of the antiquary. He knows it is the work of an accomplished and sympathetic scholar, because, though it may chiefly consist of dry lists, yet there is the full charm of artistic treatment in every page. And then it gives such valuable information. It consists of memoranda made by the editor for his own use, while engaged upon a catalogue of the Magdalen College muniments, the total number of documents ranging to nearly fourteen thousand. They consist of copious materials for local and family history (*e.g.*, the families of Braose, De Quincy, Peche, Rich, Poer, St. Liz, Freyne, Multon, D'Amory and others), and the notes compiled by Mr. Macray give us ample indication of the value and importance of these muniments. The notes give the following information:—Masters of the Hospitals of St. John Baptist, Oxford; at Aynho; of SS. John and James, Brackley; of St. Leonard, Brackley; at Romney, Kent; Priors of Sele, Sussex; inventory of church goods at Selborne Priory; inventory of plate at Battle Abbey; expenses of a lawsuit A.D. 1264-6; letter to Bishop Wayneflete; terrier of Rowney Priory, Herts; inventory of goods at Wanborough Chapel, Wilts; extract from process against the last prior of Sele; inventory of goods of R. Bernys; bargain for property, 1513; example of Corrody; list of wills; list of letters in English; halls in Oxford; inns in Oxford; academic tradesmen; parochial clergy; report on the College almshouse, 1596; inventory of goods in Eastbourne Priory, Sussex; payments on settlement of Sir John Fastolf's affairs; quit rents in kind; land measures; prices; Christian names of men and women; surnames, seals, mottoes, &c.

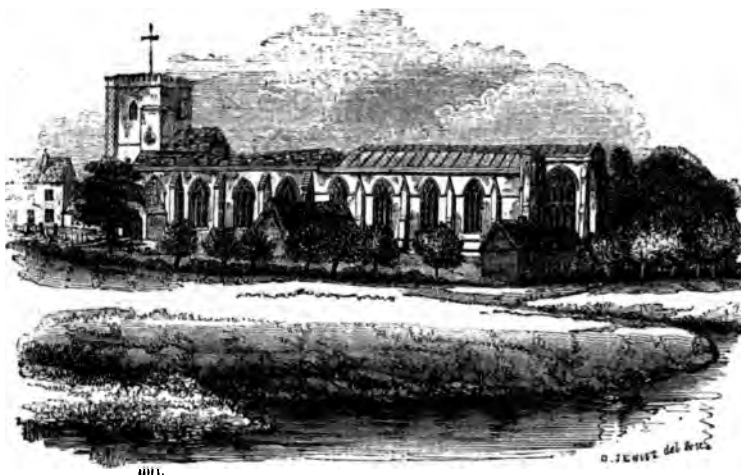
The History of Dorchester, Oxfordshire, British Earthworks, Roman Camp, Bishopric, and the Architectural History of the Church. Compiled from the best authorities, with a General Introduction by JOHN HENRY PARKER. (Oxford and London: Parker & Co. 1882.) 8vo, pp. xlviii.-104; xvi.-176.

We are not quite sure whether we are grateful enough to Mr. Parker for this book. That it is good

is to say that it is Mr. Parker's. But we must be pardoned for preferring a book which is wholly Mr. Parker's to one which is partly his and partly that of others. It is perfectly true that the "others" include the formidable name of Mr. Freeman, besides those of Mr. Barns and Mr. Macfarlane; still we should have preferred one whole piece of work from Mr. Parker to the volume before us. But here our grumbling ends. It relates to manner, not matter. We know quite well that Mr. Parker's love of architectural archæology has induced him to put together these valuable papers for the guidance of students, and that perhaps if he had had to do it in any other way we should not have had it at all.

Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, is a remarkably interesting place. It has British earthworks, Roman camp, and one of the finest abbey churches in England. The restoration of this magnificent church forms really the *raison d'être* of the volume before us. Com-

from the Rev. T. Barns on Dorchester in British and Roman times; Mr. James Parker's Lecture on the Earthworks; a short account of Dorchester, Past and Present, by the Rev. W. C. Macfarlane; Mr. Freeman's Essay on the architecture of the Abbey Church, written in 1851; and some account of the Abbey Church, by the Rev. H. Addington. We need scarcely say that here is material enough at all events to make up a really valuable and interesting history of Dorchester, and when we add that the pages are embellished by over fifty beautiful woodcuts by Mr. Orlando Jewitt, one of which we are permitted to reproduce, besides several excellent plans, we have said enough to show that nothing has been left undone that would in any way aid the student in understanding the architectural history he has before him.



ABBAY CHURCH, DORCHESTER, OXON.

mencing under the prescient guidance of Mr. Freeman when at Oxford years ago, the work of restoration has had a somewhat chequered career, according to the fashions of the times with regard to architectural antiquities, but Mr. Macfarlane has carried on the work throughout, and now Mr. Parker comes forward to give him his powerful assistance. We do not think restoration can go wrong under the guidance of such men as Mr. Freeman and Mr. Parker, and we therefore heartily wish the scheme every success, and recommend this valuable and interesting volume to the notice of our readers.

It would be impossible, in the space allotted to us, to go into the various interesting archæological matters which the history of Dorchester presents to us, and we therefore must content ourselves with giving a brief account of the contents of the volume before us. Mr. Parker opens with a general introduction; then we have extracts from Professor Hussey's account of the Roman road from Allchester to Dorchester; a letter

The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language: a Complete Encyclopædic Lexicon Library, Scientific and Technological. By JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D. New edition, carefully revised and greatly augmented. Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A. Vol. III., L—Scream. (London: Blackie & Son. 1882.) Roy. 8vo, pp. vi.-799.

This great work, the first and second volumes of which we have already had the pleasure of highly commending, is now rapidly arriving towards completion. We will quote the last article in the present volume, as it is a good example of the method upon which this dictionary has been planned—"SCREAM (skrēk) v.i. [an older and northern form of *screech*, *shriek*, which are weakened forms. Sw. *skrika*, Icel. *skrahja*, to screek. It is equivalent to *creak*, with prefixed intens. *s*, and is no doubt imitative. See SCREECH]. To utter suddenly a sharp, shrill sound or outcry; to scream or screech; also to creak, as a

door or wheel. Written also Screeke and Scribe.
See *Screech*.

I would become a cat
To combat with the creeping mouse
And scratch the *skreeking* rat.

Turberville."

The engravings continue to be admirably selected, and are a great assistance to the proper understanding of the letterpress. Many of these are of archaeological interest, such as that of some Lacustrine dwellings restored by Troyon, the various representations of disused musical instruments, and we may add that architectural details and articles of costume are specially well illustrated. We have tried the alphabet with several crucial words, but have not yet found it wanting, although in the present day it is by no means easy for the dictionary maker to keep up with the word manufacture now going on. He who has these four volumes at his right hand is not likely to be often at a loss for an explanation of English words either in use or out of use.

A Description of the Monument and Effigies in Porlock Church, Somerset. With Reasons deduced from the Documents pertaining to the Manor and Chantry of Porlock for attributing the Tomb to the Memory of John fourth Baron Harington, of Aldingham, and Elizabeth (Courtenay) his wife, afterwards wife of William Lord Bonville, of Chewton, Somerset. By MARIA HALLIDAY. (Torquay: Torquay Directory Company. 1882.) Roy. 8vo, pp. x.-80 (12 plates).

In the autumn of 1880, Mrs. Halliday happened to be in the beautiful village of Porlock, when a visit was proposed to the village church, a building in which she had hitherto taken no interest. From the circumstances attending the visit then made this charming book has grown. Porlock Church is dedicated to St. Dubricius, the first Bishop of Llandaff, who died A.D. 612. It is somewhat out of repair, and has few features of interest, but in this commonplace country church there is a stately altar tomb which has hitherto been without a history. "The effigies, executed in alabaster, no doubt from the quarries of Watchet, Somerset, were once richly painted and gilded according to the custom of the period . . . the position of the tomb is altogether anomalous; for though it stands under one of the arches (*i.e.* the easternmost) which divide the nave from the south aisle, its situation is clearly not the original site, because the arch runs through the soffit of the canopy; and further violence has been done to the west face of the canopy, in order to force in the tomb to its present place."

Curiously enough nothing seemed to be known of this beautiful monument. In Collinson's *Somerset*, mention is made of the "Effigies in the church at Porlock, of a Knight Templar and his lady," which is rather ludicrous, as the male figure is in plate armour, and could not therefore be a Templar, not to mention the absurdity of a Templar's wife. Savage, in his *History of Carhampton*, alludes to "Recumbent figures, male and female, in white marble," but, as already stated, the monument is of alabaster. Not

finding much help from the authorities, Mrs. Halliday set to work to seek further. Her first clue was the crest of the Haringtons, which she found on the helmet that underlies the knight's head in the tomb. Following this clue, and eliminating those members of the family to whom the tomb could not be attributed, she arrives at the conclusion that "there remains no other Harington, Baron and Lord of Porlock, to whom the tomb can possibly be ascribed, save John the fourth. Baron (d. 1417) with his lady" (Elizabeth, d. 1472). The steps by which this conclusion is arrived at, and the illustrative documents which go to prove it, are of considerable interest, but they must be sought for in the book itself. The plates showing the figures, the canopy (apparently of a later date), the details, the remains of the soffit, and the Easter tomb, are beautifully executed by Mr. Roscoe Gibbs, who has also written the notes explanatory of them.

We wish that the history of more of the monuments spread about the country were recorded in the same thorough and worthy manner that Mrs. Halliday has treated the Porlock monuments.

The Altus of St. Columbia. Edited with a Prose Paraphrase and Notes, by JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1882.) 4to, pp. iv.-48.

Lord Bute, who is well known as an author, from his translation of the *Roman Breviary*, has done good service in producing this handy and well-printed edition of one of the most interesting specimens of ancient Celtic Latin poetry, which has been ascribed to Columba in unbroken tradition from the Saint's own time. There is a swing about the rhymed Latin verse that makes it pleasant reading, but none the less will most readers be glad to use the paraphrase, for many passages are very difficult to construe. The illustrative notes also add to the interest of the work.

The Seals and Armorial Insignia of the University and Colleges of Cambridge. By W. H. St. J. Hope. Part I. The University. (London: W. Satchell. 1882.)

We heartily welcome this first part of what promises to be a most handsome and valuable work. There are eight seals of the University and University officers, three of which only are in use. The first seal of the University dates probably from the time of the Charter of Henry III., granted in 1261, and Mr. Hope has met with an impression attached to a deed dated 1291, which is among the muniments of Peterhouse. The shape of this seal is pointed oval, the centre is occupied by a representation of a chancellor, wearing a round cap and holding a book; he is seated on a chair between two disputing scholars. The three figures are contained within a straight-sided trefoiled arch, surmounted by a pediment, with the sun and moon on either side. The base is a four-arch bridge. The second University seal is of a somewhat similar design, but of a more ornate character. The earliest impression Mr. Hope has seen is appended to a deed dated 1420, at Trinity College. The third and present seal was given by Matthew Stokes, one of the Bedells in 1580. The five seals of the officers are, two of the Chancellor, two

of the Vice-Chancellor, and one of the Commissary. All these seals are carefully reproduced in Dallastype, and in addition there is a beautiful chromo-lithograph of a disused shield of arms of the University not recorded at the College of Arms. Of this, Mr. Hope gives some interesting particulars. If the remaining twenty-four parts are equally well-executed with the one before us, we shall possess a work of first-rate importance and a real addition to sigillarian literature.

History of Shorthand; with a Review of its Present Condition and Prospects in Europe and America. By THOMAS ANDERSON. (London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1882.) Sm. 8vo, pp. viii.-311.

The object which the author had in view in producing this useful volume appears to have been so to state the history of shorthand, and the present condition of the art, as to help on such improvements as he considers necessary. He holds that the constant issue of new systems is a symptom of dissatisfaction with the older ones, and that there is ground for hope that in the end a system both simple and accurate may be originated which will be universally adopted. A considerable space is devoted to the consideration of the archæology of shorthand, with the result of explaining the systems adopted by the Greeks and Romans, and here necessarily Tyro, the freedman of Cicero, holds a high place. The epochs of shorthand are stated to be—1, from the invention of writing till the date of Catiline's Conspiracy; 2, from the Conspiracy till the decline of the Roman Notes; 3, from the tenth till the sixteenth century; 4, from the date of Dr. Bright's publication down to the present time. The various foreign systems are described, and a bibliography of the subject and a list of shorthand writers are added. This book cannot fail to be of great use to lovers of shorthand, and will also be of considerable interest to the general reader.

The Spelling Experimenter and Phonetic Investigator. Conducted by W. R. EVANS. (London: F. Pitman. 1882.) 8vo, pp. iv.-132.

Why this strange production should have been sent to us we are at a loss to conceive, except upon the supposition—certainly not an unreasonable one—that THE ANTIQUARY, being "devoted to the study of the past," should take notice of such movements of the present day as are likely to be of interest to the antiquaries of the future when the present has itself become the "past." From this point of view, the *Spelling Experimenter* certainly deserves record as a link in the history of "Heterography," as it has been styled. The antiquary of the future will find in the pages of this little volume a great deal of interesting information about the inner life of the heterographic movement, of which Professor Sayce is at present the patron. Meanwhile, as the subject of phonetics is thus brought under our notice, we may say that it would be an exceedingly good thing if our younger antiquaries would acquire such an elementary knowledge of phonetics as to enable them at least to analyze the sounds of their own language. We should then be spared a good many of those haphazard etymologies that so disfigure many antiquarian works, in which Latin and Greek and Hebrew and Choctaw and Kamschatkan are mixed up in inextricable confusion.

An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Based on the Manuscript Collections of the late Joseph Bosworth, D.D., F.R.S. Edited and enlarged by F. NORTH-COTE TOLLER, M.A. Parts I.-II. A—Hwi. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1882.) 4to, pp. 576.

Dr. Bosworth, whose name is indissolubly associated with the study of the oldest form of the English language, published his *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar* in 1823, and his *Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language* in 1838. It might have been expected that a man who had so many years ago forged the tools with which generations of students have gratefully worked, would have been inclined to leave to younger men the task of bringing his Dictionary up to the requirements of the scholarship of to-day; but this was not the case. The study of Anglo-Saxon was the mainspring of Dr. Bosworth's life, and it was a beautiful sight to see the aged scholar toiling to the last at the work which formed a part of his very being. When he died he left his work fairly complete, but the 288 pages, which form the first part only, had been finally revised by him. Mr. Toller has therefore had a difficult task to perform, as he wished to work in the spirit of the author, and yet was often obliged to set aside the conclusions at which the author had arrived. He has acquitted himself in his task with great ability. As a whole, Mr. Toller has not altered the text to any considerable extent, but has left certain points of dispute to be treated in the preface or appendix when the work is completed. It is scarcely necessary to say how full this Dictionary is as compared with Dr. Bosworth's former one, but if this were not at once seen by the difference in size of the two books, it would soon be discovered by a reference to the list of books referred to. A large number of these books have been published long since Dr. Bosworth commenced his labours. In this list will be found the books we owe to the learning of Dr. Morris, Prof. Skeat, and Mr. Sweet, and it will also be noted that the works of the still earlier school of philologists have been issued since Dr. Bosworth's first Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. It is much in itself to be thankful for that the words collected in the publications of the Ælfric, Camden, and Early English Text Society should here be gathered up and garnered. The work is produced in that clear and compact style which the Clarendon Press has led us to expect in their fine series of Dictionaries. The issue of this work should form an era in the history of Anglo-Saxon studies. It has long been wanted, and will be heartily welcomed.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Society of Antiquaries.—June 8.—Mr. J. Evans, V.P., in the Chair.—Mr. A. W. Franks exhibited and presented a collection of architectural and topographical drawings by Samuel Lysons, the author of the "Reliquiæ Brit. Rom."

June 15.—The Earl of Carnarvon, President, in the Chair.—Mr. Milman gave an account of some early deeds relating to Burton Abbey exhibited by Mr. Henry Griffiths, one of which records a lost charter granted by Richard I. creating the borough of Burton.—Mr. G. Payne exhibited some pottery and glass found at Sittingbourne and drawings of mosaic pavement at Wingham, and Mr. Hodder E. Westropp a small bronze statuette of Apollo.

British Archaeological Association.—June 7.—The Rev. S. M. Mayhew in the Chair.—It was announced that the Duke of Somerset had been elected President of the Association for the ensuing year, and that the annual congress would commence at Plymouth on the 21st of August. Mr. J. Gunn called attention to the mutilation, many years ago, of some of the piers supporting the central tower and spire of Norwich Cathedral, and made suggestions for their being strengthened.—Mr. E. Way exhibited a number of Roman articles found in Southwark.—Mr. C. D. Sherborn produced a representative collection of flint and stone implements from America and European countries.—Mr. C. H. Compton described a fine collection of fictile objects, some from Athens, and many recently discovered in London, among which was a standing lamp of leather, formed evidently by compression in a mould.—Mr. L. Brock exhibited a series of Venetian beads found in Aldgate.—The Chairman described a large number of beautiful objects which he produced, among which a jewelled cross and a silver cover to a Roman thurible were of great interest.—The first Paper, on "Cuddy's Cove, Northumberland," by Dr. A. C. Fryer, treated of a little-known natural cavern, the traditional place of abode of St. Cuthbert.—The second Paper was by Dr. J. Stevens, on "Urn Burials at Basingstoke." During some recent building works two grave-like excavations in the chalk have been found in which were various food vessels and other vases of late British date. All appearance of interments apart from these had disappeared.—The third Paper was by Mr. W. Myers, on "A Roman Villa at Benizza, near Corfu."

Archæological Institute.—June 1.—Mr. J. Hilton in the Chair.—Capt. E. Hoare read a Paper on "Egyptian Sepulchral Statuettes," by Dr. Birch, with some introductory remarks by himself. Mr. W. M. F. Petrie gave a detailed account of a collection of antiquities from Egypt, including several glass figures of great rarity and portions of glass inlay.—Sir H. Dryden sent a photograph of a draught-man of walrus tooth, and a drawing of an early chess piece found at the same place.—Mr. J. G. Waller gave an interesting description of the silver "cassa" carried in the Corpus Christi procession at Genoa.—The Rev. W. Loftie exhibited a fine Egyptian bracelet of thick gold wire from Sakkara, and an earthenware vase inscribed with the name and titles of Necho, the Pharaoh who slew Josiah, King of Judah, circa 600 B.C.—Capt. Hoare exhibited an Egyptian sepulchral statuette of great rarity, covered with hieroglyphics on all sides, which, in rare fashion, read in vertical lines from bottom to the top.—Mrs. Rudyerd sent a holograph letter of "Lady Elizabeth, first daughter of Scotland," Queen of Bohemia, and "Queen of Hearts," to Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.

VOL. VI.

Society of Biblical Archaeology.—June 6.—Dr. S. Birch, President, in the Chair.—The following Papers were read:—"The Epoch of Joseph: Amenhotep IV. as the Pharaoh of the Famine," by Mr. L. Lund; and on "The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions," by Prof. Sayce.

Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.—Annual Meeting, June 9.—Mr. James Bryce, M.P., in the Chair.—The report of the work of the Society during the past year was read by Mr. William Morris. There are hopeful signs of the impression which the Society has made in awakening a keener interest in the preservation of those relics of art and history which yet remain to us. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that this matter of the preservation of ancient buildings is one of those cases in which there is no time to spare. At the beginning of the year, in order to raise money for necessary expenses, it was determined to give a series of lectures on matters connected with art. Several gentlemen kindly offered their services to the Society, and the receipts of money from this source were considerable. Messrs. Macmillan have undertaken the publication of these lectures, which are now in the press. They are as follows:—Mr. Reg. S. Poole on the "Egyptian Tombs;" Prof. W. B. Richmond on "Italian Fresco-painting;" Mr. E. J. Poynter on "Decorative Painting;" Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite on "English Parish Churches;" Mr. William Morris on "The History of Pattern-designing and on the Lesser Arts of Life." The report read by Mr. Morris contains a long list of cases in which the Society took steps to prevent the destruction of, or injury to, some ancient building; in many cases a deputation of two or more members of the Society visited the building and made a careful survey and report about it. These reports formed the basis for practical suggestions as to what ought or ought not to be done in the special case. In many cases the advice of the Society has been thankfully received, and then carefully acted upon. In other less successful instances the Society's protests have acted as a check, and prevented a great deal of harm which would otherwise have been done.

Royal Asiatic Society.—June 19.—Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., President in the Chair.—A Paper was read by Mr. Holt on "The Importance of the Study of Chinese Literature, with Especial Reference to the Chinese Library of the Society, recently catalogued by him." Mr. Holt showed that there was good evidence for a very early communication from near Martaban, or along the valley of the Irawaddy, to the North-west capital of China, then at Se-ngan-foo or Honan-Foo. He argued that the name of "China" was derived from the Indians, who first knew China, and was not due to the Tsin dynasty, but, more probably, came from the name of the compass, specimens of which were supplied to the early envoys, the Chinese being thus known in India as the "Compass people," just as the Seres, another Chinese population, derived their Western name from "Silk." That the knowledge of this fact was lost to both Indians and Chinese is clear from the use by Hiouen-Tsang and later writers of two symbols to designate the country, as these, while giving the sound of "Che-ha," indicate that they are substitutes for original words of like sounds, the true sense of which cannot now be

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recovered. Having shown that M. Reinaud's view of an intercourse between China and Egypt in the first century A.D. has no real foundation, Mr. Holt further stated that there was no evidence of an embassy from M. Aurelius having gone *by sea* to China in A.D. 166. In conclusion, he urged that, in his judgment, there was no proof whatever of any knowledge of a maritime way to China before the fourth century A.D., the voyage, even of Fahian, at that period, being open to serious criticism. He believes, therefore, with M. Gosselin, that the Catigara of Ptolemy was probably not far from the present Martaban, and that India for a considerable period, up to the seventh century A.D., dominated over Cambodia.

July 3.—Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., President, in the Chair.—Papers were read by Mr. W. Simpson on "Buddhist Caves in Afghanistan," and on "The Identification of a Sculptured Tope with Sanchi;" also, by Mr. C. Gardner, on "Written and Unwritten Chinese Laws."

Royal Society of Literature.—June 28.—Mr. Joseph Haynes in the Chair.—Mr. Alfred Marks read a Paper on "The 'St. Anne' of Leonardo da Vinci."

Philological Society.—June 16.—Dr. J. A. H. Murray, President, in the Chair.—The Papers read were:—(1) "Some Latin Etymologies," by Prof. Postgate. (2) "On the Distribution of Celtic Placewords," by Mr. Walter R. Browne. This Paper was illustrated by a list of the principal first elements of Celtic place-names (aber-, ben-, &c.), with numbers to show the relative frequency of their occurrence in Wales, the Lowlands and Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland. The materials were drawn from the exhaustive list of Irish townlands given in the Census records, the Welsh and Scotch names being taken from MacCorquodale's *Gazetteer*; Mr. Skene's results for Scotland being also added. Mr. Browne said that the result of his tabulation was that it failed to show the existence of a Kymric language in Scotland at all; that the existence of a Kymric population in the Lowlands, although it may be true historically, has left no mark whatever on the place-names of the district. The table shows that, while many names are peculiar to a single one of the four districts (such as Bettws to Wales), while others are common only to two or three out of them, some, lastly, being common to all four, there is only one—viz., *pen*—which is common to Wales and the Lowlands of Scotland only. (The Highland *pens* are really corruptions of different words.) Even this example is open to doubt, for in the Lowlands *pen* appears to be mainly used in the sense of "hill," which is not the case with the Welsh *pen* = "head." The Lowland *pen* is probably a mere corruption of the Highland *ben*.

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.—June 15.—Annual Meeting.—Prof. C. T. Newton in the chair.—The following is the substance of the report of the Council. The most important event in the history of the Society during the past year was its share in Mr. Ramsay's Phrygian expedition. On the whole, the Society might fairly be congratulated on the result of its first venture in the field of exploration, and feel encouraged to further efforts in the same direction. With a view to carrying

into effect one of the principal objects indicated in the Society's rules, the Council had sanctioned the reproduction by photography of the famous Laurentian Codex of Sophocles, provided that one hundred subscribers could be found at £6 each, the total cost for one hundred copies being calculated not to exceed £600. A circular would be issued to members, and the Council hoped that there would be no difficulty in making up the subscription. Another appeal which the Council had decided to sanction, though undertaking no responsibility, was for a fund of £500, to enable Mr. Ramsay to fulfil the conditions of an Extraordinary Fellowship, to which, in the interests of archaeology, one of the colleges at Oxford was prepared to appoint him, with a view to his continuing his researches in Asia Minor. The Council thought that this appeal deserved the hearty support of members of the Society. The fund would be administered by a committee appointed by the subscribers. The Council then stated that since the last annual meeting arrangements had been made for the use by members of the various books and periodicals which had been acquired by the Society.

Anthropological Institute.—June 27.—Gen. Pitt-Rivers, President, in the Chair.—Mr. Villiers Stuart, M.P., exhibited and described a drawing of the funeral canopy or tent of an Egyptian queen, and some casts of bas-reliefs discovered by him within a short distance of the tent.—Mr. E. H. Man read a further account of the natives of the Andaman Islands, in which he treated more particularly of their home life.—A communication was received from Mr. H. C. R. Becher on some Mexican terra-cotta figures found near the ancient pyramids of San Juan Teotihuacan; from a comparison of these figures with those in the museum at Palermo, the author argued that they were produced by people of the same race, and that the builders of the ancient monuments were Phœnicians.

PROVINCIAL.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.—June 14.—The concluding meeting of the present session, Sir Wm. Fettes Douglas in the Chair.—The first Paper read was a notice of "Newark Castle," Renfrewshire, by George W. Browne. The first notice of the ancient barony of Newark which he had found was in 1373, and the earliest notice of the place of Newark in 1484. The oldest portion of the existing castle was probably built by George Maxwell, of Newark, about the middle of the fifteenth century, and the more modern part at the close of the sixteenth century by Patrick Maxwell, whose monogram appears in the window-heads and the tympanum of the entrance door. Here also is carved the legend, "The blissingis of God be heirin," and the date 1597. The earlier parts of the building are the two blocks forming the southern extremities of the eastern and western wings.—The second Paper was a notice of "Recent Discoveries of Coins in Scotland," by George Sim, in which the different varieties of coins found in the deposits, recovered by Exchequer, and submitted for examination, were detailed.—Rev. George Gordon contributed a notice of "A Hoard of Silver Pennies, chiefly of Henry III. of England, with a few of

William the Lion of Scotland," found at Cauldhame, near Keith, in Banffshire; and Mr. Edward Burns added a notice of the interesting points connected with the history of the coinages which the preservation of such hoards would elucidate. Dr. Gordon presented three of the coins to the Museum.—Dr. John Alexander Smith gave a notice of a "Stone Celt," found on the farm of Stobshiel, which he presented to the Museum, and of a cinerary urn found on the same farm, and presented by Mr. John Hyslop, the farmer; also of a cinerary urn found on the farm of Quarryford, and presented by the Marquis of Tweeddale; and an urn of the so-called drinking cup type, found on the farm of Drem, and presented by Mr. J. Reid.—Mr. W. Lowson gave an account of a number of cinerary urns, found in a sand-pit at Magdalen Bridge, near Joppa. The urns, nine in number, have been presented to the Museum. One of the largest was presented by Mr. C. W. Cathcart; a portion of another by Charles Gordon, and seven by Mr. Lowson.—Rev. James Peter contributed a notice of some stone implements found in Old Deer, Aberdeenshire, which had been presented, through him, to the Museum.—Miss C. MacLagan, Stirling, sent some notes on the stone forts of Argyleshire and the Western Isles; and Mr. W. G. T. Watt described the excavation of the Broch of Burwick, near Stromness.—Dr. R. Angus Smith, of Manchester, contributed the results of a curious investigation on the "Archæology of the Voice;" and the Rev. Dr. MacLachlan (Vice-President) gave some notices of his observations of a kindred nature, on the Celtic tone remaining in districts where the language had ceased to be spoken.—Mr. John Sturrock exhibited and described a series of stone lamps, recently found in the parishes of Monikie and Inverarity, Forfarshire.—The next Paper was a short notice of some antiquities observed in the island of Tiree, by Mr. J. Sands, the chief of which were the duns, or hill tops, fortified by dry stone walls. Of these, Mr. Sands enumerated thirteen, and in some of them he found pottery and implements of bone.—Mr. Angus J. Beaton communicated a second notice of the antiquities of the Black Isle, Ross-shire, relating chiefly to the Drumnamarg and Belmaduthy districts, in which are the circular structure called Fort Allanriach, the remains of a circular structure called "The Temple," and several burial cairns and cists.—Mr. M. W. Taylor contributed a notice of a sculptured stone, with cup and ring markings, which formed the cover of a cist recently discovered at Redhills, near Penrith, containing an interment after cremation, but no pottery and no implements.—Rev. J. M. Joass exhibited a curious quadrangular brooch, found at Seiberscross, in Sutherland.—Mr. J. B. Murdoch exhibited and described the circumstances of the discovery of a very large polished celt or axe-head of felstone, 13 inches in length, which was found recently on the estate of Naemoor, the property of Mr. J. J. Moubray, in the parish of Muckhart, Kinross-shire. The celt was found in digging a drain in a field near the bank of the Devon, and near it were two slabs of wood, about 6 feet long by 16 inches wide and 2½ inches thick at one side, running to an edge at the other side.

Batley Antiquarian Society.—June 9.—The members visited Almondbury, near Huddersfield, and

were met at the Parish Church by the Rev. Canon Hulbert, M.A., vicar, who conducted them through the sacred structure (of which he is publishing the annals), and pointed out the various objects of beauty and antiquity in the church and side chapel, and also some curiosities from his own library, such as a copy of Tyndall's New Testament, 1552, and *Valerius Maximus*, 1478, and the late Mr. Nowell's copy of the first Almondbury Parochial Register, 1557 to 1653. They also visited Wormald's Hall, and proceeded thence to Castle Hill. They had a fine view of the surrounding country and the ancient ramparts of this Saxon fortification, which were explained by Canon Hulbert.

Tettenhall Antiquarian Society.—May 29 to June 3.—Annual Summer Meeting.—Mr. J. Jones, President.—Albrighton and Donington were first visited. The tower and nave of Albrighton Church are Early English, the lower part of the tower being the oldest portion. The chancel is Decorated, and contains some very fine monuments of the Shrewsbury family. The greater part of the nave and south aisle was restored in 1853. During the excavations a fine altar tomb was discovered, eighteen inches below the floor. It is in excellent preservation, and is covered with different armorial shields, some of which have been recognized as belonging to several families in the neighbourhood. It is now placed outside the church, in the angle formed by the south aisle and chancel. Near to it are the remains of an old Saxon cross, restored in 1855, and now surmounted by a floreated cross. Donington Church is chiefly fourteenth century, but was entirely restored two years ago. Below the rocky eminence on which the church is built is a medicinal spring, known as St. Cuthbert's Well. In Donington Churchyard there are also the remains of an old Saxon cross; the cable ornament on the base is in excellent preservation. It is now surmounted by a sun-dial. Tong was next visited. After an inspection of the church, which contains some of the finest monuments in the Midland Counties, the Society visited the old Abbey ruins. In the tower of this church is a very large bell, weighing seven tons, very rarely used now on account of the shaky condition of the edifice. In this churchyard there is also an old Saxon cross, not in such good preservation as those at Albrighton and Donington. Codsall was next visited. After an inspection of the church, which contains some very fine monuments of the Wrottesly family, the party went to inspect the old Roman remains in Wrottesly Park, which Plot supposes to have been a Roman city of considerable importance. Camden believes it to be one of the Roman stations. Very little traces of the remains are now visible, owing to the cultivation of the land, but there are still preserved at Wrottesly Hall some large squared stones, evidently once used in the fortifications, which have been found in the park. A visit was then made to Pattingham. Half way to Pattingham, at a place called Merton Hill, is a narrow winding lane, along which His Majesty Charles II. journeyed when he escaped from Worcester, on his way to Boscobel. The Society were also shown an old fireplace, cut in the solid rock, once part of a cottage, where local tradition has it that the king halted and refreshed himself before proceeding on his journey. On arriving at Pattingham

a visit was made to the church, which is dedicated to St. Chad. Nave and chancel are Early English, tower Perpendicular. There is very little of interest in this church, it having been restored about ten years ago. In the churchyard are the remains of an old Roman cross, very well preserved. Some portion of the base and shaft were restored in 1850.

Belfast Field Naturalists' Club.—June meeting. —It was reported that a very interesting discovery of an ancient Celtic settlement had just been made in Lough Mourne, near Belfast. The lake is being drained with the object of constructing waterworks to supply Belfast with pure water, and as the level was lowered the remains of four crannogs or lake dwellings were exposed to view. Others are gradually emerging as the water drains off, and are said to be unusually good examples of these primitive homes. The timber piles on which they were built retain their shape and position, but are soft as sponges. Marks of the sharp instrument that fashioned them may still be seen, but the exceedingly treacherous and slippery state of the mud in which they are imbedded prevents, as yet, a thorough examination of the huts they supported. A canoe of the dug-out form generally found in such remains has been discovered, and a row of piles leading shorewards proves that the inhabitants of the crannogs had a causeway of a rough sort, and did not depend entirely on the canoe which, as an old chronicle, quoted in the *Ulster Archaeological Journal* states, was for the use of the chief. Such crannogs have been found in many parts of Ulster, and one was not long since examined in Ballylough, in county Antrim. There can be little doubt that a rich find will reward the exploration of the Club, who are undertaking the careful investigation of the Lough. A sub-committee was appointed, in whose hands have been placed funds for the requisite works, and as the gentlemen of the committee are members of the Royal Irish Academy, and well known as antiquaries, the results of their labours are eagerly looked for.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—Meeting at Haddington.—May 31.—The hills were first visited. The large circular British camp on Kae Heugh is triple-ringed on three sides, and is defended by a precipice on the fourth. It has been placed on a bare rock-scalp, and there are no tokens of hut circles or interior erections, and it is apparently waterless. It is said this camp is visible from another eminence near Newbattle, in Mid-Lothian. The site of "the Chesters" was not seen, nor the more peculiarly fortified hill above Drem (Drem Hill), said to be Pictish. There are Pictish, or at least Gaelic, place-names in the vicinity, such as Drem, Kilduff, Ballencreeff, but these indicate a newer stratum of history than that characterized by the rude hill forts and their outlying burial places, with inartistic clay urns and slab cists. Returning to Haddington, some of the more antique buildings were pointed out by Mr. James Robb. The Earl of Bothwell's house, called in the records of Haddington "the town house of the Master of Hailes," that bore many tokens of antiquity in its turret staircase, its effaced coat of arms, and its patched walls and roof, was entered and ascended. The story is that Queen Mary, in flying from Borthwick Castle to Dunbar in the disguise of a page, changed her attire here, and then continued her flight

to join Bothwell. Old houses with similar turnpike stairs were seen in the Nungate, a very old suburb of the town, and in another of the streets of Haddington. In the Nungate the chief object is St. Martin's Chapel in ruins, one of the very early ecclesiastical buildings of Scotland still extant, though now becoming dilapidated, and not over well kept. Alexander de St. Martin signs as a witness the charter of the Countess Ada, mother of Malcolm and William, Kings of the Scots, of a toft of land in Haddington to St. Andrews. This was before 1178, when she died, and possibly before the death of Malcolm (1165), as she mentions by name only her husband Henry, who died in 1152, to be benefited by the services which the gift secured. St. Martin gifted the nuns with the "lands and tenements of St. Martin'sgate, with the mills, and other, their various pertinents." But the early documents containing the particulars of the donation were burnt in the time of Edward III., before 1359, when they were renewed in substance. When he transferred the lands of St. Martin's Gate to the abbey, the patronage of the chapel followed the lands, and the nuns possessed this privilege. Nun's Gate has superseded the original designation of St. Martin's Gate. Another Alexander de St. Martin signs the charter of William de Malvoisin about the vicarage of Haddington; and a confirmation of it also, by Bishop David de Bernham, which is dated at Tynningham, 1240. He was, perhaps, master of the convent of nuns at the Abbey, and possibly a descendant of the earlier Alexander. The church edifice belongs to the transition between the Norman and first pointed period, subsequent to the death of David I. (1153). The long and narrow lanciform windows of one light more or less nearly flush with the external wall, and opening inwardly with a deep and wide splay, universally obtain in the smaller churches of the first pointed period. At present the eastern end is terminated by an arch, but there are traces on the walls that there had been an apse attached to complete the structure, as seen in other churches of that age, in which some form of window, or a combination of narrow lights, was situated. In more modern times the pulpit was placed in the north-east corner, and when, on some occasion, excavations were made where it stood, a pit filled with human bones was discovered underneath. The property at Giffordgate, reputed to have been the small heritage of the ancestors of John Knox, the Scottish Reformer, was pointed out; but the old dwelling on it has been replaced by a substitute. The name Giffordgate is very old. The nuns of the Abbey had an annual rent of one merk out of a certain field (*terra campestre*) near "Guffardgate" granted them by Simeon de Sal-toun. This was confirmed to them in 1359. In 1576, William, Lord Hay de Yester, held the lands of Giffertgate and the superiority of the same. The site of St. Catherine's Chapel, so particularly noticed in Knox's *History of the Reformation*, under date 1549, is ascertained by the name of "Katie's Garden," still subsisting; that of the Minorite, or Franciscan, Monastery is occupied by the present Episcopal Church. The church of this monastery, in one of its phases, was, owing to the splendour of the light that flashed from its windows, and the sumptuousness of its architecture, generally known as the "Lamp of Lothian." This was burnt by Edward III. in 1355. From the

Chamberlain Rolls, we learn that it was rebuilding in 1362. It survived the Reformation, but in 1572 the east gable was granted to Thomas Cockburn of Clerkington, to be demolished and carried away; and the pavement was transported to the parish church (St. Mary's), and laid there. The monastery appears on record in 1281, in the reign of Alexander III., but may belong to the previous reign. There was an altar to St. Duthac in the Minorite Church. The church of St. Mary's was gifted to St. Andrews by David I. before 1147, that being the date of the death of the second witness to its charter—John, Bishop of Glasgow; and the renewal of this charter by William may in a similar manner be ascertained to have been before 1166. The present edifice belongs to the second pointed period; and the architecture of the tower has third pointed features. The eastern portion, now roofless, stands on a foundation of a different level from that division occupied as the parish church, which is thought to be of more recent construction. Some of the sculpturing on the eastern portion and above the western door is in admirable preservation. The mason marks were mostly on the western end. Besides the altar of the Virgin, we read of that of St. Blaise, the woolcomber's patron, and the chapelry of the "Holie Blood" within the Collegiate Church of Haddington. It is worthy of note that in the pew in the parish church which is devoted to the use of the municipality of the burgh the old Episcopal service books, which were in use during the thirty years that Episcopacy was the established religion of Scotland, are still in their places: they have never been removed. Curious old pre-Reformation alms-dishes were seen, as well as a valuable solid silver chalice, which had been in use for the last 250 years in the parish church.—After dinner a Paper was read by Mr. Hardy, "On the Seals of the Burgh and Corporation of Berwick-upon-Tweed." It was occasioned by the recent discovery, near Morpeth, of a leaden seal of Henry IV., with the arms of Berwick, being an impression of the great seal of the realm, as the inscription purports, for his land beyond the Tweed. A cast of this, communicated by Mr. Woodman, Stobhill, Morpeth, was exhibited, also a tracing of the burgh arms in the reign of Alexander II., and impressions of the present Mayorial and Corporation seals of this ancient town.

Keith Field Club.—June 12.—The ground chosen for the sixth excursion was the Kirk of Mortlach and Balvenie Castle. Malcolm II. defeated the Danes here in 1010. It is also told in certain records that, in fulfilment of a vow made, he added three spear-lengths to the church, in gratitude for the victory, and a mark is yet left in the wall where it is said to have been joined. It is further noted that a number of the heads of the slain were built into the wall; but a more graceful expression of the king's gratitude was the creation of a bishopric, called the Bishopric of Mortlach, being the second in Scotland. The See was translated by David I. from Mortlach to Aberdeen, by a charter dated July 30, anno 1142. We understand relics of the battle have at various times been dug up in the neighbourhood. On the "haugh" below the church there was examined an upright stone, some seven or eight feet in height and two in breadth, evidently of very ancient date, but unfortunately there

is no key to its history. Certain of the sculptured figures are easily enough made out, such as a horse and rider, a bull's head, and a serpent, on one side, with what appears to be two upright fishes on the other. After lingering as long as time would admit, the party walked down Dulan side, passing the site of the bishop's palace in early days. On reaching the old castle of Balvenie a halt was made, and old Mr. Coutts, the respected keeper of the ancient pile, at once joined the party, and, beginning at the mottoes and heraldry on the outer walls, went over the whole place, pointing out everything of any note. The walls are of great strength and thickness, and the east side, known as the Pictish Tower, is in splendid preservation, it having, we understand, been despoiled of its roof within recent years.

Liverpool Naturalists' Field Club.—June 8.—The second field meeting was held at Malpas. At Edge Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Dod met them. The garden is on the site of the old moat. The present house, which is very picturesque both in structure and situation, is of about the time of Charles I., but there are vestiges of an ancient mansion, probably the original residence of the family, who date back to the time of Henry II. An Edward Dod was Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of James I. From Edge Hall the route lay across the park and through a dingle, hiding an old mill, then up the meadows by Kidnall and under Overton Scar, passing the gipsy caves in the rock by Chorlton Hall, the seat of Sir William Hamilton, to Overton Hall, the summer abode of Mrs. Gregson. The chief part of the building is now a farmhouse, adapted to dairy purposes, but some additions have been made to accommodate the family when they seek retirement. A part of the old building in the Cheshire half-timbered style remains, and also of the moat with an old pointed stone arch.

Alford Field Club and Scientific Society.—June 3.—A visit was made to Cairn Cur on the borders of Terpersie and Warrackston. Part of this cairn was opened some years ago, when stone coffins and an urn were found. A large part has, however, been left untouched, and it was resolved that the Society should undertake to explore the remainder if leave were obtained. Thereafter earth dwellings on the hill east of the farm of Hillock and on the Hill of Drumbarton were visited, as were also the Thieves' Slack and the Clatterin' Kists. The Thieves' Slack seems to have been a resort of cattle-lifting marauders. It is very near the old North and South Road, which was then the chief highway in the county.—A Paper was read by Mr. Pithie, on "Terpersie Castle," Terpersie, or as it is sometimes called Dalpersie Castle, is situated in Glen of Terpersie, in the parish of Tullynessle and Forbes. The clay plastered walls, the dingy, ill-lighted rooms, the great thickness of the walls, seem to correspond with the rugged character of the times, and would indicate more the den of the robber than the abode of the chivalrous knight. The original building is a parallelogram, which measures 28 feet by 18 feet, and is defended at opposite corners by two circular towers. That portion, which is now falling most rapidly into decay, was built after the main structure, about the year 1600, it is said. The foundation of this portion is bad, mostly sand, and as

there was a hollow immediately behind it, which was frequently full of water, the foundations have been gradually undermined, and now a considerable portion of the newer part is about to fall. In the older portion, the whole internal accommodation—*i.e.*, without the newer part—was three chief rooms, one in each floor, and the smaller rooms in the towers, used possibly as bedrooms. The fireplace was in the east wall. In the basement the fireplace has been built up. The entrance door, which faced the east, is now within that portion of building which is rapidly falling. It was, however, the original entrance. Here was a massive door, and behind it a ponderous bolt. Into the mason work the bolt slipped as far as to allow the door to close, when the bolt was again brought forward and placed in a similar hole on the other side. The walls are well supplied with loopholes three inches wide in the outside, but extending to about two feet in the inside, giving a very wide range to the defenders, and a very small mark to those who dared to assault it. Nor is this all, the flanking towers are liberally supplied with similar loopholes. This is a peculiar arrangement, and one which would allow the defenders to sweep away their enemies from every portion of the house. The ground floor of the towers are vaulted, and may have been used as places of confinement for prisoners. The stairs form part of the towers, and are supported on corbels. The house contains the usual complement of hiding-places and secret repositories. The latter had been apparently used for deeds and charters, and had stone slides which could be drawn out and in. The date on the house is 1561, with the boar's head, and in another place the letter "G." The castle belonged to a cadet of the Gordon family. The traditional account of the origin of the name is as follows:—A knight came to Scotland in the time of Malcolm Canmore. The borders were then devastated by a huge boar, which this knight killed, and received the name "Gored down" in consequence. Whatever be the origin of the name, it is generally agreed that Adam de Gordon is the founder of the family which soon had possessions in various parts of Scotland. The Terpersie branch sprang from the Lesmoir family, whose castle was near the old church of Essie. James Gordon, the first of the Lesmoir family, lived in the time of James III., and was succeeded by his son James, who was the father of William of Terpersie. This William of Terpersie's brother had the lands of Easter Crichtie granted him by Royal charter, dated 1555. George lost his lands after the battle of Corrichie, but was re-instated in 1567.

Nairn Literary Institute.—July 1.—Field Excursion.—The party started for Lochindorb, visiting various points of interest along the route. Dr. Grigor gave an interesting account of the castle. Lochindorb was in times long gone by the great stronghold of the Comyns, Cumins, or Cummings of Badenoch, the descendants of an early and distinguished historian and statesman of France, Philippe de Comines. This great name appears from time to time in the early history of Scotland, indeed from the time of Malcolm Canmore, in the eleventh century, and contemporaneous with William the Conqueror—the first one being Robert Comyn, a fighting Norman follower of King William's; but, perhaps, the first real celebrity was

William de Comyn, chancellor to David I. Then, after a generation or two, we have another William, created Earl of Menteith and Lord of Badenoch, to whom the estate and loch of Lochindorb and other Scotch possessions were given in royal grants; and thus the house of Comyn was founded. With John the Red Comyn the name of Comyn was proscribed and thus came to an end. For some thirty years after that the castle seems to have been given by the royal grant of David II. to the Constable of Edinburgh Castle, and it was during this period that the famous siege of Lochindorb took place. We have then King Robert II. giving "the strong castle" of Lochindorb and the investiture of the lordships of Badenoch, and Buchan—parts of the old inheritance of the Comyns—to his brother Alexander. It seems to have been of the period of Norman architecture in England or of Scotch Romanesque in Scotland—a style that continued about 100 years. This grim fortified island, rivalling, as we are told, in its extent and power of defence the fortresses of royalty with its surroundings, must then have formed an interesting though a gloomy picture—a fit scene for the last days and death of the Black Comyn, who was the third Earl of Badenoch. On the south side of the loch—the nearest point to the Castle—tradition has it that there the besieging force of King Edward lay. If the position was ever marked by any irregular camping ground or moat, these are effaced. Whatever implements of destruction they had—probably only stones—no part of the destroyed walls could be the result of the force of the catapults and engines in use at that time. The destruction we now see has been produced by the ruthless hand of time, and what had been carried out by the Thane of Cawdor, who had been empowered to destroy it by the king. For this work of demolition the Thane got the sum of £24. The present tower of Cawdor was then being built, and we have some evidence of one thing being removed from this old keep to it—*viz.*, the iron gate which now forms the doorway into the old tower of Cawdor, and exactly above which we have the machicolations or projecting gallery for the purpose of defence, and through which boiling lead or various missiles could be sent down on the heads of the intruding enemy. This iron gate had been carried on the back of a Highland Samson across the hills and moors, from the one keep to the other. Previous to 1606 the estate of Lochindorb was part of the large land holdings of the Earl of Moray, who sold it, "lake, buildings, and adjoining sheilings," to Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, when the work of demolition was almost finished, leaving the ruin as we now see it. The deed of sale betwixt the Earl of Moray and Sir John Campbell is extant. Lochindorb was then transferred by the Campbells of Cawdor by excambion or exchange to the Seafeld estates, in whose hands it now is.

Caradoc Field Club.—June 16.—The first meeting of the season was held, a large number of members starting for the Black Hill. Some remarkable erratic boulders scattered on the hill attracted attention. The President (Rev. J. De la Touche), in giving a short address on the geological features of the surrounding country, threw out the suggestion that these boulders might have been transported originally from the bed

of conglomerate which lies to the west of the Longmynd. Moving down the hill the main body proceeded to the site of a supposed British cromlech, where a Paper was read by Mr. Luff, of Clun. They next visited, under the guidance of Rev. C. Warner, the Vicar, the fine old church of Clun, a magnificent specimen of Norman architecture, not long since restored by the late Mr. Street.

[We have been compelled to postpone our reports of the Meetings of Shropshire Archaeological Society, and Surrey Archaeological Society.]



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Popular Names of Tumuli.—*The Devil's Bible*, a small valluted work, much resembling an open book. Glynde, Sussex.—Lower: *Hist. Sussex*, i. 196.

Spinster's Rock, a cromlech on Dartmoor, so called from a tradition that three spinsters, or unmarried damsels, constructed it one morning for amusement before breakfast.—*Saturday Magazine*, September 29, 1838, p. 144.

Fairies' Tomb.—Long-chambered tumulus of an oval shape, measuring 150 feet from north to south and 75 from east to west, about 15 miles from the sea, in the ancient forest of Selwood.—*Journal Archaeological Association*, xxxii. 178.

Hickathrift.—A mound close to the Smeeth Road Station, between Lynn and Wisbech, is called the Giant's Grave, and the inhabitants relate that there lie the remains of the great giant slain by Hickathrift with the cart wheel and axletree. A cross was erected upon it, and is to be seen in the neighbouring churchyard of Torrington St. John's, bearing the singular name of Hickathrift Candlestick.—*Journal Archaeological Association*, xxxv. 11.

Maiden Bower Crag.—About a mile eastward from Dumfriess, is a rock or Craig curiously hollowed, known by this name.—*Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, v. 132.

Pooka's (the) Grave.—A deep-trench tomb, situate in the townland of Ballymartin, a mile to the south-west of Sisterling, on the borders of the baronies of Ida and Knocktopher, but within the latter. It is about fourteen feet long and four wide, its sides secured by coarse upright flags. It lies east and west.—*Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, i. p. 12.

Ancient Mexican Education of Youth.—In a series of ancient Aztec paintings, which give a hieroglyphical history of the Aztecs, are represented the manner in which children were brought up, the portion of food allowed them, the labours they were employed in, and the punishments resorted to by parents for purposes of correction. Purchas relates that the book containing this picture-history, with interpretations made by natives, was obtained by the Spanish Governor, who intended it for a present to the Emperor Charles V. The ship on which it was carried was captured by a French man-of-war, and the book fell into the hands of the French King's geographer, Andrew Thevet. At his death it was

purchased for twenty French crowns by Richard Hakluyt, then chaplain to the English ambassador at the French Court, and was left by him in his last will and testament to Samuel Purchas, who had woodcut copies made from the original, and published them, with explanatory text, for the benefit of science and learning. In that part of the work which relates to the bringing up and education of children, a boy and girl with their father and mother are depicted; three small circles, each of which is given in the chapter which represents one year, show that the children are three years of age, while the good counsel they are receiving issues visibly from the father's lips; half an oval, divided in its breadth, shows that at this age they were allowed half a cake of bread at each meal. During their fourth and fifth years the boys are accustomed to light bodily labour, such as carrying light burdens, while the girl is shown a distaff by her mother, and instructed in its use. At this age their ration of bread is a whole cake. During their sixth and seventh the pictures show how the parents begin to make their children useful. The boy follows his father to the market-place, carrying a light load, and while there occupies himself in gathering up grains of corn or other trifles that happen to be spilt about the stalls. The girl is represented as spinning under the close surveillance of her mother, who lectures and directs her at the same time. The allowance of bread is now a cake and a half, and continues to be so till the children have reached their thirteenth year. We are next shown the various modes of punishing unruly children. When eight years old they were merely shown the instruments of punishment as a warning. At ten, boys who were disobedient and rebellious were bound hand and foot and pricked in different parts of the body with thorns of the maguey; girls were only pricked in the hands and wrists; if this did not suffice they were beaten with sticks. If they were unruly when eleven years of age they were held over a pile of burning chile, and forced to inhale the smoke, which caused great pain. At twelve years of age a bad boy was bound hand and foot and exposed naked in a damp place during an entire day; the naughty girl of the same age was obliged to rise in the middle of the night and sweep the whole house. From the age of thirteen years the allowance of bread was increased to two cakes. Between the ages of thirteen and fifteen the boys were employed in bringing wood from the mountains by land or in canoes, or in catching fish; the girls spent their time in grinding corn, cooking, and weaving. At fifteen, the boys were delivered to the priests to receive religious instruction, or were educated as soldiers by an officer called Achcauhli.—*The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, ii., 240-242.

Dates and Styles of Churches.

York Minster.—(Communicated by Mr. Thomas Powell.)

Western Towers, Perpendicular . . .	1430-1470
Central Tower, Perpendicular, parts of it Norman	1400-1420
Nave, Decorated (Gothic)	1291-1345
West Front, Pure Gothic	1291-1345

North Transept, Early English (Lancet Arch, Gothic, Double Aisles) .	1228-1240
South Transept, Early English (Lancet Arch, Gothic, Double Aisles) .	1230-1256
Choir, Perpendicular, Vaulted Roof	1373-1400
Choir Screen, exquisite Tabernacle work	1475-1485
Lady Chapel, Perpendicular . .	1363-1373
Chapter House, Decorated (finest in existence)	1300-1330
Crypt, Norman (parts of Norman Chancel may be seen), Saxon (some Saxon fragments in the Crypt) .	1070-1170

Staffordshire Churches.—(Communicated by Mr. J. Jones.)

Brewood (St. Mary's): Early English, tower Perpendicular; peal of six bells; register dates from 1562.

Bushbury (St. Mary's): Gothic; peal of six bells; register dates from 1700.

Codrall (St. Nicholas'): Tower, nave, and chancel, Early English; nave, chancel, and south aisle rebuilt in 1848; peal of six bells; register dates from 1587.

Pattingham (St. Chad's): Nave and chancel, Early English; tower, Decorated; peal of six bells; register dates from 1556.

Patshull (St. Mary's): Italian, dome-top tower; peal of six bells; register dates from 1559.

Penkridge (St. Michael's): Gothic; peal of eight bells; register dates from 1575.

Penn (St. Bartholomew's): Tower, nave, and aisles, Early English; chancel and chancel aisle, Decorated; peal of six bells; register dates from 1570.

Tattenhall (St. Michael and All Angels'): Tower, nave, and north aisle, Early English; chancel, Decorated; peal of six bells; register dates from 1606.

Trysull (All Saints'): Chancel, nave, and aisles, Early English; tower, Norman; five bells; register dates from 1561.

Willenhall (St. Giles'): Decorated Early English; peal of six bells; register dates from 1642.

Wombourne (St. Benedict): Tower, Perpendicular; nave, aisles, and chancel, Decorated; peal of six bells; register dates from 1570.

[Further contributions have been received and will be printed in due course.]

The Apostles of Toulouse (Communicated by William E. A. Axon).—Amongst the curious matters in the Sloane MSS. there is a modern prophecy which deserves to be resuscitated, if only for the sake of the circumstantial comprehensiveness of its melancholy vaticination. The original of the prophecy has probably been some French broadside or folk-book. There are two versions—one in Dutch and the other in English—both giving the same alarming and mysterious account. The following is copied *verbatim, literatim, et punctuatim* from the Sloane MS. 647.4, fol. 86:—

"A Coppye of A wonderfull prophecye of two Old Men who now are in ye city Thoulouse, in the Province of Languedoc.

"A few daies agoe there came into this City Thoulouse Two Old Persons, who are called Apostles,

haveing the Spirit & Truth; No man hath seen them come into the Citye; The garments they weare are not according to ye Ordinary fashion, Their like hath not been seen by any, & they goe preaching through ye foresaid Citye to bringe the folke to Conversion, & to ye Leauing of their wicked liues; Also that God is greatly Angrye aganst Rome; They say that this City is a Second Sodom, That ye unrighteousness of ye people is come up to Heaven & that within three months (if they bee not convirted) The city shall bee Consumed with fire. And haueing preached eight daies long in ye city, with folded hands, uncoverd heads, & naked feet, They are by the City forbidden to Preach, whereupon they Answered, That they were sent from (or by) God to bring the folke to Conversion. Men have set y^m in prison, where the Jesuits have visited them, disputing with them in the Latine, Hebrew & Caldee Tounes; They also know them that live wicked liues; Their Eating & drinking Consists of Bread and water. They name ye very day when the Lord shall Come; And when they were askt, when the Time (or day) of judgm^t should come; It was by them Answered, that ye world shall come to an end in the year 1690; & y^t the first day of that year shall be ye last day of the World; They say that they are a thousand yeares Old. Furthermore being asked by the Magistraet from whence they came, it was by y^m answered from Galia-don in Damas a City of Galilee; Sent from God to preach repentance to the World. The Jesuits have Sought of ye magistrts that they may be carried unto Rome, to his holiness; The Apostles Sayd they knew well the thing that should fall out, & that there was noe need for y^m to lye so magnificently in Chaines; & that they had great desire to goe to Rome; therewithall breaking their chaines in peeces; At which the People stood in amazement, & they were iudged to be Saints; They haue Prophecied That in ye year 1681 there should bee War going through the world, 1682 Noe Pope; 1683 they y^m selves shall preach through ye whole world; 1684 the Lord Christ shall bee made knownc. 1685 A great Person shall stand up. 1686 There shall bee a great Earthquake. 1687 Affrica shall bee consumed by fire. 1688, The four Parts of ye world shall stand in great amazement (or wonderment). And in the year 1689 shall be ye time when God shall come to Judge mankind."

This is endorsed "Languedoc prophets' prophecy. 1680."

A difficulty with most modern prophecies is that they carefully avoid precise dates, and if the Apostles of Toulouse had been wise in their day and generation, they would have been equally reticent. The particularity of dates is, however, atoned for by the very general character of the events indicated. That a person should "stand up" in 1685 is finely balanced by the conflagration of an entire quarter of the world in 1687. Positively the last appearance of the world is announced for 1689. Like other popular favourites, the old globe has had many last performances advertised. We cannot say "superfluous lags the veteran on the stage," but we may apply the words rightly or wrongly attributed to Galileo, and say that, in spite of the Apostles who foretold its stoppage in 1689, *E pur si muove*.

Antiquarian News.

What has been thought to be an ancient grave has been come upon by the workmen in the employment of the road trustees at Kelso. The colour of the soil for a certain space favours this idea, but as yet the bottom has not been reached. The foundations of buildings have been dug up in two places, the mortar was still adhering to the stones when they were thrown out. The buildings do not seem to have been either of size or importance. In addition to other chiselled stones, part of the upper stone of a quern, formed of a very friable rock, has been unearthed, as well as two or three round freestone balls. A "whorl" of a spindle, fragments of pottery, fragments of horses' shoes, &c., have also been found. The quantity of stones which have been excavated continues to be large. A considerable portion of a strong wall formed of large hewn stones has been laid bare.

A *History of Colchester Castle*, which is to contain much fresh material connected with the architecture and the associations of this interesting old relic, will shortly be published by Messrs. Benham, of Colchester.

During the additions and alterations to Tickford Abbey, Bucks, for Philip Butler, Esq., now being carried out under Mr. E. Swinfen Harris, jun., a number of stones, chiefly archivolts, were discovered built in at random into an old chimney of huge dimensions which had to be removed; some are of the Transitional period, many of thirteenth-century work, and a few portions of vaulting ribs of fifteenth century work. There is also a singularly beautiful cap, of thirteenth century work, belonging to a nook shaft. The whole will be carefully built into a new wall in such a way as to preserve them from the weather, and, at the same time, to allow them to be studied by any persons interested.

A curious case was recently heard before the magistrates of the Division of Hatherleigh, arising out of the old Devonshire custom of "mock stag hunting," or "skimiting riding." It would appear that this old custom was originally introduced in the Devonshire villages, as a means of showing the disapprobation that the villagers had towards any licentious or immoral personage, and is carried on in the following manner:—The villagers assemble in large numbers and select one of themselves to act the part of the hunted stag; the remainder of the party, some on horseback, wearing hunting and other costumes and with horns, being the huntsmen and the hounds. The stag, being previously disguised with antlers and other paraphernalia, is given a few yards' start, and forthwith runs, pursued by the huntsmen and the hounds, up and down the village, in and out of the courts and passages, and is eventually pulled down at or near to the house of the offending person, where there is much blowing of horns, and shouting and spilling of blood (which has been got ready for the purpose in bladders), to render the scene more realistic. The custom in various forms has great antiquity, and has been in many ways the subject of litigation. Its deathblow was, however, given by the decision in *Papping v.*

Maynard, wherein it was decided that this hunt or "Skimiting Riding" was a game within the meaning of the Highway Act, and rendered the players therein liable to a penalty not exceeding 40s. By this decision it would appear clear that the custom can no longer be legally continued in its original form, accompanied with running and shouting. The Buddhists of India recognise the fact that there are social and moral evils which do not come within the pale of the remedies afforded by the law, and in a modified form the mock stag-hunting or skimiting riding is recognized among certain castes as the proper mode of punishment—the only difference in the form of the custom carried on in India and in Devonshire being that in the former place the offender himself is hunted, and when caught, mutilated, whereas, in Devonshire, the mock stag is only caught near the offender's house, to show that his crime is known and universally condemned by the neighbours.

Among several interesting paintings lately uncovered during the excavations in a garden of Region VIII., at Pompeii, there was one the subject of which seems identical with the Judgment of Solomon. In this mural painting the figures are all pigmies. In the centre is a bench with three judges; kneeling at their feet, in an attitude of prayer, is a woman; further towards the foreground is a butcher's table, and upon it a naked babe, which a man is preparing to kill with a large knife, while beside him stands a second woman with an indifferent air. Soldiers and people close the scene.

Recently, as the shepherd on the farm of Glengyle, at the upper end of Loch Katrine, was casting peats in a moss near his house, he found a wooden box embedded in the moss a foot and a half below the surface. On an examination of the contents of the box, he discovered some two or three swords and two or three muskets in a pretty good state of preservation. One of the swords was four feet long. The find is generally considered a relict of "the bold outlaw," Rob Roy M'Gregor, or others of his confederates.

There are few churches in Yorkshire more interesting, whether architecturally or historically, than the Church of St. Mary at Birkin. Built in the twelfth century, it originally consisted only of a two-storeyed tower, a nave with high-pitched roof, the housing of which is distinctly marked on the wall of the tower—a chancel, and an apse. Whether it owed its existence to a Count de Lacey, to whose family the Conqueror had given a large tract of land in the district, or to a fraternity of Knight Templars, who established a preceptory in the parish at Temple Hirst, is uncertain. A monument, recessed in the north wall, and representing a knight recumbent and cross-legged, but unarmed, with the hands closed in prayer, bareheaded, and habited in a loose robe, conveys the impression that either some dignitary of the Order selected this as his burial-place, or that it was some of the community who had survived the suppression of his Order. In the fourteenth century the south wall of the nave, as far as the chancel arch, was taken down, and a south aisle, or chantry, erected in decorated Gothic, the tracery in the windows being flamboyant. At the east end of the aisle there is still a very perfect piscina,

and in the transporting of the original Norman south door to a corresponding position in this Gothic aisle a striking tribute is paid to its great beauty. It was at this time that the tower was raised to its present height of three storeys, having four windows of two lights, an embattled parapet, with eight crocketed pinnacles and four gurgoyles. It is not known whether the fabric or its internal fittings underwent any alteration at the time of the Reformation, but there is abundant evidence that it received severe handling during the time of the Commonwealth. A monument in the chancel states that the then rector, Robert Thornton, was deposed from his living for his loyalty, and dragged ignominiously at a horse's tail to Cawood Castle. As to the treatment of the church itself, the fact that the present pulpit and communion rails are Caroline, that the font (a singular production) bears the date of 1663, and that the chalice was purchased for the use of the parishioners of Birkin in 1662, all testify that the spirit of mischief was rife in those days. At this moment, it is said, the church stands greatly in need of repairs. The draining of the churchyard within the last fifteen years has had a disastrous effect upon the church itself. Serious cracks have appeared in the chancel arch, along the entire length of the chancel ceiling, and in almost all the windows of the chancel and the apse, particularly the latter. Mr. Scott has undertaken to superintend the work of reparation.

In pulling down an architect's house in the Rue Vieille du Temple, No. 26, in Paris, some workmen have discovered, hidden in an old wall, a copper vessel, said to contain forty kilogrammes of gold coins of the reigns of Jean le Bon and Charles V. Supposing the quantity of gold to be really as large as represented, it would be worth as metal alone over five thousand pounds sterling. Information was given to the Commissary of Police, who decided not to interfere in the matter, as the discovery was made upon private property.

Satisfactory progress is being made with the work of restoring Penkridge Parish Church, which has been closed since May 1. On removing the floor of the church many bones and skulls were discovered, more or less near the surface, and on one day no less than ten barrow-loads were removed to a grave dug on the south side of the tower, where all the remains found will be buried, and the place marked by a cross. The tower arch, which had been bricked up, has been pierced, displaying the west window, one of the beauties of the church. During the clearing out of the church one or two objects of interest have been found; some ancient encaustic tiles here and there, and three slabs marking the resting-places of those whose names are inscribed on them. One of these lies near the centre pillar of the nave on the south side, of which sufficient of the inscription is visible to mark the spot as the vault of the Eggington family of Rodbaston, whose mural tablet may be seen over the south porch. Another is near the south-east pillar of the nave, and a third is under the site of the Teddesley pew, and marks the burial-place of Edward Littleton, late of Pileton, and Susanna his wife, who died respectively in 1704 and 1722. These two evidently lie in a vault which extends from under the west

window of the south aisle, the entrance to which is distinguishable from the inside of the vault, in which lie the bodies of the late Sir E. Littleton and Frances his wife, which was laid bare when the old woodwork was removed.

The estate near Brading, in the Isle of Wight, on which the very interesting Roman villa was recently discovered, has been purchased for Lady Oglander, of Nunwell, the representative of the oldest family on the island, the Oglanders having owned Nunwell since the Conquest.

The church of St. Mary, South Cowton, built in the reign of Henry VI., is about to be restored.

Lauder Parish Church has been for some time under repairs and cleaning. This church was built in 1673, is both plain and pretentious, being built in the form of a cross, with a spire in the centre, and appears to have been covered with thatch in the olden time. It was repaired in 1822, an additional gallery put in, and part of the basement seated. It was all re-seated and new galleries erected in 1864. The original parish church was situated in front of Thurlstone Castle, the seat of the Earls of Lauderdale, about half a mile from the town. In the reign of David I. the advowson, along with nearly the whole of Lauderdale, was given to Sir Hugh Morville, constable of Scotland; and through many a changeable age it continued an appurtenant of the manor, till it passed into the possession of Devongillar, the wife of the first John Baliol. By this lady the church, with its pertinents, was given to the monks of Dryburgh, and it continued to be a vicarage under them till the Reformation. In July, 1482, the church in front of the castle was the scene of the meeting of the Scotch nobles, which issued in the murder of James III.'s menials on Lauder Bridge, and in the capture and imprisonment of the king. These nobles—the Earls of Angus ("Bell the Cat"), Huntly, Lennox, Buchan, and others—entered the king's lodging at Lauder, where he was encamped with a weak army to resist the Duke of Albany, who had invaded Scotland under the protection of King Edward, where they accused him of adverse things contrary to his honour and the common weal of his realm. They then took Thomas Cochran, called the Earl of Mar, William Rodger, and James Hommil, a tailor, and hanged them over Lauder Bridge. This bridge has long since gone, and all traces of it are lost. When the site of the church was changed from the castle to the town, a number of tombstones were brought up to the present churchyard, where they can be readily distinguished by their dates and quaint inscriptions. Many of the ministers of Lauder parish have been men of mark, and among them James Guthrie the martyr, who was ordained in 1642. He preached before Parliament in 1649, and was translated to Stirling in the same year.

The completion of the restoration of Cardington Church, by the re-opening of the tower, was celebrated on June 28. The fine old parish church, dedicated to St. James, is a stone building in which three distinct eras of building are very plainly marked. Portions of the church are 700 years old, and the architecture of the Norman, Early English, and Gothic periods are visible in its construction. For sixteen

years the work of restoring this grand structure has been carried on. First, the chancel and the nave was done, this portion being opened on September 11, 1868, and now the entire completion of the work is signalled by the re-opening of the embattled tower. Entering the church through a handsome porch, there is an oak tablet bearing date 1639. The roof is open, showing massive cross beams of oak. In the nave is a handsome monument erected to the memory of William Leighton, of Plaish Hall, a judge, and one of the Council of the Marches of Wales, who died on December 20, 1607. A curious legend is extant here about this same gentleman. He lived at Plaish Hall, a remarkably fine old mansion in the Tudor style, about two miles from Cardington. Surmounting this mansion are seven chimneys built in the most eccentric and beautiful varieties of style. Some are built with serrated edges, looking like a giant corkscrew, and others in fanciful diamond patterns. The legend has it that the secret of the building of these chimneys was known only to one workman. This unfortunate man was, it appears, brought before the judge charged with some offence of a trivial character, but, in those days, punished by death. The judge condemned the unhappy man to death, but finding no one able to complete his chimneys, reprieved him until the work was finished, and then he was hanged. The old gallery, formerly in the interior of the church, has been removed, and an arch built as an entrance under the tower. The tower was the most in need of restoration and repair of any portion of the sacred edifice. It is square, and of considerable height. The parish registers date from the year 1598. The old registers are written on parchment, and are most carefully preserved.

The Annual Congress of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, will be opened at Llanrwst on Monday, July 31, and will continue the four following days. Among the objects to be visited are the inscribed stones at Pentrevoelas, Penmachno, and Guytherin, effigies and brasses at Bettws-y-coed, Yspytty Evan, and Llanrwst Church. The opening of a tumulus at Llangerniew will also be an interesting part of the proceedings.

While engaged in digging gravel on the estate of Mr. H. H. Gibbs, of Aldenham House, near Watford, two labourers made a remarkable discovery of old coins. The treasure was contained in an earthenware pot. It consisted of more than two hundred and fifty coins, mostly belonging to the reign of Queen Anne. They are in an excellent state of preservation.

St. Peter's Church at Willerby, near Scarborough, has been re-opened. The sacred edifice is a very ancient one, its erection dating back to the year 1180. The structure got into such a dilapidated condition that a thorough restoration was determined upon. This renovation commenced about ten months ago. The floor was completely taken away, and the workmen found two feet beneath the surface of the nave an old stone altar, on which was very distinctly carved five crosses. They also brought to light the base of an old font and channels for holy water, and traces also of a Norman building were discerned. The tower is a later work, having been built in 1400, and this

and the porch remained intact. The church has in other respects had to be repaired, the walls have been pointed, and new stones have been inserted where necessary. New window mullions have been put in.

Some interesting objects which have just been found in Neuchatel are considered by Swiss archaeologists to throw a new light on the history of the lake-dwellers, and the discovery is consequently looked upon as one of importance. Amongst the objects are a carriage-wheel with iron rim, iron swords, and many human bones.

The late Sir William Heathcote's Hursley estates, near Winchester, the outlying portions of which are about to be sold, have, *Land* says, an interesting history. Purchased about 1639, from Sir Gerard Napier, by a certain Mr. Richard Major, a man of great fortune, the property was carried by his daughter and co-heiress, Dorothy, to Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the Protector. The marriage, which took place in 1649, was a very good thing for Mr. Major. The influence with Cromwell which it gave him procured his return to Parliament as Member for Southampton, and his appointment to the Privy Council when Cromwell became Protector. Mr. Major reached the highest pinnacle of his dignity when his son-in-law succeeded as Lord Protector, but Richard Cromwell's deposition, and the Restoration which followed, seem to have broken him down, and he died in 1660 at the early age of fifty-six. Hursley was the only estate belonging to the deposed Protector which the Government did not seize, in consequence of its being settled upon his wife and her issue. Upon the death of Dorothy Cromwell in 1675, her eldest surviving son, Oliver, succeeded to Hursley. When, in 1705, Oliver Cromwell, the son of Richard and Dorothy, died, his father, who was still living, became entitled under the settlement to a life interest in the estate, and his daughters took possession on his behalf. These ladies had a devout belief in the efficacy of possession, and refused to give up Hursley, proposing instead to allow their father a small pension. It was, indeed, not until he put the law in motion against his daughters that he recovered possession. After their father's death, in 1712, the daughters sold the Hursley estates for £35,000 to Sir William Heathcote, Bart. The estates have now been in the possession of the Heathcotes for 170 years.

A destructive fire took place on July 4 at the White Hart Hotel, Silver Street, Hull. This building is an ancient one and celebrated for its oak room, traditionally known as "The Plotting Parlour." The premises underwent, some time ago, great structural alterations, the old oak staircase and the "Plotting Parlour" being preserved intact. The White Hart Inn was built about 1550, by Thomas Allured, who in 1561 was Mayor of Hull, and in 1577 represented the borough in Parliament. It subsequently came into the possession of his grandson, Thos. Allured, who was one of the seventy judges who signed the death-warrant of Charles I. Sir John Hotham, a military Governor of Hull, occupied the house by virtue of his official position, and "it was during the residence here of this soldier that the house came

into prominence, for in the oak room, or 'Plotting Parlour,' as it was afterwards called, was held the council of war, over which Sir John Hotham presided, and at which it was resolved to refuse King Charles admittance within the gates of Hull." The old oak staircase, the chimney corners, and the plotting parlour, with its secret panel, remained in very much the same state as they were two or three hundred years since, especially the staircase and the parlour. Fortunately the "Plotting Parlour," although seriously damaged, is not destroyed. The building otherwise, however, is practically a ruin.

It is highly probable that the work of restoring the grand old Parish Church of Chard will be commenced forthwith. The necessary faculty has been obtained.

Mr. George W. Marshall has just issued *The Visitation of Wiltshire*, taken in 1623, by Henry St. George, Richmond, and Samson Lennard, Bluemantle, Marshals and Deputies to William Camden, Clarenceux. This is the original *Visitation*, signed by the heads of the families whose pedigrees are entered. It will be printed *verbatim* from the original manuscript, and illustrated with facsimiles of arms and seals, and uniform in size and type with the publications of the Harleian Society. Many of the *Visitations* already printed differ so widely from the MS. they profess to reproduce, as to interfere very much with their value to students of genealogy; hence this work has been undertaken as an example of what is the most useful method of reproducing a Herald's Visitation.

A Committee has been formed in London for the preservation of the magnificent Church at Blythburgh, Suffolk, now on the verge of ruin. The Church is one of the finest specimens of semi-Flemish thirteenth century architecture in this country; and the Committee seek the assistance of those who would regret to think that such a fabric should become a ruin, and this will be inevitable in the course of a very short time, unless an immediate effort be made to avert such a catastrophe. The Bishop of Norwich has ordered the Church to be closed, for it is no longer safe in its present state. The late Mr. Street, R.A., had, within a few weeks of his death, examined and reported upon the building. The sum required for even ordinary repair is far in excess of the amount which can be collected by the Local Committee. The General Committee, therefore, appeal to all who are interested in the preservation of our grand old churches and monuments for help in this great work, by donations, or by acting upon the Committee. In consequence of Mr. Street's decease, the Committee have conferred with Mr. A. W. Blomfield, M.A., the eminent architect, who is willing to take up the work. Subscriptions, or promises of assistance, will be gladly acknowledged, and any information will be given by S. Sutherland Safford, Esq., of 4, Garden Court, Temple, E.C.

A curious bronze flagon has been found on the East Sands of St. Andrews. The banks and hollows of the Sands are continually changing, but they have lately been doing so to an unusual extent. In one place a bed of clay was exposed, and there the bronze flagon was found half buried. It has three legs, and is 8½ in. high. The shape is very elegant; but whether

it is Roman, British, or Scandinavian it is difficult to say. The metal is commonly called Celtic brass, and is the same colour as gold. Though it has been cast in one piece it bears no trace of a mould mark, but has a plentiful supply of air-holes instead, and there are two circular holes in the neck which almost appear to have been drilled. In July, 1863, a flagon almost identically the same was found near Biggar, the inside of which was as bright as if it had been fresh from the foundry, causing its discoverer to imagine that his fortune was made. And there is another very similar to it in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum, which was found while draining the Loch of Leys in Kincardineshire.

In the north wall of the old choir of the Parish Church of Auldearn there is a stone with the following inscription:—"This Monument is erected be Sir Robert Innes Younger of that Ilk, in memorie of Alexander Drummond of Meedhope, Sir Johne Murray and Maister Gideon Murray, who lyes heir interred, who fighting waiantly in defence of their Religion, King, and native Countrie died at Aulderne, 9th May 1645." We are sorry to hear that the stone of this interesting monument is fast going to decay, part of the inscription is already illegible, and the whole of it will soon have scaled off.

Mr. Alexander Maxwell has in the press a *History of Old Dundee*, narrated out of the Town Council Register, and other sources. This work extends over an interesting period in Scottish history, and narrates local incidents which are connected with events of great national concern—from the Reformation to the Union. This was a period of great progress. The multiplication of books had stimulated the desire for learning, and the ancient Grammar School began to flourish with vigour; a Music School was established; and the old Library was enlarged. Then we learn how, in times of danger, the inhabitants were mustered for "wapinshawing," for holding rendezvous, and for keeping watch and ward; and how, in ordinary seasons, they were restrained from "tuilzie" and riot, by the shortening of their swords, and the imposition of penalties for slaughter and for "bluidwite." Also, about the strange punishments that were administered: how drunkards were cast into the thief's hole, or subject to an assize of neighbours; how blasphemers were summarily put to silence by having their heads enclosed in the branks; how offenders against morality were, at mid-day, publicly set in the gyves, or "doukit" in the sea; how brawlers who had disobeyed magistrates were made to expiate the offence upon their knees at the Market Cross; and how viragoes who had banned their neighbours were placed ignominiously in the cuck-stool.

We are glad to notice that Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps has published a much enlarged edition of his valuable *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*. The first edition was privately printed, and therefore very few readers were made acquainted with the author's remarkable discoveries.

A valuable and interesting painting, writes the Geneva correspondent of the *Daily News*, has lately been recovered at Baden, in canton Aargau. The history of this painting—one of Annibale Caracci's

masterpieces—is remarkable. The convent at Baden owed its existence to the “passionate preaching” of two Capucin friars, whose names “in religion” were Ludovicus and Saxonia. The members of the Diet of 1588, which met at Baden—still a Catholic town—were so impressed by the preaching of these friars, that it was resolved to commemorate their services by building a convent and a chapel. The project was warmly supported by the ambassadors of France and Spain, and large sums of money were collected for its execution. The Spanish ambassador paid for the construction of the high altar, and his master, Philip II., presented for its adornment a painting by Caracci. In 1593 the convent church was opened with an imposing ceremony, at which officiated the Suffragan of Balthazar, Bishop of Constance. A century or so thereafter—nobody knows exactly when—the painting was handed over to a local artist to be cleaned and touched up. The local artist did his work so badly that the monks, instead of replacing it in its former position, put the picture away in a lumber-room. In 1841, when the convents of the canton were secularized, the gift of Philip II. was, among other things, sold by auction for a few francs. The buyer was about to turn it to use as a piece of old canvas, when Herr Brunner, father of the present proprietor of the Ship Hotel at Baden, bought it from him for next to nothing, and without having any idea of its value, hung it up in his house. A few months ago it occurred to the present Herr Brunner to have the painting cleaned and restored, and he sent it for that purpose to Cæsar, the famous picture cleaner of Augsburg. When the thick coating of dust and dirt was removed, the identity of the painting with the renowned altar-piece of Philip II. was discovered; and as it bears the artist's signature, Annibal Carracci Bononius, and the date 1592, there can be no question that it is really a work of that master. The canvas is 318 centimetres high by 217 wide. The figures, of which there are five, are life size.

A movement has been set on foot for the purpose of raising a suitable memorial to Samuel Pepys, in the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, where he was buried. An influential committee has been formed for the purpose of arranging for the memorial; and all those who have received pleasure in reading the immortal *Diary* are asked to subscribe. The treasurer is Mr. Owen Roberts, clerk to the Clothworkers' Company, and the hon. secretary Mr. Henry B. Wheatley, 6, Minford Gardens, W.

Correspondence.

DEERHURST.

Earl Odda's Tower at Deerhurst is perhaps the only example of genuine Saxon architecture to which we are enabled to fix a definite date—1053–1056. Is there any proof that Abbot Baldwin, of Bury St. Edmunds, was the designer? Historical testimony is wholly in favour of this hypothesis, although I know of no distinct assertion that this was the fact; the evidence being purely circumstantial, and yet so strong, that we

cannot but fail to connect the name of the Abbot of Bury with the solitary tower of the remote cell at Deerhurst.

The facts and dates amount briefly to these:—On the banishment of Godwine and his sons in 1051, of the three earldoms then left vacant, that held by Swegen, or rather a portion, was granted to Odda; this is well known as a matter of history. Between the years 1053–1056 the church at Deerhurst was built by him as an offering for the soul of his brother Ælfric, who died 1053. Three years after, 1056, the earl himself died.

Baldwin was made Abbot of Bury between the years 1062–1066, and before his promotion had been prior at Deerhurst, and as only some six or seven years had elapsed since Odda built his church, there is every probability that Baldwin was at the time prior, and, if so, naturally superintended the works. Lastly, the rude primitive character of the tower itself bears witness that it was not the work of Norman hands. Odda himself was kinsman to the king, and was probably of English extraction, if we may judge by his own and his brothers' names. Baldwin had been a monk at St. Denis before Prior of Deerhurst—“a certain presumption, though not amounting to proof, of his French rather than Norman origin.”* We might compare the works of Edward at Westminster, and Harold at Waltham, with the primitive character of this work, proving beyond doubt that no Norman was employed here. Hence, it follows that either Odda himself, who was a monk, and seems to have lived in some seclusion, was his own architect, or Baldwin, afterwards Abbot of St. Edmundsbury. Possibly some one could elucidate this matter.

CHARLES L. BELL,

Chesterton Road, Cambridge.



CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

(iv. 231, 277.)

In replying to the questions asked by H. C. I. in the November publication of *THE ANTIQUARY*, under the above heading, as to the meaning of these words:—“Kidcote,” “Waver,” and “Skiterick,” perhaps he will allow me to correct him, by stating that those words are only to be found amongst the items of the constable's, or town's, accounts, and not the churchwardens', as the following statements will show:—

Kidcote.—This term was used in olden times in “Merrie Wakefield” for a *Lockup* or *Local Prison*, in which persons taken up by the constable for theft, or disorderly conduct, were incarcerated, prior to being brought before the magistrates, and that name always appeared in the town's accounts. The Kidcote was taken care of, and kept in repair, by the constable of the town, and his deputy, and the expense was charged in the constable's accounts. The original Kidcote was in a cellar at the corner of a block of buildings between the Bull Ring and Northgate, until the year

* Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii. Appendix I., from which all the above dates are taken, and elsewhere in the volume.

1800, when a new one was erected in George Street, and regularly used down to the advent of the new police, but it has since been converted into a blacksmith's shop.

Waver.—The place where this is situated is outside the Vicarage wall, and consists of four large watering troughs, used for cattle to drink, and for other purposes. They are at the bottom of a back street, known by the name of the *Spings*, and as such it appears in the Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield, as far back as 1515. This watering-place has, from time immemorial, been called the "Waver," and it has been suggested that it took its name from the word *Waifer*, the pound for waifs, as lost cattle are called, the original Pinfold being close by; and which is rendered peculiarly interesting from its connection with *George-a-Green*, the renowned Pinder of Wakefield, who fought and vanquished Robin Hood.

Skiterick.—In the time of Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, it was a small stream. Prior to the Wakefield Paving Act (1771), it was a surface drain, having springs at its head on East Moor, and flowed at the back of some houses in Kirkgate, and then ran along the middle of the street down to the corn mills at the bridge foot, where it discharged itself into the river Calder. In 1766, May 5, a town's meeting ordered "that £7 12s. 11d. arrears owing to the constable should be collected, and paid to the vicar, Dr. Bacon, for the repairs and covering of the Skiterick, which should be thereafter always repaired by the constable."

I shall be glad to know if any of the above names are to be found in any other town in England.

QUIDNUNC.

ANCIENT ARMOUR.

I have recently acquired, through the kindness of a friend who is a very large collector and resident in this county, a number of pieces of ancient armour, of various dates and shapes and styles of ornamentation. I have a very large ribbed back-plate, with three lower plates, which has the traces of a considerable amount of gilding on it. Also another back-plate, with a broad band of engraved or embossed work running down in the centre, and a very beautifully embossed and engraved gorget. There is also an odd pauldron, and the fragment of its fellow, bearing some curious stamped work on them, in the form of a series of masonry arches, between which are double-headed eagles, each head having an antique three-pointed crown above it, and on the breast of each eagle there appears to be some device. I should be glad if any of your readers could give me some idea as to the bearer of these devices. I observe in Gwillim's *Heraldrie* (edition of 1611) it is stated that Nicholas de Ponte, Duke of Venice, bore a bridge as his device; as also did Pope Sixtus IV. Did either of these bear a crowned eagle?

From the same collection I have a considerable portion of a suit of beautifully fluted tilting armour; and also some good specimens of ribbed, embossed, and engraved armour. Among other mediæval devices I observe embossments of Turks' heads, women's heads, knights in armour, and other figures. There is a shoulder-piece with some of the original rose-colour silk lining still attached to it by rivets; and a paul-

dron having a small piece of the original velvet lining attached in the same manner. This pauldron appears to have been white, painted or enamelled, at one time. There are also a thigh- and knee-piece, the former having part of its thick leather lining remaining (both fitted closely around the limb). I have also two long greaves, or lower leg-pieces, with some of the original chain-mail attached to their sides, thus marking their connection with the period of partial transition from mail to plate armour.

Some time ago I was fortunate in becoming the possessor of a very fine pair of ancient chain-mail trousers, from an ancient mansion in Cornwall. They are very long, and each link is riveted, but in a very corroded state. I have never met with a description of any similarly long specimen existing in any collection, but have no doubt there are similar ones. The date of this might possibly be thirteenth century, and probably not later than the fourteenth century, when plate-armour came partly into use. As some of the above are out-of-the-way specimens, I thought this communication might interest those of your readers who make armour their study; and as the British Archæological Society intend visiting Plymouth next month, I shall be happy to exhibit my small collection to any visitors interested in the subject.

W. C. WADE.

Plymouth.



MAXWELL OF MUNCHES.

Will you kindly inform me where I can get any information respecting—1. The history of the Maxwells of Munches, in Dumfriesshire. 2. The history of Caerlaverock Castle, in Dumfriesshire, and of the family to whom the castle now belongs?

I am a descendant of the Maxwells of Munches, and this branch of the family is a cadet of the Earls of Nithsdale.

HELEN MAXWELL.

Southport.



BUENOS AIRES.

In the locality of Cape St. Antonio, Province of Buenos Aires, I have found great quantities of flint arrow-heads, spear-heads, fragments of pottery, and other Indian remains, but am unable to find any works that throw light on the date of the tribe which manufactured them. The two local authorities I consulted on the subject, suggested respectively the beginning of the present century, and an antediluvian age as the era of the tribe; but the variance of their opinions slightly shook my confidence in them. If any of the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* can refer me to books on the subject I shall remain deeply indebted to him.

HERBERT GIBSON.

Ajò, Buenos Aires.



PAPAL BULLÆ.

During the Middle Ages, the Papal bullæ were apparently twofold—those styled by the French

antiquary, De Vaines, as being *en forme rigoureuse*, and which had the bulla, or seals, attached to the rescript by means of small hempen strings or cords; and those *en forme gracieuse*, which had the suspending tapes of silk or of wool.

What idea does the writer wish to convey by a bull *en forme rigoureuse*, and on what occasions would such be promulgated? By a bull *en forme gracieuse*, I interpret the meaning as having reference to a document which announces to the various prelates and dignitaries of the orthodox Western and Eastern Churches the holding of a council or other assembly, and requiring their presence, for this end, at the Pontifical Court.

J. S.

Warrington.



CHARLES MATHEWS.

I should be thankful for any information relative to the ancestry of the two Charles Mathews, the comedians; or concerning the descendants of the elder Charles's six brothers and six uncles, of whom I can discover nothing.

Also; is anything known about the family of John Mathews, the first commander of the old ship *Great Britain*?

J. H. M.

Malta.



OLD BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS.

Mr. Thoms informs us (*ante*, iv. 156-159) that many of the wood blocks used in illustrating chap-books were imported from abroad. Allow me to add that the plates of Wither's *Emblems*, printed by A. M., for Richard Royston, in 1635, were (as stated in the preface) procured from Holland, having been "graven in copper by Crispinus Passæus."

Quares's *Emblems* were also, if I mistake not, the work of a foreign artist.

FREDERICK HOCKIN.

Phillack Rectory.



FITZ-URSE DE MERTON.

Can any of the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* direct me to a source from which I can obtain information of the families of Fitz-Urse de Merton (of whom was Walter de Merton, founder of Merton College, Oxford), Beau Sarvire, and the Shane O'Neils of Ulster.

Also, what were the arms of Beau Sarvire?

OAKELEY FISHER.

21, Maida Vale, W.

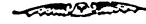


RUNIC CROSS.

Can any of your numerous readers give me a description of the Runic Cross in the churchyard at Bewcastle, Cumberland East? There was a description published a considerable time ago by the late minister of the parish, Rev. Mr. Mangan, and I should be glad

if any correspondent would inform me where I could obtain a copy.

RUNIC CROSS.



BUILDINGS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Can any reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* give a list of buildings erected in the British Islands between the death of King Charles I. and the accession of King Charles II., such as churches, country-houses, or official buildings?

EDWARD S. DODGSON.

Pitney House, Yeovil.



SYMBOL.

Can any of your readers or correspondents inform me as to the meaning, origin, and historical bearing of the symbol of the Angel in the Sun (*Angelux*)? Is it a Rosicrucian or a Templar badge of truth, borrowed from the Apocalypse? And where can any information be found concerning it?

AN EARNEST INQUIRER.



COVENANTER'S HAT.

Several years ago several large felt objects, in the shape of hats, were exhumed from the peat bog at the foot of Esthwaite Lake, near Hawkeshead, in North Lancashire. Quite lately one of these has come into my possession. Mr. J. Postlethwaite, landlord of the Sun Hotel, Hawkshead, asserted that when these were discovered they were decided to be Covenanters' hats. The one in my possession is made of a soft but coarse felt substance, and is of a reddish brown colour; it is quite flexible, and somewhat resembles in shape "Heath's lawn-tennis hats." It has been suggested that they were placed in the peat for the purpose of dyeing. I ought to have mentioned that all six were neatly wrapped up, and laid in the same position one on the top of another. Perhaps some of your readers could enlighten me as to what they are and why placed in such a position.

H. S. COWPER.

Elmwood, Sudbury, Harrow.



BRASSES.

May I be permitted to point out in reference to the letter on this subject in your June issue, iv. p. 278, that the late Mr. R. J. King touched on the matter of Devonshire examples of sepulchral brasses, &c., in his article on Devonshire, first published in the *Quarterly Review*, April, 1859, and since reprinted in the author's interesting and valuable "Sketches and Studies" (London: John Murray, 1874), pp. 332-4.

HILDRIC FRIEND.

Newton Abbot.

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Pitt the Younger, by Earl Stanhope.—Lord Chatham, by Thackeray.—178, Care of Manager.



The Antiquary.



SEPTEMBER, 1882.

Michaelmas.

By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

FROM the earliest ages when light dawns on the history of the Christian Church we find angels objects of love, reverence and devotion. To enter into the dark and controversial region in which the *origines* of Christianity are laid would be to step into thorny grounds which are at present in this country almost entirely left to the professed theologian. When light becomes clear we find the angelic host recognized as the protectors of men, and divided into ranks, classes, or orders. The Church from an early period told of nine of these classes—Seraphims, Cherubims, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Archangels, and Angels. The germ of this classification may be found in the writings of Saint Paul, who on two occasions* furnishes what may be considered lists of the heavenly hierarchy as it was understood in the first century. Of this vast host pervading all space, Michael, the protector of the people of God—first of the Hebrews and afterwards of the Christian Church—is the most prominent in history and legend. In the book of Daniel we are told, "At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth up for the children of Thy people."† Here we see him as the protector of the children of Abraham, alike from the heathendom by which they were environed and oppressed, and also from the evilspiritual influences which, as they believed, surrounded on all sides the chosen people of God. Jewish tradition tells us of the angels, that God creates multitudes of them daily, but of the princes of the angelic host,

* Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16.

† Daniel vii. 1.

Michael, Gabriel, and the rest who are their equals, that they are not created again, "but remain in their glory wherewith they were invested in the six days' creation of the world, and their names are never changed."*

The mass of literature and tradition concerning angels, and especially Saint Michael, must have been immense. Much has no doubt perished, but the uncanonical Hebrew writings are as yet an almost unworked mine of angelic legend. To some such narrative allusion is made in the General Epistle of Jude, where we are told that Michael the Archangel, "when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation."† Among Moslems the reverence for Saint Michael has been as great as among Christians. The children of Islam do not invoke saints or angels, but otherwise the honour they show to the great Captain of the host of Heaven is as marked as it was in mediæval Christendom. Michael's name and office were well known to Mohammed. Whether the author of the Koran derived his knowledge of Hebrew history from contact with Jews, or from a distinct line of tradition, has been for ages a matter of bitter controversy. We shall not enter into it, further than to observe that such evidence as is attainable by those who are not Arabic scholars, points to independent sources of knowledge on the part of the great prophet of Arabia. The most celebrated and the longest Sura in the Koran is called the Cow. There Mohammed says: "Whoso is an enemy to God or his angels, or to Gabriel, or to Michael, shall have God as his enemy, for verily God is an enemy to the unbelievers."‡ This passage is highly interesting as showing, first, the distinction between angels generally and the archangels Michael and Gabriel; and secondly, as indicating Mohammed's attitude to the Jewish and Christian worlds. Gabriel is from Mohammed's point of view the especial guardian of Islam. Through his agency the Koran was revealed as a confirmation and re-promulgation of the previous revelation.

* Buxtorff, *Traditions of the Jews*, vol. ii. p. 73.

† Jude 11.

‡ Rodwell, *El-Koran*, 2nd edition, 378. Cf. Sale, *Koran*, edition 1825, vol. i. p. 18.

Michael, on the other hand, was the protector of Jewish and Christian monotheists. Whosoever was the enemy of either was on the side of the unbelievers and an enemy of God.

Saints' days arose gradually in the Church. There does not seem to be evidence that the festival of Saint Michael existed earlier than the fifth century. The famous church of Monte Gargano in Italy was, it is affirmed, the first Saint Michael's in the west, and the feast was instituted at the time of its dedication. The mole of Hadrian was placed under the invocation of Saint Michael in 610, and from that period the worship of the great angelic protector spread rapidly through Europe. Some of the oldest churches in our land are dedicated to him. It is, indeed, impossible to examine a list of the church-dedications of any county in England without the Saint Michaels attracting attention by their number. In the lands which received Christianity from Rome the churches dedicated to Saint Michael are usually on hills. Saint Michael's Mount in Brittany, and its sister in Cornwall, are examples of this. He has indeed come to be regarded as the patron saint of mountains, and it has been remarked that even in flat countries the churches dedicated to Saint Michael are usually found on the highest ground in the neighbourhood. There are twenty-six churches dedicated to Saint Michael in Lincolnshire, most of which stand on comparatively high ground.* The popular devotion to Saint Michael was no doubt in a great degree due to the fact that the Christian legends represent him as weighing the souls of the dead. How far we may trace this notion back, and in what pre-Christian system it took its rise it is for the present purpose useless to inquire. It was fully received here at an early period, and countless works of art in sculpture and painting helped to keep the idea vividly before the people. Our village churches seem, almost all of them, to have had a picture of Saint Michael and his balance. The common place for it was over the chancel arch above the rood. The early Protestants, in their unrelenting war upon mediæval usages, did not spare this, to us, very harmless piece of symbolism. "We paint St. Michael weighing the souls,

* *Journ. Arch. Inst.*, xxxviii. 371.

and stick up a candle to flatter him, and to make him favourable to us," says Tyndale, in his answer to Sir Thomas More;* and the scurrilous John Bale tells his readers that in the Day of Judgment "none shall be found able at that day to restrain the least part of His purposed vengeance, neither Mary throwing in her beads into St. Michael's balance, John Baptist with his lamb, Peter with his key, nor yet Paul with his long sword."†

Michaelmas Day, September 29, the Feast of Saint Michael and All Angels, holds a double position. It is a great Christian festival. It also represents something far earlier—the old heathen rejoicings, when the harvest is gathered in. The two blended in the popular mind and in common practice. Michaelmas tide was a popular holiday, half religious, half secular, throughout the whole of northern Europe. Work was to cease in the field, spinning in the house; men and maidens were to keep holiday. In the Anglo-Saxon Church it was specially provided that the three days before Michaelmas were to be set apart as a solemn fast, all servile work was to cease, that men might be the better able to prepare themselves for the great festival. There were to be barefoot processions, and the congregation were to go barefoot to church on these days. The oldest example of the word which I have met with, though I do not doubt that it occurs earlier, is to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1011, where we learn that the northern pillagers besieged Canterbury between the Feast of the Nativity of our Blessed Lady (Sept. 8) and "Sce Michaelles maessan."‡ To separate the Christian feast from the earlier festival, with which it has become blended, would perhaps be impossible. In this instance, as in so many others, the Christian stream, having its source in the East, and in Semitic modes of thought, has mingled with a northern current utterly unchristian at the first. The two have now become so blended that we believe the cunningest historical chemistry must fail in separating the one from the other. Traces, however, of both have been preserved. The

* Parker Soc. Ed., 163.

† *Image of Booth Churches*, Parker Soc. Ed., 523.

‡ Thorpe's Ed. i. 266; ii. 117.

dedication of churches to the great Archangel, the burning lights before his altars,* the special services in his honour, the legends of his appearances at Rome and elsewhere, and the notion that his very name was a terror to evil spirits,† are part of the development of the great Christian tradition. The glorious Latin hymns in his honour by Adam of Saint Victor and others,‡ of course are purely Christian; but when we look at home we find gross feasting and humorous play a main feature in the festival. This is surely a survival of the harvest feasts of men who had not bowed before the Cross.

Bonfires are said to have been burned, ale drank, ballads sung, and tales told around them, on Michaelmas Eve, in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, until the period of the great enclosures at the end of the last century, when the habits of life became so different that old-world customs such as this, which required a stationary and semi-independent people, naturally died out. We have never conversed with those who have seen the flame of a Michaelmas bonfire, but have been fortunate enough, on more than one occasion, to come in contact with old folk who could remember the Michaelmas Eve feasting in the farmhouse kitchen. We are not sure that it was of a kind that the higher culture of the present would approve. Master and man were for a time on equal footing, ale flowed freely, and songs were sung and tales told which would have charmed every member of the Ballad and Folk-lore Societies. The peasant is like a child. When he hears a good tale, his instinct is not to go off into criticism, but to exclaim, "Tell it again!" We apprehend that the tales of one Michaelmas Eve were well-nigh identical with another. From what we can gather, the Christian element was almost entirely wanting, but something older than Christianity had survived. A handful of each sort of corn that the farmer had grown was given that night to his cattle for their supper, and some of the grain scattered in the court for the wild birds to pick up. This was, we are told, for the purpose of bringing luck to the homestead.

* Glasscock, *Records of St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford*, 38.

† Beyerlinck, *Mag. Theat. Vita Humana*, i. 426.

‡ Several of these are given in Kehrein's *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*, 134-140.

Perhaps the most singular survival of the old Michaelmas customs is to be found in the Lawless Court, at King's Hill, Rochford, in Essex. This assembly is held on the Wednesday morning after Michaelmas Day, at cock-crow in the morning. It was probably in its origin no mock court at all, but a serious business, made jocose of set purpose. At the present time, though shorn of some of its interesting features, it presents us with a curious dramatic representation of the life of our forefathers in its business aspect. Life was rough with them, and jesting and horse-play supplied the place of much that we now have, which, if more refined, is perhaps not more virtuous. As boy bishops parodied the rites of the Church with full ecclesiastical sanction, and without a thought that there was anything profane in the performance, so here we find a serious business gone through in the form of a parody—a parody on itself. The title of the old court-roll is of course in Latin, but it is so corrupt that I may be forgiven for giving the late Mr. Black's translation of it, as it is quoted by Mr. Gomme in his valuable work on *Primitive Folk-Moots*:*—

The Court of our Lord the King
Called the Court without Law,
Holden there
By custom thereof
Before sunrise,
Unless it be twilight.
The steward alone
Writes nothing but with coals,
As often as he will,
When the Cock shall have crowed
By the sound of which only
The Court is summoned.
He crieth secretly for the King
In the Court without Law;
And unless they quickly come,
They shall the more quickly repent;
And unless they come secretly,
Let not the Court attend.
He who hath come with a light,
Erreth in behaviour.
And until they be without a light
They are taken in default.
The Court without care,
The Jury of injury.

It seems certain, from Mr. Black's researches, that the spot where this court is held, which is marked by a wooden post, renewed from time to time, is a Roman landmark. If this be so, we are carried back very far indeed,

* P. 126.

perhaps to something even beyond the Teutonic settlement of Essex. The secrecy and the darkness, now used symbolically, had once a real significance. In the present state of knowledge it might be rash to guess what that was. We may be assured that it is something pre-Christian, and it perhaps would not be unsafe to affirm that it was a secret connected with the harvest and the fecundity of the earth. The Church blessed the crops, and used her services to supplant the old-world superstitions, but it is not improbable that here you have a relic of the old folk-moot held at night, for the purpose of performing some of those ancient incantations on which the Mass-priests looked sternly. The blazing faggot, which is part of the ceremony, even now seems to give some support to this guess.

Another custom, which can have no connection, however remote, with religion, but which may well be a remembrance of a heathen procession in honour of the harvest, is recorded from Hertfordshire. On Michaelmas day every seven years, says a London newspaper of 1787, a great number of the young men of Bishop's Stortford assemble in the fields, and one of the most active is nominated as leader. Him they are bound to follow, and he chooses the roughest road he can find,

Through bog, through bush, through brake, through brier.

Every one whom they meet is roughly treated. Women usually stay at home on these occasions, but some of the more venturesome join the throng for the sake of the ale and plumcake which the publicans on the route, by immemorial custom, are bound to give to the revellers. One of the most noteworthy points in this curious survival is the fact that these gangers must partake of nothing but the cake and ale given them, and that the night, if the weather be fair, is spent in the open fields.*

Much has been written about the Michaelmas goose, but usually to little purpose. The goose does not seem to have any further connection with Michaelmas than the fact that, being in season at the festival, some manorial rents in kind have been paid by a

goose at that time. It has, however, been the subject of much unintelligent trifling, and has consequently helped to swell our books on popular antiquities. There is a story afloat which, whether true or false, has nothing really to do with Michaelmas, that Queen Elizabeth was eating a goose on Michaelmas Day when the news of the defeat of the Spanish Armada reached her.

A paper such as this might be indefinitely extended. We shall have gained our object if we have shown that in the customs connected with Michaelmas there are two lines of tradition, and that for any intelligent realization of past life, we must be able, in thought at least, to separate the ancient and non-Christian elements from the latter additions by which the Church, acting on the advice which St. Gregory gave as to heathen temples,* has endeavoured to sanctify them.

W. G. F. F. F.

The Line of Agricola's March from the Dee to the Clyde.

By HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.



THE line of march pursued by Agricola northward to Caledonia, in the campaigns of his second and following years in Britain, is a question of much interest, on which Tacitus, who describes the expedition (*Agricola*, ch. 20, foll.), throws little direct light. His point of departure may, from *ib.* 18, be presumed to have been near the mouth of the Dee—perhaps Chester itself; and there is no indication of a single definite point till an estuary called "Taus," or (as two MSS. give it) "Tanaus," is reached. What this under either name represents is uncertain, nor was it certainly on the actual line of march. It is only given as the limit of a devastation to intimidate the natives, and might, as far as this shows, signify even the Tay, on the eastern side of Scotland. But in the absence of contrary indications, it is safest to assume it on the same western side as that on which the march began. He started from an estuary, and "estuaries" form with "forests" the only touch of local feature noticed by the historian—

* Dyer's *Popular Customs*, 380.

* Bede, i. 30.

astuaria ac siluas ipse prætentare (*ib.* 20). Now such inlets of the sea are frequent from the Dee to the Clyde, where he paused awhile in his progress, and turned his attention to Ireland, with probably the S.W. corner of Scotland for his basis; and further, his fleet attended his land forces, and co-operated with imposing effect on the native mind (*ib.* 25). It therefore seems most likely that the whole line of his movement was nowhere very far from the coast of England and Scotland, between the points indicated. His first object seems to have been to secure that coast-line as a step to operations further inland. The sea, while tenable, would enable him to send or summon succour to any threatened point from Chester, supposed the headquarters of Agricola's operations for this purpose; and by aid of his fleet provisions for the winter might easily be thrown into all his successive stations and depôts.

From the brief record of Tacitus, not merely all names, but all topographical details, are tantalizingly absent. That abundant materials were before him in the official records of the progress of the expedition we cannot doubt; but his object is moral rather than physical, the character of Agricola rather than his exploits, or their scenes as objective facts; and thus the actual *res gestæ* are scantily slurred over. He states, however, that it was "a new part of Britain" to the Romans (*ib.* 20); which could hardly have been true if Agricola had taken a more easterly or inland route. He must in that case either have struck into the probably impracticable region of fells and mountains, where the country could only have been penetrated by rather narrow river-valleys, thus giving the natives every advantage of locality and experience; or, if he had tried further east, would have come upon the territory of the Brigantes. But these last had already been subdued, or, at least, invaded and overawed, and their borders could hardly have been distinguished as a *nova pars Britanniae*. But the one fact on which Tacitus lays repeated stress is the frequent fortifications erected, their well-chosen sites, and the permanency of their character, from which one may judge Agricola to have been a consummate engineer.* By these he forged

* The expressions are (*Agricola* 20): "Multæ ciui-

a set of fetters for the country which he penetrated, which was never shaken off until the break-up of the Roman supremacy in the fifth century.

I shall show reasons for thinking that these fortresses were so planted, as not only to keep up communications along the line of march, but to command the practicable avenues to the interior by the river-valleys; thus at once checking the flank attacks of the natives, and preparing for the penetration of the interior at a farther stage. We should expect that such works from the hands of Agricola would have left their mark, either in names or in recognizable sites, or in both, with sufficient distinctness; and this is what the facts now to be noted disclose. Before detailing them I would notice one element of uncertainty in fixing them precisely. There is evidence of land, which is now twenty-five feet above sea level, having been at no very distant period washed by the sea. This is known to antiquaries all round the Lancastrian and Cambrian *littorale*. But there exists no absolute test to show whether the upheaval had been accomplished before or after the expedition of Agricola in A.D. 79. Indeed, at nearly four times that elevation shells, whole or fragmentary, are found overlying the surface gravel south of Ulverston towards Morecambe Bay. And even allowing for the higher reach of the tide in a recessed estuary, this suggests a comparatively recent date for the raising of the last twenty-five feet. It is, then, safer to assume that the estuaries were ampler and their arms longer at the time of Agricola than now. Further, when the land was low, the western margin of the County of Lancaster would be swampy and mossy. If this was its condition at the time of his march, it would push the line of that march eastward in its earliest stage, while at the same time covering its western flank. In accordance

tates . . . praesidiis castellisque circumdatae;" (21), "ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit." Of these he says: "aduersus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur." Again, he says of the region from Clyde (Clota) and Forth (Bodotria): "quod tum praesidiis firmabatur," so that an inner circle was occupied, and the hostile natives driven, as it were, to another island outside. He adds that a reactionary impulse led the Britons to attack these "castella," but that none were ever either captured or abandoned.

with this, we find Ribchester, nearly midway between Preston and Clitheroe, the first name in the direction required which clearly marks Roman occupancy. It commanded the passage of the Ribble, the mouth of which may then have formed a larger estuary than now. The configuration of the interior shows no line of superior accessibility to induce an invader to deviate from the coast, where the sea would always protect one flank of the communications, besides furnishing an avenue of supply most important for permanent tenure.

Beyond Lancaster, which we may assume for the next point of importance, the Morecambe estuary would possibly cause an amount of detour even larger than at present, supposing transport across it inconvenient. The word *pratentare*, already cited, suggests the selection of fordable passages in the higher portions of these inlets: and as the higher edge of Morecambe Bay was traversed by coach within living memory, the line of Agricola's march, even although considerably inland by modern landmarks, might then have dipped below high-water mark. I assume not only the suffix—*caster*, or *chester*, but the prefix, and, perhaps, suffix *Brough*,—*burrow*, &c., in its various forms, as marking a spot round which habitations clustered in the subsequent Saxon period, owing to its previous occupancy, presumably by the Romans. We have, then, the following names as our stepping-stones, first northward and then westward from Lancaster:—Hincaster, Broughton-in-Cartmel, Broughton-in-Furness, Street, Muncaster, and thence, after a considerable interval, northward again, Great Broughton, Kirkboro', Hayboro', Ellenboro', the last three forming a group near Maryport, on the coast. Thence, pursuing the line of the Solway Firth, there are said to be the remains of one Roman camp traceable between Mowbray (*bray* again, perhaps = *Borough*) and Allonby, and of another near Silloth.

Of these, Hincaster is the most out of line, and there the march would make a very sharp angle, coming from the south and turning back south of west. But the ancient extension of the estuary may have justified this, or local conditions have called for it. The term "Street" is an old name given to the coast-road through Bootle, between the

Silecroft and Eskmeal stations on the Whitehaven and Furness Railway, through which exact line of country I assume the march to have passed. If we examine the sites of these supposed *castella* on the map we shall find them all such as I have said. Hincaster is about one and a half mile from the river Kent, Broughton-in-Cartmel lies between the Winster and the Leven, Broughton-in-Furness overlooks the Duddon, Muncaster commands the Esk, Great Broughton the Cocker. The only stream of importance omitted is the Ehen, before reaching which a minor one, the Calder, would have to be crossed. As regards this region Mr. W. Jackson says:—

On all the earliest maps of our county (Cumberland) there is laid down an ancient road running from Drigg to Calder Hall, and on this stands Seascale Hall, very near to the site of an old circle marked by a solitary stone, all the others having been buried at the commencement of this century. There are, I believe, indications that a road once traversed the Calder at this point, and, passing by Sella Park, was continued by existing roads to the venerable church of St. Bridget, with its so-called Runic Cross, close to which, on an eminence over the Eden, is a field called Castley, where old foundations have been discovered; whilst on the other side of the river is a gravelly eminence known as Burrough Hill, which the river is, and for years has been, undermining. Another prominent point of a ridge abruptly cut off by the river's attrition is called Warborough Nook, on which was lately found a stone celt or hammer. The road from Braystones (Burrow-stones) by Saint Bees runs within half a mile of, and parallel to, the coast for the whole distance, and certainly is very ancient.

These names and vestiges—Castley (Casterley), Burrough Hill, Warborough, Burrow-stones, seem to pick up the track again, and supply the missing links between the Esk and the Cocker, with traces of one or more *castella* commanding the Calder and Ehen mouths and vallies. It is not to be supposed that actual Roman remains have been found at all or most of the spots mentioned. A gold coin of Vespasian is mentioned as found in a railway cutting near Ravenglass,† Coins have also been found at Castle Head, near Hincaster, and in the Cartmel valley, as well

* *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*. Paper read at Wigton, 1876, p. 14. To this gentleman's remarks I beg to express general indebtedness beyond the passages cited.

† *Ibid.*, &c., p. 21.

as other Roman remains in an old road near Wraysholme; and "immediately after passing the (Cumberland) Esk we find ourselves in a locality once noted for its Roman remains, but which of late years has ceased to furnish any further indications of its ancient occupants."* Camden mentions Ravenglass as a spot where Roman antiquities had been found, and Mr. Jackson refers to Lysons as describing two bronze tripods found in the low alluvial ground near the mouth of the Esk, which he takes to have been Roman camp-kettles.† As regards the Taus or Tanaus, Mr. Jackson adds:—

If we might suppose the Tanaus to be the Stuna of a later geography, the Solway Firth would be reached at the end of the first summer's march, and the Clyde at the expiration of the second; and considering the effectual manner in which the work was done, this is a more rapid advance than we could have anticipated.

More rapid also, I think, than Tacitus allows us to suppose. We learn that sometime, perhaps late, in the *third* year of his command, being the second of this march, Agricola reached the Taus or Tanaus estuary, and fixed in the next, or third year of the same, his *terminus* awhile at the Clyde. The progress, however, is still ample for the time.

The large enclosure, 140 yards by 120 yards, near Muncaster, once supposed a Roman camp, is more recently believed to be the *enceinte* attached to a Roman villa for the custody of cattle, &c. On three sides it shows traces, tolerably continuous, of a rampart and fosse, the fourth being a steep slope towards the river Esk. It is adjacent to a ruin known as "Walls Castle," believed by Mr. Jackson to be the remains of the villa itself, "in a much more perfect condition than are to be found anywhere in England, if not in a wider district." Other local antiquaries, as he states, support him in this opinion. The description of the site itself, however, which is one of great interest, Celtic as well as Roman, I must defer for the present.

* *Transactions*, &c., p. 13.

† *Ibid.* p. 18.

The Domesday of Colchester.

By J. H. ROUND.

PART III.

THE KING'S MEAD. — Of the King's lands, ten acres were meadow (*de quibus sunt x prati*). No entry in the Survey is of greater interest than this. For these very ten acres unite, on the page of Domesday, the remotest ages with our own. Annexed by the Crown to the Royal Castle, they were specially mentioned in its terriers, and, passing with the Castle into private hands, are annexed to this day to its possession.* They consist of three detached portions† lying in what is still known as the *King's Meadow*. The meaning of the name, however, has long passed out of sight. But the point to be observed is that they are the shares of the common mead of the community which were owned by the King *quâ* Lord, his acres being as strictly bounded as those of any other member.‡ It is this which gives them their peculiar interest. There was a "King's Mead" of eight acres at Canterbury,§ and

* See Will of George Gray, Esq., M.P., of Colchester Castle (1781). He mentions his "ten acres in King's Meadow."

† Though always known as the "ten acres," it is noteworthy that their true area is only 7a. 2r. 36p., and it is very remarkable that the proportion of these conventional "acres" to the modern acre is nearly constant. Thus, in the "three-acre piece," it is .750; in the "six-acre piece," it is .775; and in "Parson's Acre," it is .800. If then these calculations can be relied on, the Domesday acre must have here been equivalent to some $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{5}$ of the modern one. Now, Mr. Eyton speaks with confidence of the Domesday acre being co-extensive with the modern one. He also asserts that any older Saxon measurements were based on a *longer* perch (*Dorsed Domesday*, p. 30). A *shorter* perch can only be accounted for by a survival of the (shorter) Roman foot, which makes this phenomenon significant at Colchester. The extent, however, of these Domesday acres would be only about half-way between the English acre and the Roman.

‡ One portion was known as *Parson's Acre*, probably as belonging in yet earlier times to the Parson of the Village Community. (See Gomme's *Index*.)

§ Ibi viii. acrae prati quæ solebant esse legatorum regis, modo reddunt de censu xv. solidos. *Domesday*, i. 2. Larking (*Domesday of Kent*) identifies it with *King's Mead*, close to the river in St. Stephen's Parish. See also Hasted's *Kent* (1800), xi. 5.

another at Oxford,* but that at Colchester stands alone as a relic of the Village Community preserved to this day intact.

THE KING'S WOOD.—The existence of this district can only be glanced at, as it is not directly mentioned. The name of *King's Wood* lingers about it still, though its meaning is as forgotten as *King's Meadow*. It was always attached to Colchester, and was formed eventually into a straggling parish within the liberties of the Borough.

THE QUEEN'S LAND.—

Otto aurifaber III. domus que jacent ad esceldeforde quas tenebat Alueua comitissa et reddebant consuetudinem regis et modo non reddunt et hoc est de terra regina (ii. 106).

This entry, which appears somewhat unmeaning, is, in truth, full of information. Otho, the Conqueror's goldsmith† (a name here strangely preserved in that of "Goldsmidesfield,") possessed this property in right of the Manor of Shalford, which he held at ferm from the King. Now, the point to observe here is, that Otho had been specially provided for out of property which had belonged T. R. E. to Earl Ælfgar of Mercia, and, after the conquest, to Queen Matilda, reverting to William at her death (1083). This interesting fact is clear from an analysis of his possessions,—Gestingthorp, which he held as a tenant-in-chief,‡ Finchingfield§ and Shalford, which he held at ferm,|| and Sudbury with Cornard (in Suffolk), which he held also at ferm, jointly with William the Chamberlain.¶ Comparing these entries

* "Two Water Mylnes under the Castle of Oxon, with the Mede called the King's Mede." *Rot. Parl.*, i H. VII.

† He lived to work the shrine over his master's tomb, and left descendants of his own name who inherited his post of goldsmith.

‡ Glestingethorp tenuit Comes Algar modo tenet Otto (ii. 98).

§ Phincinghefeldam tenuit idem Algar T.R.E. Post regina. Modo idem Otto ad censum (ii. 4).

|| Celdefordam tenuit Comes Algar T.R.E. Postea tenuit Regina. Modo Otto aurifaber ad censum in manu regis (ii. 3) . . . de hoc manerio deest xxx. acra silvæ quas regina dedit, &c. &c. This illustrates her power of alienation, a power which the Conqueror usually recognized. The pious Queen, in her love for the clergy, had bestowed many a fair manor on Gislebert the Priest, and Walter the Deacon, the latter, presumably the younger man, receiving the lion's share (ii. 87-98).

¶ Terra Matris Morchari Comitissæ quam W. camerarius et Otho aurifex servant in manu regis. Sutberie

with that quoted at Colchester* we gather that Ælfgifu, after the Earl's death (1062?), succeeded to these estates (it is to this that her holding "T.R.E." refers), but was evicted (if she survived the Conquest) for Matilda's benefit. For that she lived (as Mr. Freeman believes) to retain them, T.R.W. is rendered, by these entries, extremely doubtful.†

It should be noticed that this was still "the Queen's Land" nearly fifty years after the day when Matilda was quick and dead.‡

THE BISHOP'S LAND.—

"In Colecestra habet episcopus xiiii domos et iiii acras non reddentes consuetudinem præter scotum nisi episcopo. In Eadem tenet hugo de episcopo ii bidas et i acram et reddit consuetudinem" (ii. 11).

Here are two properties, the Bishop's Fee, which is *bochland* and exempt from quit-rent, and the Bishop's Fields, which are *gafol* land, and pay quit-rent like the rest of the *civitas*. The former we are enabled to identify by the thoughtful industry of Morant.§ The "two lanes" which, in 1206, bounded

tenuit Mater Morchari Comitissæ T.R.E. . . . Cornierdam tenuit mater Morchari Comitissæ T.R.E. (ii. 286b.)

* Shalford is said to have been held by Ælfgar, but the Shalford houses in Colchester by Ælfgifu (Alueua). Of this very Shalford entry, Mr. Freeman observes that "*postea* can only mean after the confiscation of the sons of Ælfgar" (v. 742). In this he is clearly wrong, for the Colchester entry incidentally proves that Shalford passed to Ælfgar's widow, and not to his sons. Indeed, though it might naturally be guessed that the earl's lands would pass to his sons, we may safely infer, from the absence of their names, that none of these estates did so.

† Mr. Freeman says (1st ed. ii. 658), "Her name appears in Domesday in a position which clearly shows that she survived the Conquest, and that she retained her lands, or parts of them, but that she was dead at the time of the Survey. But in the entries on which he relies (i. 231 b. ii. 286 b.), she is specially said to have held "T.R.E.," and not "*postea*" or "*post adventum*." The mere heading *Terra Matris*, &c., proves no more than *Terra Stingandi* (ii. 286) which, like it, appears in the Suffolk *Terra Regis*, and only refers to a holder T.R.E. Ellis (*Introduction*, ii. 345), is altogether astray:—"Alvea, the mother of Earl Morcar, continued, at the time of the Survey, to hold lands in the same county. So also in Suffolk." He has been even more misled by the *Terra Matris* formula.

‡ She died 1083, and the *Terra Regina* at Colchester occurs in the Pipe Roll of 1130.

§ See note to his transcript of the Survey, "Unam sokam cum pertinentiis in Colecestrā quæ se extendit de venellā Ste. Marie usque ad venellam juxta Havedgate, &c."

the four acres, bound them still to this day. The then Bishop sold them in that year, but retained the advowson of the Church in their midst, which right, with special privileges, preserved, at least to Morant's day, the tradition of the Domesday Record. This little district is proved by his researches to have formed a distinct franchise, with a *curia parva hundredi* of its own.* Its subsequent name of the *Haymsokne* greatly needs explanation.† I have not called it a Soke in 1086, because it cannot be proved such from the Survey. But it must probably have been one already. It certainly was so at Leicester,‡ but at Chester§ the case is doubtful. The term *habet* should be noticed here, and also the exemption from *consuetudo*. But the Bishop's men, as at Chester,|| "scotted" with the rest.

Turning to the Bishop's Fields, of which Hugh was the under-tenant,¶ their position seems marked by that of the parish of the Bishop's Church of St. Mary, which, to the west and south-west, stretches out into the country. It is interesting to observe that, on this hypothesis, the church must have been provided by the bishops for the spiritual need of their tenants. The peculiar shape of the parish would thus be instructively accounted for.

The entry: "Willielmus nepos episcopi II. domus quas tenebat thurkill" (ii. 106), may perhaps illustrate a remark of Mr. Freeman.** The then Bishop was Maurice, the builder of St. Paul's, but he had not yet been consecrated.

* Unam sokam] vocatam *Haymsokne* . . . et in eadem tenet curiam suam de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas &ca. (10 Ed. II.) It occurs as the "soca jac, in Havedstrete" as late as 6 H. viii.

† "*Handsoca* or *Hamsocna* occurs but once in Domesday. It was a breach of the peace in a man's house." (*Introduction* ii. 2-80.) How were the words connected?

‡ *Domesday*, i. 230.

§ In burgo episcopi (*Domesday*, i. 263.)

¶ Hæ geldabant cum civitate. *Ib.* At Leicester this was not so till 1281 (*Thompson Munic. Ant.*, p. 68); see also i. 152 (*bis*) 336. On identity of *scot* with *geld* here, see "Finance."

|| Possibly the under-tenant of Ockendon,—"*Modo tenet Hugo de Episcopo*" (ii. 11).

** We trace out . . . recorded no less faithfully the nepotism of the Bishop who made a maintenance for his kinsfolk out of the estates of the church entrusted to him" (v. 44).

THE COMMON LAND.—

In commune burgensium iiii. x. acrae terræ; et circa murum viii. perca. de quo toto per annum habent burgenses lx solidos ad servitium regis si opus fuerit. sin autem, in commune dividunt (ii. 107)

This entry sparkles with information, some of it of unique value. First, as to the *commune burgensium* (for Ellis, as the construction shows, is right in taking them together). The famous term *commune*, according to Mr. Freeman (v. 469), appears first in 1140, but he probably alludes to the French, and not to the Latin form. The latter, which is used in this sense here alone in the Survey, clearly denotes the (later) *Commonalty*, the aggregate of full burgesses. These, as I have shown in a previous article,* were only a minority of the townsmen.

Secondly, as to the land. The eighty acres of arable (*terrae*) were undoubtedly identical with the *Borough Field* (or *Fields*) lying on the Lexden Road.† But the mention of the "eight perches" has led me to a singular discovery. Around the north-eastern angle of the walls there can still be traced on the Ordnance Map the remains of an external rampart.‡ Now the outer face of this rampart is just eight perches from that of the town wall. Thus this seemingly arbitrary limit is simply that of the Roman mound and ditch.§ Hence in Domesday we find the proof that this rampart originally extended round the whole of the curtain.||

* *Archaic Tenure in Domesday* (v. 104).

† Morant's *Colchester*, passim.

‡ This rampart has never been assigned to the Romans, but see *ANTIQUARY*, iv. 275, for discovery of a similar ditch and rampart round the Roman Bonna (Bonn). I find that at Colchester they were fifty per cent. wider, and it is singular that the line of walls was fifty per cent. longer. Yet even round the relatively small station of the Saalburg these external defences were seventy feet wide (*Macmillan's*, June, 1882). Compare Vegetius, *De re militari* (lib. iv.), "Fossæ autem ante urbes altissimæ latissimæque faciendæ sunt."

§ Compare the right of pasture over the grassy baulks of the common fields. In this space Mr. Coote would probably detect the *Pomerium* (*Romans in Britain*, 349, 361). But as to the retention of the Roman name, he forgets that the word was employed by the Normans "x acras terræ ad faciendum pomerium."—*Domesday*, i. 280.

|| Dr. Duncan (in his article on the Colchester *Cloaca*) spoke of "the broad fosse which characterizes the defences of Colchester towards the north-east." But we now see that it surrounded the town.

Thirdly, as to the payment. The extent of the whole land being about one hundred acres, these sixty shillings would be many times its annual value. Why was this, and why was the payment optional (*si opus fuerit*)? Nay, why was it paid for at all, if it was common land? So strangely few are the common lands assigned in Domesday to Boroughs,* that the only clear case we can find to compare with that at Colchester is Port Meadow at Oxford (*pasturam reddentem vi. solidos et viii. denarios*). But this throws little light on these difficult questions. The optional clause should be specially noticed as anticipating in some sort the later *auxilium* or *donum*. But though not always presented to the Crown, the sixty shillings were always forthcoming, for they were in that case divided among the *commune*.† Could this ground have been leased out by them,‡ and if so, why was the rent so high?§ In any

* We have noticed under "Lexden," Mr. Freeman's haste to assume the existence of common lands. He also finds them that at Stamford (iv. 216), Exeter, and Lincoln (iv. 210). But neither at Stamford nor at Exeter are they entered as held in common, while at Lincoln they are proved to have been held in several. Again at Norwich he translates *hæc terra burgensium* as "the common land of the English burghers," but as we find, in the same sentence, "*omnes terræ istæ tam militum quam burgensium*" it is seen to mean the land held by burgesses as against the land held by knights. So too the entry *Terra Burgensium de Bedeford* (i. 218) heads a long list of small holders in several. The source of this confusion lies in the fact that the Norman officers looked on tenure in several as the *normal* condition, and on tenure in common as the *exception*. Hence their extreme care in specifying the latter. So "*Omnes burgenses Oxeneford habent communiter*," &c. Where *burgenses* is not qualified, we must not assume tenure in common. This mistake, however, has been systematically made. Thus, at Colchester, the entry "Eudo Dapifer v. dom et xl. acras terræ quas tenebant Burgenses" should clearly be rendered "held by Burgesses," not "held by the Burgesses," or at Maldon close by, "habet rex clxxx domos quas tenent Burgenses" obviously means "are held by Burgesses." So too at Norwich, "burgenses tenebant xv. ecclesias" (ii. 116 b.) "tenent burgenses xliii capellas" (ii. 117). These could obviously not have been held "in common."

† As the proceeds of the commuted rights of common are to this day among the free burgesses (*Accounts and Papers*, 1870, vol. iv. p. 9).

‡ As the corporate estate at Mile End still is by the Corporation.

§ Have we not here a hint of the reason why undoubted common-land is so rarely assigned in Domesday to boroughs—viz., that (as I suggested in *Archæic Tenure*, ANTIQUARY, v. 106) "tenure in several had

case this corporate action is of the greatest historical importance.

Mr. Freeman, in his *William Rufus* (ii. 464–5), alludes to this common land in a passage so curiously full of errors, that it is impossible to pass it by unnoticed, especially as such weight is justly attached to the *dicta* of this eminent historian:—

Eudo ruled the town with great justice and mercy, relieving the inhabitants from their heavy burdens, seemingly by the process of taking to himself a large amount of confiscated land, and paying the taxes laid upon the town out of it. "*Terras damnatorum, . . . dum nemo coleret, exigebantur tamen plenaliter fiscalia, et hæc de causâ populus valdè gravabatur. Has ergo terras Eudo sibi vindicavit, ut pro his fisco satisfaceret et populum eatenus alleviaret.*"*

The sense of the Latin is here clear and definite, and though it cannot be brought into agreement with the above rendering, it does agree perfectly with the elementary fact that lands *vastæ* (or out of cultivation) were often excused from paying geld, and that its payment in such a case was deemed a hardship. This explains the whole story. Certain lands at Colchester, deserted by their owners, had fallen out of cultivation, but the Exchequer insisted on the town still paying its geld in full (*plenaliter*).† Eudo, by taking these lands into cultivation, made himself responsible for the geld due from them (*pro his*), and relieved to that extent (*eatenus*) the townsmen, who had to make good the deficiency. But Mr. Freeman, having arrived at the strange conclusion that Eudo is represented as devoting the actual proceeds of these lands to "paying the taxes laid upon the town," unluckily attempts to rationalize the story, and plunges deeper into trouble:—

The latter part of the story seems to be a confusion or perversion of an entry in Domesday (ii. 106),

been growing up on the town-fields," through leases from the community to individuals? This would explain such cases as Lincoln. In this, again, Colchester was behindhand.

* This extract is from the Chronicle of St. John, in the *Monasticon*, and the italics are my own.

† This was a grievance of which we find burgesses constantly complaining. There is a good Domesday instance at Shrewsbury, where the full geld was still exacted, though there were far fewer to pay it. As Mr. Eyton well expresses it, "a reduced number of contributors had to make good the same total of taxation as had been formerly borne by many" (*Dorset Domesday*, p. 72).

which rather reads as if Eudo had become possessor, and that in the time of the elder William, of the common land of the burgesses. "Eudo dapifer v. denarios (1) & xl. acras terræ quas tenebant burgenses T.R.E. et reddebant omnem consuetudinem burgensium. Modo non reddunt nisi de suis capitibus." This looks as if the burgesses had hitherto paid the royal dues out of their corporate estate, but that when that estate passed to Eudo a poll-tax had to be levied to defray them.

On this unfortunate suggestion I would observe (1) that, by an incomprehensible error, "d." (*domus*) is rendered *denarios*; (2) that the "common land of the burgesses" was (as Mr. Freeman observed in 1876) still in their possession,* and had nothing to do with these "5 houses and 40 acres;" (3) that *tenebant burgenses* merely means (as shown in my note), "were held by burgesses" (not by "the burgesses"); (4) that Mr. Freeman here confuses the seigniorial dues (*consuetudo*) with the national "geld" (*fiscalia*); (5) that the *consuetudo* is distinctly stated to have been always paid by the householders severally, and not out of any "corporate estate;" (6) that, like other Norman grantees, Eudo is here recorded to have shirked paying over this *consuetudo*; (7) that the meaning of this entry is thus perfectly clear—viz., that the tenants of these houses had formerly paid the full burgage-dues (*omnem consuetudinem burgensium*) but that they now only paid the portion levied by poll-tax.† In most cases, the king had even been defrauded of this portion of his dues as well.

Not only, therefore, is Mr. Freeman's theory shown to be utterly untenable, but also the illustrative value of the passage, when we substitute its correct interpretation, proves the advantage of that minute analysis for which I contended at the outset.

Jurisdiction, as is well known, was prized chiefly for its profits. Crime and vice were charged for by a tariff, calculated with exquisite nicety,‡ and the town which had secured for its sons economical indulgence in these luxuries, set forth with jealous care the record

* See above.

† The distinction between this portion of the *consuetudo* and the rest is illustrated by the case of Hamo's burgesses, "ad huc reddunt Burgenses de suis capitibus . . . sed de terra sua . . . non est reddita consuetudo."

‡ Adulterium vel raptum faciens viii. s. et iv. d. emendat homo et femina tantundem (l. 26).

of its proud privilege. But at Colchester, as was observed by Mr. Freeman, we miss this instructive record. Its burgesses were the king's men, and therefore in the king's *soca*. That is all we know. But to one medial holder in Colchester the right of jurisdiction over his tenants had been granted by the Crown.* And here the character of their tenure must be explained.

Every house was "held" subject to the *consuetudo*, or quit-rent, payable to the King *quâ* Lord. When a house was "granted" to a medial owner, he received from its tenant the full rent, and having paid out of it the *consuetudo*, kept the balance for himself. Of course, his great object was to obtain a remission of this quit-rent, and thus to become full owner.† This favour, as we have seen, the bishops had obtained.‡ *Per contra*, the thegn Thurbern had obtained the privilege of jurisdiction, but not (save for his own hall) of exemption from quit-rent.§

Hamo dapifer i. domum et i. curiatim et hidam terræ et xv. burgenses et hoc tenuit antecessor suus Thurbern, T.R.E. Et hoc totum *præter suam aulam* reddebat consuetudinem, T.R.E., et adhuc reddunt burgenses de suis capitibus.

It should be noticed that while all others appear as holding *houses*, Thurbern held *burgesses*,¶ as having power over their persons (*i.e.*, jurisdiction). His rights had passed intact to Hamo,** including his so-called

* Sometimes the king thought fit to grant some part of a city or town to a private owner or to a religious house" (Larking, *Domesday of Kent*, p. 179).

† This privilege the Norman grantees had usurped on every side (*Domesday*, *passim*).

‡ Whether they also obtained the jurisdiction is, as we have seen, doubtful. Perhaps *habet* favours it.

§ So at Ipswich, "habuit stigandus ii. burgenses, T.R.E., cum *saca* et *soca*, et Rex habebat consuetudinem" (ii. 289).

¶ So at Lincoln, "Tochi filius o uti habuit in civitate xxx. mansiones præter suam hallam . . . et suam hallam habuit quietam ab omni consuetudine" (*Domesday*, i. 336).

** Their *terra sua* was apparently held by them (as *terra burgensium*) from the King, but the hide from Hamo. It illustrates the slovenly analysis of *Domesday*, that the Colchester burgess belonging to Rivenhall Manor has been overlooked in the official index, and that Ellis, on discovering him, adds, "he is no doubt included in the fifteen burgesses entered as belonging to Earl Eustace in the account of Colchester itself" (i). (*Introduction*, ii. 441.)

** Son of Hamo Dentatus, the Conqueror's early foe. Strange to find him by his fellow *dapifer*, the son of the Conqueror's preserver!

curia, which puzzled Mr. Freeman sorely.* I venture, quite apart from "local knowledge," to suggest that we must clearly take it, not as referring to Hamo's mansion, but to the jurisdiction which he alone enjoyed.† For, from the mention of the *domus* before the *curia*, I gather that the former was the mansion referred to as *sua aula*.‡

(To be continued.)

Accounts of Henry IV.

By Sir J. H. RAMSAY, Bart.

THE investigation of these accounts yields results no less interesting than those that attended our examinations of the accounts of previous reigns; in some respects the revelations are more surprising than any yet made. The analysis of the accounts does not raise our estimate of Henry's ability, but it bears witness to his honesty, and on the whole raises a feeling of pity, if not of sympathy, for his case. The accounts show that a little prudent economy in the first years of his reign might have saved the quarrel with the Percies, and given, perhaps, a different complexion to the rest of his life. The unfortunate profusion, which was attended with such painful results, does not appear to have been caused by vicious or wanton extravagance, but merely by ignorance or carelessness. Even in private life, a man of small means coming suddenly into a large estate is apt to be bewildered; he cannot judge what is or what is not a

* "An entry of special interest, which I trust will be thoroughly explained by some one who has local knowledge. Hamo besides a house had a *curia*, a rare word, whose use here I do not fully understand." *Arch. Journ.*, xxxiv. 68.

† "*Curia*, which occasionally seems to have implied the court or manor-house only of the lord, in one or two entries appears to have the more immediate reference to manorial jurisdiction." (*Introduction*, ii. 234.) But we have direct and far stronger evidence in the "Laws of Edward the Confessor" (ix.). "Barones autem qui *curias* suas habent de hominibus suis;" and in the Assize of Clarendon (5). "Et illis qui capti fuerint . . . nullus habeat *curiam*," &c. &c.

‡ So at Maldon. "In Melduna habet Rex i. domum . . . de halla regis semper exeunt ii. solidi et viii. denarii" (ii. 5b).

reasonable allowance for a given department. Henry had been in the enjoyment of a large fortune before, but the rise from the largest baronial fortune to the command of the revenues of England was enormous. Henry had risen by a sudden revolution; he was overwhelmed with business; he was surrounded with dangers; he had to be careful of making enemies; he found an extravagant system of housekeeping, established by Richard II. Under all the circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that he did not at once effect the necessary reductions. He cannot, however, be acquitted of all blame in the matter; and an able man would have seen the absolute necessity of having money in hand for the defence of the realm. Anyhow, the consequences to himself were lamentable. Want of means to repay the money expended by the Percies, in their operations against the Welsh and Scots, led to the battle of Shrewsbury and the death of the popular hero, Hotspur—a grievous blow to the king's popularity. Hotspur's rising led to that of Archbishop Scrope, whose execution gave deadly offence to churchmen. The illness that from that time clouded Henry's life was always pointed at as a visible judgment on his impiety. Scrope's execution was followed by a Bloody Assize in the North; and the last desperate effort of the old Earl of Northumberland, in 1408, led to further bloodshed. Henry's throne was safe—but all his enjoyment in life was gone.

The receipts and expenditure of the reign correspond so nearly in the terms for which both Rolls are available, that I have not thought it necessary to print the totals both of the receipts and issues. In one or two cases, where there was a Receipt Roll but no Issue Roll, I have given the total of the Receipt Roll as indicating the probable amount of the expenditure for the same term, and I have pointed out in the notes the cases of substantial difference between the receipts and the expenditure. Thus, in Michaelmas Term, in the fifth year, we have the receipts given as £65,770 5s. 6d., as against an apparent expenditure of about £54,368; in Michaelmas, in the ninth year, the total receipts are given as £90,399 17s. 9d., as against a stated expenditure of £53,367 5s. 7½d.; but this Roll

ends with the 28th of November, so that the account must be incomplete. Again, in the ensuing term, Easter 9, we have the receipts given as £49,360 17s. 2d., as against an apparent expenditure of about £41,500. On the other hand, in Easter Term in the eighth year, the expenditure exceeds the income by £2,700. On many of the rolls no totals whatever are given. The labour of adding these Rolls is so great, that I have not been able to present the reader with as complete a table as I could wish. I have noted with an asterisk those totals which are given either at the foot—as in a properly made up Roll—on the margin.

Taking the expenditure at the highest, it only comes to about £53,000 the term, or £106,000 a year; the first half of the reign being above, and the latter half below, the average. The receipts may be taken to have been the same. The highest figures are those of the fourth year, which exceed £135,000, and of the ninth year, which probably reached £140,000; the lowest, those of the twelfth year, which are under £81,000.

The income of the Lancaster estates, however, should be added, not as part of the strict public revenue, but of the funds which the king had at his disposal, the distinction between the two being more nominal than real.

The Lancaster revenues do not appear on the Pell Rolls; separate accounts were kept of them. From these Lancaster accounts in the Record Office, we learn that 'all the possessions' of Henry IV. that were his before his accession yielded, for the year from the 2nd of February, 1399, to the 2nd of February, 1400, £4,770 4s. 8d., including £120 of arrears. For the next year, to the 2nd February, 1401, the receipts fall to £2,643 5s. 8½d. This, of course was due to Owen "Glyndwr." The receivership of Monmouth and Kidwelly, which in the first of the above years was good for about £1,300, in the second year yields "*nil*;" the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire are represented by the same entry, "*nil*;" so are the castles of Pontefract and Tutbury. In subsequent years the returns appear to have varied from £2,200 to £2,600 in round numbers. Like the royal revenue, the Lan-

caster estates had their establishments and pensions to maintain: the latter amounted to over £500 a year.

An account of the receipts of the Duchy of Lancaster for one year, from Oct. 1, 1397, with arrears and all, comes to £2,333 4s. 2½d.; these were the possessions of John of Gaunt; the difference between that sum and the £4,770 4s. 8d. above given for 'all the possessions' of Henry IV. will represent the value of the Hereford and Northampton estates Henry received with his wife. Even with his private possessions it will be seen that Henry's revenues were considerably below those of his predecessor, which averaged, perhaps, £141,000 a year—or at any rate, £131,000 a year. This falling off was not due to any action of Parliament. Henry apparently received more grants than Richard had done, in proportion to the length of his reign. In Richard's reign of twenty-two years, we made out 13½ lay subsidies; 12 Canterbury subsidies; and 10 York subsidies; besides the two poll-taxes which affected both clergy and laity, and one special grant of 1s. 4d. on the 13s. 4d. from the clergy. In Henry's reign of thirteen and a half years, I make out 8 lay subsidies, with one grant of 1s. on the £1 of land, and one of 6s. 8d. on the £20 of land; from the Convocation of Canterbury I make out 10 or 10½ subsidies, with two minor grants; and from York 6½ subsidies, with one minor grant. Leaving out the special grants, of the amount of which I can offer no trustworthy estimate, if we take the lay subsidy at £38,000, the Canterbury subsidy at £16,000, and the York subsidy at £4,000,* we shall get a gross total of £490,000 as the proceeds of the direct Parliamentary grants, making an average of over £36,000 for each year. If on the average of three years we could take the customs as yielding £50,000, one year with another, we should get more than £86,000 a-year derived from Parliamentary taxation, out of a total income which may be safely taken as under £110,000 on the average.

This shows how completely dependent

* See the figures taken from the *Taxatio*, Stubbs, ii. 550. I give them roughly.

the Crown now was on Parliament and Convocation.

The receipts from the Old Crown Revenues of the first year were probably above the average, being swelled by the large forfeitures incurred by Richard's friends. The clerical tenth appears during the reign to have yielded the amount at which we estimated it in previous reigns—namely, £20,000 in round numbers. The lay subsidy, however—a fifteenth from the counties and a tenth from the boroughs—appears to have yielded more than before. A minute of the Privy Council, based on the collectors' accounts of the sixth, eighth, and ninth years, gives the amount of a half-subsidy as £18,962, &c.; and another minute gives the amount of a whole subsidy as something over £36,000.* These estimates are fully corroborated by the Receipt Rolls; the produce of a half-subsidy in the second year appears as exceeding £19,000.

The customs, or, to speak properly, the wool duties, were still the backbone of the revenue; it will be seen that in the first year they furnished £53,800 out of a total revenue of £108,000. In the second year of Richard II. we found that the general customs, or "tunnage and poundage," only yielded £3,700 out of a total of £52,200; during Henry's reign the proportion appears to have been something similar: in the first year the proportion assignable to the general customs was even less, as the collection of those dues were suspended by Henry for a time, as an act of grace. In the second year of the reign the receipts from all the customs rose to £63,500, and the entire revenue to £128,400; in the twelvemonth from April 2, 1410, to March 23, 1411, the customs fell to £40,600, and the entire revenue to £83,600.

This falling off in the customs was doubtless due to the privateering for which Henry was responsible through his neglect of the navy. In 1406 the evil was so pressing that Parliament made over for a time the keeping of the sea to a body of merchants, who were to receive tunnage and poundage, and a fourth of the wool duties.†

Throughout the reign the wool duties were

* Proceedings, &c., P. Council, H. Nicholas, i. 345, ii. 107.

† See Rot. Parl. iii. 569; *Fœdera*, viii. 437.

granted by Parliament at the same rates—viz., 50s. the sack of wool and 240 wool-fells from natives; and 60s. from aliens; the duty on the 'last' of leather being in each case double. From Easter, 1401, to Easter, 1403, tunnage and poundage were levied at 2s. and 8d. respectively; during the rest of the reign the rates were 3s. and 1s.

Of the Issues as given in our table of the fourth year, the striking feature clearly is the amount of the household expenditure. Our classification includes four heads—namely, Wardrobe, or Household proper; Great Wardrobe; Private Wardrobe; and Chamber, or Privy Purse; in the Easter Term we have a fifth head in the Queen's Privy Purse. The entries on the rolls under these several heads make up the enormous total of £59,010; and that out of a total expenditure of £135,300. In the forty-fourth year of Edward III. (October, 1369—September, 1370) the amount was £25,600 on an apparent total expenditure of £149,000. In the twenty-first year of Richard II. (1397—1398)—the year of Haxey's remonstrance—the total was £45,000 on an apparent expenditure of £139,000. Now for the fourth year of Henry IV. we possess full detailed accounts for two heads—'Wardrobe of the Household' and 'Great Wardrobe,' and I must state at once that they do not exhibit amounts as large as I make them from the Pell Rolls. The accounts of the 'Wardrobe of the Household,' per Thomas More, Keeper, show only £25,000 drawn from the Treasury for the year, where I make out £27,400. But besides the payments through Thomas More we have a concurrent set of payments for household expenditure made through Thomas Tuttebury, one of which, amounting to £382, may be seen in Mr. Devon's extracts, p. 297. These may account for the difference between the two above totals.

With respect to the Great Wardrobe, it will be seen that I make the drawings in the Easter Term alone over £8,900. The drawings in the Michaelmas Term were unfortunately not taken out separately, so that I cannot give the total for the year apparent on the Rolls; but the special account of William Loveney, Clerk of the Great Wardrobe, gives the total drawn from the Treasury

as about £10,000. As I cannot allege any second set of payments under this head, that amount must be accepted. I did not know of this account till after I had made my analysis of the Michaelmas 'Term, or I should have taken out the details of the Great Wardrobe payments for the sake of comparison. Lastly, my table must be rectified by withdrawing the "Private Wardrobe" altogether from the head of personal expenditure: it was an account for arms kept at the Tower, and therefore ought to be allowed as military expenditure. Again, it is unfortunate that I did not take out these items in both terms; but doubling the items given in the Easter Term, we should get £3,100. The payments on account of the Queen's Purse, which are only for half a year, are probably correct, although the amount 'assigned' to her by the King was 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.).* The 'Chamber' may be fairly assumed as £4,000, that amount (the same as in Richard's time), having been assigned by Henry by a writ of his third year; the amount may have been more, but certainly not less. If, then, we were to give Henry the benefit of every doubt, and to charge him only with the sums which appear in the detailed accounts, the corrected account might stand as follows:—

Household, per More and Tuttebury, say	£27,000
Great Wardrobe	10,000
Chamber	4,000
Queen's Purse	1,087
	£42,087

But then the receipts for the year would have to be reduced also by some £14,000, or the balance between them and the Issues would be destroyed; the Household expenditure would then stand as £42,000 on £121,000. But I am satisfied that these figures are too low, and that there were numerous payments for arrears or sundries that did not pass either through the Great Wardrobe or 'Wardrobe of Household,' as in this very year a sum of £160, if I remember right, for gilding a chariot for the king's younger daughter, the Lady Philippa. The systematic erasures and interlineations on the Pell Rolls, of which I have not yet

* Devon Issues, 300, and Issue Rolls, *passim*.

found the interpretation, may account for some inflation of figures, but I fully believe that Henry's household expenditure for this year was over £50,000. Whatever the total, however, we have yet to add the income of the private estates, which were wholly spent on the king and his family.

No wonder that Hotspur felt indignant at the thought of the £20,000 due to him for the pay of soldiers employed against the Welsh and Scots; no wonder that the next Parliament insisted on reductions. It must be stated, however, that the household expenditure of this year exceeded that of any other year of the reign. Thus, the amount drawn for the Great Wardrobe in the previous years had been £7,000 and £8,000; in the fifth year it dropped to £3,469; in the sixth year it was £4,707, &c. So the 'Wardrobe of Household' accounts for the eleventh year, the only other year for which household accounts have been preserved, show drawings to the amount of £19,860, &c., including the 'Foreign Receipts.' These were certain casual sources of income, from the King's 'prisage,' and the like, which were not paid into the Treasury. The £25,000 above given as the amount drawn in the fourth year from the Treasury was exclusive of these. In that year they amounted to £1,936 5s. 5½d. a further addition to be made to the household expenditure of the year. In the eleventh year the £19,860 was all spent, and apparently some £1,873 besides.

The various Wardrobe accounts give interesting illustrations of the social life of the time. The Great Wardrobe was primarily a *dépot* of clothing for the use of the king, his family, and household. It was established in buildings of its own, close to Baynard's Castle, near Blackfriars. The rent of some shops and spare tenements connected with these buildings formed part of the 'Foreign Receipts' of the Great Wardrobe. Besides clothing, this department also provided and took charge of the king's personal armour for war or tilting, saddlery, harness, appliances for hawking, furniture, tents, and pavilions for use on the King's journeys, with the requisite "poles," "stakes," and "pomels;" also the cost of transporting the same from place to place.

Sundry items for the King's marriage

appear in the Great Wardrobe accounts of the fourth year. We have a satin bed provided for the queen, and a canopy, or set of hangings of pink and pale blue satin (*aula rubeo de satyn et blodio pallido*); also, there is an item of 1,000 ostrich plumes at 8d. each, with a label inscribed "*M^{re} Souverain.*"

The 'Wardrobe of Household' accounts give an exact itinerary of the Court for the period covered. The daily expenditure at each place is given under certain regular heads—namely, Dispensary, Butlery, Wardrobe, Kitchen, Poultry, Scullery, Salsery, Hall and Chamber, Stables, Wages, Alms; the grand total of the day being also given.

Beginning with September 30, 1402, the accounts of Thomas More show an expenditure varying from £300 to £500 a week, down to Christmas week, when the total is £683. The totals then sink till we come to the week of the king's marriage (February 4-10, 1403), when the amount springs up to £1,157; then, again, we have £500 till we come to the week of the queen's coronation, when the amount is £1,344; all items rise on that day, except Alms, which remain at a fixed 4s. a day! Wine comes to £111, as against £17 on the corresponding day of the previous week; poultry takes £105 against 38s. before. When the king was moving

TABLE I.—ISSUES: HENRY IV.

From the Pell and Auditors' Rolls.

Term.	Reignal Year.	Duration of Term.	Amount.
Mich.	1	Friday, October 3, 1399—Wednesday, April 7, 1400	£66,885 16 8½
Easter	—	Monday, May 3—Monday, September 27, 1400	*42,700 15 0½
Mich.	2	Friday, October 1, 1400—Saturday, March 26, 1401	*57,216 17 9
Easter	—	No Issue Roll on either side (Receipts April 12—September 2, 1401, £71,244 8s. 4½d.)	—
Mich.	3	Monday, October 3, 1401—Tuesday, March 14, 1402	*67,124 18 1
Easter	—	Tuesday, April 4—Wednesday, September 27, 1402, about†	59,100 0 0
Mich.	4	Monday, October 2, 1402—Monday, March 26, 1403 (Auditor's Roll)	*73,418 7 0½
Easter	—	Monday, April 23—Tuesday, September 4, 1403	*61,986 9 0
Mich.	5	Tuesday, October 9, 1403—Thursday, March 6, 1404†	54,368 11 2½
Easter	—	No Pell Roll—Auditor's Roll incomplete. Receipt Rolls also defective	—
Mich.	6	Friday, October 3, 1404—Friday, March 27, 1405. No totals on Pell, and no Auditor's Roll. About	58,049 0 0
Easter	—	Not a total on either Roll. Receipts, May 1—July 20, about £51,083	—
Mich.	7	Saturday, October 3, 1405—Friday, March 26, 1406	42,671 19 2½
Easter	—	Tuesday, April 20—Saturday, August 14, 1406	40,051 14 2
Mich.	8	Thursday, October 7, 1406—Wednesday, March 9, 1407	46,118 13 0
Easter	—	Friday, April 22—Monday, July 18, 1407	*50,790 15 6½
Mich.	9	Monday, October 3—Monday, November 28, 1407‡	*53,367 5 7½
Easter	—	Wednesday, April 25—Monday, September 10, 1408	41,515 3 11½
Mich.	10	Tuesday, October 9, 1408—Saturday, March 9, 1409	*65,731 14 2
Easter	—	Saturday, April 20? (Roll damaged)—Tuesday, July 16, 1409	*42,552 5 1
Mich.	11	Thursday, October 3, 1409—Thursday, March 20, 1410	43,134 6 2
Easter	—	Wednesday, April 2—Saturday, September 27, 1410	47,870 12 11
Mich.	12	Tuesday, October 14, 1410—Monday, March 23, 1411 (Auditor's Roll)	35,851 12 7½
Easter	—	Monday, April 26—Friday, September 25, 1411	44,986 0 1½
Mich.	13	Tuesday, October 13, 1411—Friday, February 26, 1412	29,978 13 5½
Easter	—	No Roll on either side. No Receipt Rolls either	—
Mich.	14	Monday, October 3, 1412—Monday, March 20, 1413	44,509 18 10

† Not added, some items doubtful.

‡ Total of receipts, £65,770 5s. 6d.

§ The Roll for this term must have been kept in two parts, of which only the first part has been preserved; the Receipt Roll was in two parts, both of which are forthcoming, and the grand total at the end of the second part is £*90,399 17s. 9d.

|| Total of receipts, £*49,360 17s. 2½d.

about the expenditure ran from £300 to £400 a week. A special account of Alms and Oblations for the whole year comes to less than £500.

An entry in the Foreign Receipts of this account enables us to restore to its proper position an old English word which appears to have lost caste. By most of the readers of THE ANTIQUARY the term "swag" will probably be held slang, and perhaps thieves' slang, as meaning plunder. I have been informed that, among the working classes, the word properly denotes the linen bag, or haversack, in which labourers in search of employment may be seen carrying their goods. The entry to which I refer proves that, in the fifteenth century, the word was current as meaning, seemingly, a bag, or case. One of the domestics is charged for the value of a piece of plate lost through him: "*cum uno swag deaurato*"—"with a gilt case."

Perhaps I might call attention to a printer's error in Table VI. of the "Accounts of Richard II.," ANTIQUARY, iv. 207. The "sum of sub-totals given on the Roll" should be £69,529 1s. 4d. instead of £52,629 1s. 4d. Again, in Table V., Article 1, the sum of £1,906 13s. 4d. for Privy Purse has been misplaced. It should be bracketed as included in the total £8,041 8s. 0½d., and not given as exclusive of it.

TABLE II.

Receipts, Michaelmas, 1 Henry IV.
October 3, 1399—April 8, 1400.

	£	s.	d.
1. Old Crown Revenues: with Fines	7,555	17	10½
2. Customs, with Assize and Ulnage of Cloths	34,345	17	4
3. Vacant Sees	146	13	4
4. Priories Alien	929	14	8
5. Hanaper in Chancery	2,510	8	5
6. Lay Fifteenths and Tenths (arrears from 21st year Richard II.)	382	6	2
7. Clerical Tenths (same arrears)	261	19	11
8. Loans—			
Repaid ultimately	3,974	6	5½
Not repaid	460	0	0
9. Advances repaid	33	0	0
10. Sundries*	14,866	0	0
Total on Roll (with balance in hand of £1,333 6s. 8d.)	£65,466	4	2
	£66,885	16s.	8½d.

* Of this, £14,664 13s. 4d. was apparently the balance of Richard II.'s treasure, the dowry of Isabella
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TABLE III.

Receipts, Easter, 1 Henry IV.
April 27—September 27, 1400.

	£	s.	d.
1. Old Crown Revenues, with Fines	7,352	16	6
2. Customs, with Assize and Ulnage of Cloths	19,492	2	11½
3. Vacant See (one)	88	8	2
4. Priories Alien	912	6	8
5. Hanaper	1,779	13	4
6. Lay Fifteenths, &c. (arrears from last reign)	116	17	2
7. Clerical Tenths (arrears as above)	730	12	7½
8. Loans—			
Repaid	10,412	14	7½
Not repaid	716	0	11
9. Advances repaid	93	9	5
10. Sundries—			
Tower Exchange	£93	0	0
'Gifts' from clergy in anticipation of a Tenth	385	0	0
'Gifts' from well-disposed laymen, &c., &c.	806	0	0
	1,285	3	5½
Total on Roll, £42,354 10s. 6½d.	£42,980	5	10

TABLE IV.

Issues, Michaelmas, 4 Henry IV.
October 2, 1402—March 26, 1403.

	£	s.	d.
1. Household, with Privy Purse—i.e., Wardrobe or Household (about £11,000), Great Wardrobe, Private Wardrobe, Chamber or Privy Purse	27,950	12	2
2. Naval and Military—			
Percies	£7,763	0	0
Prince of Wales	5,333	0	0
Thomas of Lancaster (Ireland)	6,546	0	0
Calais	3,565	0	0
Roxburgh	1,352	0	0
&c., &c.			
	28,397	7	4
3. Civil Service, with Law and Diplomacy	6,496	19	7½
4. Public Works	583	4	0
5. Pensions	1,871	10	5½
6. Loans repaid	7,659	0	6½
7. Advances (to be repaid)	37	0	5.
8. Sundries—			
Debts of Richard II.	£320	0	0
Tower Lions, &c.	76	12	6½
	422	12	6
Not added on Roll.	£73,418	7	0½

of France; the sum was paid in by Henry IV. in person on December 10, 1399, in French crowns—"in coronis de cuneo Francie."

TABLE V.

Issues, Easter, Henry IV.
April 23—September 4, 1403.

	£	s.	d.
1. Household—			
Wardrobe . . .	£16,410	13	11½
Great Wardrobe . . .	8,942	7	10½
Private Ward- robe . . .	1,622	18	2½
Chamber . . .	2,996	13	4
Queen's Privy Purse . . .	1,087	6	10
			31,060 0 2½
2. Naval and Military—			
Prince of Wales	£2,726	0	0
Ireland . . .	2,500	0	0
Calais . . .	2,366	0	0
Earl of West- moreland (Car- lisle) . . .	716	0	0
Duke of York (Wales) . . .	693	0	0
Sir H. Percy (Hotspur) Ber- wick . . .	666	0	0
			10,692 4 1
3. Civil Service			3,656 4 9½
4. Public Works			711 9 0
5. Pensions			3,773 15 1
6. Loans repaid			7,953 13 0½
7. Advance			1 0 0
8. Sundries, Tower Lions			49 15 6
			£57,897 18 8½
Marginal Total on Roll, £61,986 9s. 0d.			



On the Dates of the Two Versions of "Every Man in his Humour."

PART II.

THAS been shown that the folio title-page statement of the date of production of the play referred to the quarto form of it, and not to this second or folio version; and that the quarto form was first produced in 1598, and put in print in 1601, not by Henslowe, but, as he then wrote himself, by Ben Johnson himself. If, then, this quarto version was first played in 1598 by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, there can be no ground for the supposition that Jonson took the trouble to alter it, and, thus altered, have it played by the same "servants" in 1598, while in 1601 he

published the unaltered version. We now add that no external evidence as to the date of the folio version has been found, or, except Gifford's less than unsupported assertion, been supposed. It follows that we are at liberty to fix on any date between 1601 and 1616 which may be justified or required by evidence within the play itself. I now proceed to consider such evidence.

1. My first is but an indefinite argument; but it, with my second and third, will prepare the reader for those more definite ones which follow, and then strengthen them by showing that other facts agree with the conclusions that they enforce. The comedy in the quarto ends with a short wind-up speech by Dr. Clement, requiring no notice. But in the folio, besides that the scene is much shortened and altered, this speech is also altered, and concludes thus: "Brayn-worm! . . . whose adventures, this day, when our grandchildren shall hear to be made a fable, I doubt not, but that it shall find both spectators and applause." Such a sentence seems to me very significant of a change of date and circumstances. Jonson is no longer the young and poor author of a first play, but one whose position was assured, and one assured also that his "works" will go down to posterity.

2. This also is indefinite. In act ii. sc. 3 (2 Gifford) we find, "Drake's old ship at *Deford* may sooner circle the world again." Evidently he implies that it was too crazed and rotten to do so. But Jonson would hardly be likely to speak thus of it in 1598, or in Gifford's would-be dates of 1596 or 5, and accordingly *the passage is not in the quarto*. In 1606, however, the vessel would not only have been laid up for twenty-eight years—Marston, Chapman, or Jonson, in their Eastward Hoe, 1605, spoke of its "bare ribs"—but was also old both as regards its achievements, and that its labours had been undergone in a former reign, since which all other things had become new.

3. I would add to this the following:—In the quarto we have, "This speech would ha' done decently in a pothecaries mouth!" In the folio (iii. 5) ". . . in a *tobacco-trader's* mouth!" What made the change necessary? Must it not have been because a new and rare herb was at first sold by the apothecaries as an item of their stock in trade, but when

its fashion, and therefore its supply had become great, its sale had become a separate business able to maintain its purveyor?

4. Here I would for a moment interrupt the thread of my discourse to notice an omission at the close of Part I. The difficulty in which Gifford found himself as to the date of "The Case is Altered," a difficulty due to his desire to explain away Henslowe's entry of December 3, 1597, and the way in which he would wriggle out of it. As I have said, he would apply the entry to this play, and in his Introduction says: "This comedy, which should have stood at the head of Jonson's works, had chronology been consulted, was first printed in quarto in 1609." Now its known mark of date was its reference to Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, "You are in print already for the best plotter." How would Mr. Gifford evade this? "Anthony might have been called 'our best plotter' before Meares . . . and indeed the words have to me the air of a quotation." To a recorded fact he opposes an unsupported conjecture; and he trusts to his readers' ignorance of Meres. I know not how many sentences and phrases could be culled from this author, each as fully proving itself "by its air" to be a quotation, to any one desirous of so accounting it. But we are saved all trouble of refutation, if so unsupported an assertion require refuting, by an overlooked passage, which settles the date as subsequent to the production of "Every Man in his Humour" in 1598. Antonio, in the first scene, is made to say "I write so plain, and keep the old decorum, that you must of necessity like it: marry, you shall have some now (as, for example, in plays) that will have every day new tricks, and write you *nothing but humours*: indeed, this pleases the gentlemen, but the common sort, they care not for 't." The italics are mine, for the words are proof positive that they were written after "Every Man in his Humour," and after its success was established, and not improbably after the "Out of his Humour" in 1599: the phrase—"that will . . . humours"—seemingly indicating more than one play. We must, however, confine its date between 1598 and the writing of Nash's "Lenten Stuff" in 1599, for this notices the play. Unfortunately this "Lenten Stuff" was not entered in the "Stationer's Register,"

though that it was early in that year may be guessed from its title. I may add that why "The Case is Altered" was never acknowledged by Jonson, never published in his "workes," is, I think, evident to any student of it and his plays. It is one of his double-authored pieces; and at present I incline to allow to Jonson little more than the prose, or comic scenes. Jonson's name having become more popular, it was probably a bookseller's venture to affix the better-selling name only.

To return to the arguments on the date of our second version. In the folio, Well-bred's letter (i. 2) differs from that of the quarto, especially in its remarks drawn from current events. In the quarto it closes thus—"but live in more penurie of wit and invention than either the *Hall Beadle* or Poet *Nuntius*." That this poet Nuntius was Anthony Munday was made obvious to the denser among the audience by the suggestive pre-reference to the Guildhall Beadle. In "The Case is Altered" he is again brought in as "Antonio Balladino, pageant poet to the City of Milan," and that he was brought in merely as a butt for Jonson's angry ridicule is shown by this, that he has nothing to do with the plot, and only appears in the first scene. He is brought in, just as Clove and Orange were brought into "Every Man Out of his Humour," they being, in Jonson's own words, "meere strangers to the whole scope of the play;" that in the person of Clove he might vent his spite on Marston, while not improbably from his notice of the "characters" Orange was in dress and manner, and in his "O Lord, Sir," an attempted facsimile of Dekker. According to the date usually assigned to "The Case is Altered," and which we think we have now confirmed, Jonson for two years or less was at variance with A. Munday, and when he could do so, publicly ridiculed him. On Mr. Gifford's unfounded hypothesis—one seemingly invented to get rid of a fact unfavourable to his other theories—Jonson first ridiculed Munday, then having, it is to be supposed, made up his quarrel, expunged his hit, and then within two years re-vented his spite in an aggravated form. Putting aside Gifford's dates, already shown to be groundless, I leave the reader to decide which belief is the more probable.

5. The folio in act iii. scene 1, gives us this:—

Bob. Faith, sir, I was thinking of a most honorable piece of service, was perform'd to morrow, being *St. Marke's* day, shall be some ten yeares now?

Bob. Why at the beleag'ring of *Strigonium*, where in lesse then two houres, seven hundred resolute gentlemen . . . lost their lives upon the breach . . . it was the first but the best leagure, that ever I beheld, with these eies, except the taking in of—what doe you call it, last yeere by the *Genowayes*.

The quarto whilst giving these two speeches word for word, in other respects, has *Ghibel-letto* instead of *Strigonium*, and *Tortosa* for "what doe you call it." I much regret the having failed to trace the name Ghibelletto, or the date of the taking of Tortosa, whichever Tortosa it may have been; for these would have given us the exact date of the composition, or of the production of this first version. But for our present purpose we have enough. *Strigonium*, or Graan, in Hungary, was retaken from the Turks in 1595. Now, it would be absurd, *primâ facie*, to consider Bobadil as a fool who, having had days to do it in, and his position and daily subsistence depending upon it, was unable to concoct a plausible lie. Again, the siege of Graan having been so noteworthy an exploit, and one of such importance against an enemy then threatening to overrun Europe, Jonson would not have chosen it, and added the date of some ten years before, unless that date had been some ten years before the production of this version. That he and Bobadil did seek verisimilitude, we have moreover these further proofs. First, that the quarto Ghibelletto was altered to *Strigonium*. Secondly, that the Tortosa of "last yeare" was also struck out, but there having been no noted, siege or capture during the folio version's "last yeare," Bobadil is humorously made to pretend to forget for more than a moment, "this best leagure that ever he beheld." Hence he exclaims after a pause, marked in both the 1616 and second, or 1640 edition by a dash "what doe you call it." Graan having been retaken by the Christians in 1595, the version must have been produced about 1605. It is worth while noting that while Mr. Gifford quotes Whalley's note that Graan had been taken in 1597 (1595 is the right

date), he either failed to see, or thought his reader unlikely to see, that such a date destroyed his own theories as to dates and theatres.

6. In Well-bred's letter already quoted, we have in the folio—"I have such a present for thee (our Turkie companie never sent the like to the Grand-Signior)." This is clearly a reference to a recent and well-known subject of popular comment, such as might be expected in this "counterfeit" of a sprightly letter dashed off by a fashionable and well-bred gallant about town. In Elizabeth's reign such a present had been sent, but though from the loss of my notings, I cannot give the exact date—the Company was chartered in 1579—it was much too early to have been thus noticed in 1598. Hence *it is not in the 1601 printed version*. But when the Levant, or Turkey Company was re-constituted and re-chartered in 1605, James gave them £5,000 to be expended in a present to the Porte, and without doubt, whether to advance the prospects and clientele of the Company, or to set forth and laud the Royal munificence, or for both purposes, these presents were displayed in public view. This reference, then, again brings down the production of this version to 1605 at least, or, more probably, to 1606.

Two series of objections, however, remain to be noticed. (a) The first four, Elizabethan, though not dateable, passages in this folio version. In iv. 2, Brainworm says—"I arrest you i'th Queen's name;" and again—"I charge you in her Majestie's name," In iv. 3, Bobadil says—"Were I known to her Majesty;" and Welcome, in v. 2, cries—"You must not deny the Queen's justice, sir." Admitting that such discrepancies are not positively to be reconciled with arguments five and six, the following may be suggested as the probable causes and explanations:—First. Jonson, while suiting certain phrases to the current times, was probably still desirous of letting it be known that this, his first unaided and very successful comedy, was written when he was yet a young man, and as early as 1598. His vanity and conceit were quite equal to such an attempt; in fact, it is similar to his placing that date year on the folio title-page. Secondly, he may have had this other strong motive. In

1605 and 1606 he may have had Court and fashionable patronage, but many play-writers, and among them he himself, had been accused of bringing living personages on the stage. He certainly had so brought on Captain Hannan as Tucca, as also Marston and Dekker, the former, if not the latter, in two comedies; avowedly he ridiculed contemporary absurdities and vices, and generally drew from the life. Lest his other caps should be thought to fit too closely on any known eccentric or humorous persons of sufficient rank to make such an accusation a serious matter, he probably wrote the words, "i'th Queen's name," &c. Gentlemen, he could say, this comedy was written in 1598, in ridicule of the fashions of that day, my proofs were spoken before you on the stage. Thirdly, it might have been that under a new king and Court, and also under Jonson's own ridicule in 1598 and 1599, this constant employment and misuse of the word "humour" was in 1606 dying out of good society. We see some probability of this, since Nym had adopted it in 1599, as also from the title of Day's *Humour out of Breath*, published in 1608, but probably from its hit at the Lottery in 1606, played either in that year or in 1607. Jonson would, therefore, by his references to an Elizabethan date, both gain in verisimilitude, as well as the sympathies of fashionable audiences, by ridiculing a somewhat antiquated and old-world fashion. Why, lastly, should not Jonson, for all or for any of these reasons, or for reasons now unknown, have committed the slight discrepancy of placing the time in the late Queen's reign, while he introduced in his dialogue such references as would interest and be appreciated by his hearers? I might add here that Jonson's reproduction of this successful play in 1606 seems to have suggested the titles of Day's *Humour out of Breath*, and an anonymous *Every Woman in her Humour*, respectively published in 1608 and 1609.

(b.) The other series of discrepancies that it may be as well to notice, partly because their examination will really support our previous arguments, are the dates of Brainworm's pretended services as Fitz-Sword. By his speech in ii. 4 (2 Gifford), he had served

in all the late warres of *Bohemia, Hungarie, Dalmatia, Poland*, where not, sir? I have beene a poor servitor, by sea and land, any time this fourteene yeeres; and follow'd the fortunes of the best Commanders in *Christendome*. I was twice shot at the taking of *Alepo*, once at the reliefe of *Vienna*; I have been at *Marseilles, Naples*, and the Adriatique gulfhe.

There is but one difference here between the quarto and folio. The former has "America," instead of "the Adriatique gulfhe." Now the Venetians assisted the French against Naples in 1528; the relief of Vienna occurred in 1529. Allowing him, therefore, to have enlisted at the age of fifteen, he was, at the time of the first version in 1598, eighty-five or eighty-four years old! Whether we look to his appearance, drawn by old Knowell, as Fitz-Sword, or to his having been, "a poore servitor, by sea and land, any time this fourteene yeeres," this is a ridiculous supposition. Again, the last battle fought before Aleppo, though I know not that there was a siege, was fought in 1516! Nor can I find that there was any other siege. But this battle was when Selim I. defeated and killed the Egyptian Kham-son Ghorî. Brainworm therefore, who had fought under the best Commanders in Christendom, and prates elsewhere of serving "in his Princes cause," must have then fought under and with Mohammedans on whichever side he fought! It is noteworthy, too, that though Jonson changed the names of the places mentioned by Bobadil, he only made here the one change already noticed. And this change appears to me significant. Why did he in 1606 speak of the "Adriatique gulfhe"? This phrase, I think, refers to the battle of Lepanto fought in 1571, twenty-seven years, not fourteen, from 1598, but he mentions it in this later version because it paid a little indirect tribute to James, who had written a sonnet on that victory. The reader will presently see what leads me to this conclusion. The cause of these impossible dates—dates impossible to a fourteen years' service-man—is in this, that Brainworm was a mere novice, and an extempore one, not at lying, but at military lying. Bobadil, on the contrary, lived by his lies and bombast, and had his tales carefully prepared. Jonson, therefore emphasized these differences, and made them more apparent by this contrast of possible and impossible false-

hoods. Before leaving this subject, I would also remark that I am unable to see how either set of discrepancies can overthrow data founded on the time of the capture of Strigonium, or on that of the date of the present of the Turkey Company. Could Jonson for instance have referred to or prophesied of a present that was not thought of or likely to be given till at least seven years after 1598.

I conclude with a suggestion as to the immediate cause of the production of this second version. The King of Denmark, father of James' queen, came to England in July, 1606, and Drummond, speaking of his stay, says—"There is nothing to be heard at Court, but sounding of trumpets, hautboys, music, revelling and *Comedies*"—under which last phrase he probably included plays generally. Jonson at that time was known and in favour with the Court. He had been employed to write a pageant exhibited before the two kings at Theobalds on July 24. Certainly, therefore, he would have been asked among others to furnish his comedy. But he was not so likely to furnish a new one as to set forth an old, whose success had been established. Doubtless, also, he was willing to exhibit one of his acknowledged chef d'œuvres, his first independent work and one that had brought him into notice. Besides, he was slow in concocting a play, about a year was thought his usual time. But while setting forth "Every Man in his Humour," he would naturally suppose that he could improve it, improve its situations and its dialogue, and make it more what it was intended to be, a home thrust at English absurdities. By these changes also he would make it more of a novelty to the English Court audience at the first, and to others afterwards. In like manner I would add, though it is unconnected with my subject, that James and his Majesty's servants most probably took care to present Macbeth as showing forth James' hereditary title to the Crown, and the heinous sin of the gunpowder plotters against the predestined decree, centuries before registered in heaven, that Banquo's issue were to become the first kings of Great Britain, and Ireland—and twofold balls and treble sceptres bear.

BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

The Scandinavian "Thing" in Dublin.

It is not often that a man like Charles Haliday is to be met with either in life or in literary history; and now that Mr. Prendergast, so well known in connection with Irish antiquarian research comes forward with his edition of Mr. Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, and prefixes to it a life of the author, we cannot do better than ask our readers with all sincerity to read these records,* for they will find there some of their own best experiences of the influence of antiquarian studies upon the mind. Turning to the book itself, which is just one of those interesting chapters of history very dear to the student of early institutions, we propose giving an account of Mr. Haliday's remarkable discoveries relative to the Scandinavian Thing in Dublin.

Mr. Haliday claims that the Scandinavians settled in Dublin—they did not conquer it as they did their other possessions in the British Isles. But however this may be the settlement was not left in peace, for we have a long record of the wars that took place between the Irish and the new comers. It is interesting, however, to be able to penetrate through the din and clash of war to the times of peace and law, and that the Norsemen lived in Dublin as they lived in their own lands is now conclusively shown. By the assistance of place-names, a study only too little cultivated, it has long been known that Dublin possessed an ancient meeting-place of the Scandinavian Thing. "A document of the year 1258," says Worsaae "conveys a gift of some ground in the suburbs of Dublin, in *Thengmotha*. This Thing place, which seems to have been not far from the present site of Dublin Castle, where the Norwegians had erected a strong fortress, gave to the surrounding parish of St. Andrew the surname of '*de Theng-*

* *The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*. By Charles Haliday. Edited, with some notice of the Author's life, by John P. Prendergast (Dublin: Thom & Co.; London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1882). 8vo, pp. cxxiii.—300.

mote.'* But here our information ceased until Mr. Haliday took up the subject. He mentions a deed of the year 1241 granting land situated in "Thengmotha, in the parish of St. Andrew Thingmote." And an enrolled deed of 1575 gives a further clue, by describing the property conveyed as bounded by the road leading to HoggenGreen called Teigmote, thus showing that the Thingmotha of the preceding document was that part of the Stein called Hoggen Green. If, then, we assume that Thingmotha had its name from the Thingmote, these records show that the Thing place of Dublin was on Hoggen Green in the parish of St. Andrew. Other documents leave no doubt that the precise position was at the angle formed by Church Lane and Suffolk Street, nearly opposite the present Church of St. Andrew, and about forty perches east of the old edifice. It stood intact until the year 1685. It was then demolished by Sir William Davis, to whom the Corporation demised the mound, and the earth was used in raising Nassau Street, then called St. Patrick's Well Lane, the street being elevated from eight to ten feet. Mr. Haliday fortunately discovered a drawing and survey made in 1682, a facsimile of which is given in his book, and it appears that the mound was a conical hill, about forty feet high, and 240 feet in circumference. But further than this, the plan shows an indented outline, which gives to the mound the appearance of having had those terraces or steps which existed on the Thingmounts of the Isle of Man,† of Iceland,‡ and elsewhere. It stood out boldly from the surrounding country. Mr. Prendergast points out that it appears from the Ordnance Survey that the base of the Thingmount, which stood at the same level as the base of the present St. Andrew's Church, was 35 feet above the level of low-water, so that the mound being 40 feet high, its summit stood 75 feet above the Liffey when the tide was lowest. Standing, then, on the strand, the Thingmount would be seen as a lofty mound overlooking the level plain of the Steyne.

Near the ancient place of assembly and justice was the place of punishment and execution, and the Scandinavian Thing in Ireland

is not deficient in this feature. About 200 perches eastward of the mound was the Hangr Hoeg, or Gallows Hill, of Dublin. Here, on a rocky hill, surrounded by a piece of barren ground, the gallows was erected, and here criminals were executed until the beginning of the last century.

There is only one other accompaniment of the ancient Thing to make this example a very nearly complete specimen, and that is, the site of any Hôf or Temple connected with the Thingmount. Mr. Haliday could not find any vestiges of such temples, but he rightly turns to the evidence of early history, where he finds that the Pagan temple became the Christian Church. Bede, it is well known, has preserved a letter from Pope Gregory to Abbot Mellitus, directing him to tell St. Augustine in England that he had determined that "the temple of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed, but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples; let altars be erected and relics placed."* Almost everywhere the Christian missionaries pursued this wise course. It is no doubt the origin of the ancient chapel of St. John's in the Isle of Man, which directly faces the flight of steps on the Tinwald Mound, and to which there is a spacious road of approach from the foot of the mound.† And no doubt also it is the origin of St. Andrew's Thengmotha in Dublin. Mr. Haliday draws attention, in confirmation of this theory, to the remarkable fact that when the church was rebuilt, it was built in an elliptical form, which gave it the name of the Round Church, and Speed's map of 1610 shows a semicircular enclosure attached to it; and it is well within the bounds of probability that this pagan form of the modern church is due not to the influence of modern architecture, but to that of ancient tradition and usage.

Now this remarkable accumulation of evidence relative to an old state of things, presents perhaps as valuable a chapter of primitive politics as could well have been written. We have, it is true, no picture of the forms and ceremonies once enacted on this historic ground, but these can be filled up from other

* Worsaae's *Danes and Norwegians*, p. 322.

† See Train's *History of the Isle of Man*, i. 271.

‡ Sir G. W. Dasent, *Story of Burnt Njal*.

* *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. cap. xxx.

† Train's *History of the Isle of Man*, i. 271.

evidence, because we know that the place being so nearly like the primitive meeting-places of the Scandinavians, the forms and ceremonies must have belonged to the same stage of history. Mr. Haliday has collected much information about some curious and interesting municipal customs, all of which, there can be little question, descend to us from the early days of Scandinavian occupation; and when we add to this the evidence as to the ancient "stein" or landing-place of the Ostmen, there can be no doubt that we have here some considerable and valuable information about the Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin.



On Some Quaint Old Laws of England.

THAT justly renowned legal luminary, Lord Chief Justice Coke (1550-1634), considered what is called the Common Law of England, to be "the absolute perfection of reason," since nothing, said his lordship, that is contrary to reason, can ever be consonant with law. This highly laudatory description of a system of jurisprudence which has been so frequently modified, and in parts annihilated, may at first sight appear to a reader to be one of almost undue exaggeration. It must, however, be borne in mind that the word "reason," as employed by the learned author and judge whom we have mentioned, does not signify intuitive or inborn reason, but, as the Chief Justice himself explains it, that *artificial* perfection of reason which, as it were, is the result of long study and observation; or probably, to express it more clearly, is the perfected form of that frame of mind which should be the natural consequence of those mental pursuits which produce ripe experience. Such being the case, it has always been assumed by sages of the law that the deliberate decisions of superior Courts of Law ought to be handed down from generation to generation as precedents founded in this "perfection of reason;" provided, of course, they are not on their face palpably unjust or absurd, in

which case they could not be deemed to be so founded. These judgments are obviously exceedingly valuable, as frequently declaring with precision the Common Law on their subject-matters, and accordingly they form a very considerable portion of what is termed the unwritten Law of England. "Unwritten" here means that the law laid down is that derived from apposite preceding declarations, gathered from established precedents, themselves evolved—as the phrase goes—from the breasts of the judges; in short, law declared otherwise than by Parliamentary enactments; and this latter, in contradistinction to the above, or *Lex non Scripta*, is termed the *Lex Scripta*, or written law.

The object of this paper is to present a cursory view of the quaint side of our Common and Statutory Laws—especially the latter—at certain periods of the history of England—that is to say, in other words, to point out those laws which, seriously enacted or administered by our forefathers, appear grotesque and absolutely ridiculous to us.

A retrospect of this character is not merely amusing, it must necessarily be instructive also, for nothing more clearly helps us to understand the state of society and morals in a country at any given period of its existence than the tone and particular character of the laws then in force there. The progress of civilization in a nation may be traced almost minutely through the improvements from time to time made in its juridical system; indeed, the various gradual steps which the law of any nation may take towards perfection, measure precisely the progressive advance of the mental condition and public prosperity of that nation's population.

And first let us look at the growth and character of some of the *penal* laws of England. Now, among our German forefathers, all crimes, with the exception of two—desertion from the army in time of war, and the ravishment of married women—were punishable by fines; but after the times of the so-called Saxon Heptarchy in England, however, it was found necessary to alter this easy state of affairs, and to inflict capital punishment upon those who committed the graver kinds of offences. Thus, the crime of murder, which at one time might have been expiated

by the payment of a mulct or fine—great or less, according to to the “quality” of the person killed—was, after the Heptarchy, to be atoned for only by the death of the murderer. Treason and robbery were made capital offences, and Alfred the Great struck a decisive blow at the practice of corruptly administering the law by hanging in one year no less than forty-four unjust judges (see *Miroir des Justices*, ch. 2). This fact, if it be really a fact, is eloquent as to the upright character of Alfred. His comprehensive mind saw that if the conduit pipes of the fountain of justice were foul—no matter how clear so ever the stream might be at its source—those who came to drink thereof would be defrauded of their right to enjoy the current in its original purity; and further, that the law would be brought into contempt and abhorrence. It was part of the subsequent policy of William the Conqueror—although in the event he actually confirmed them—to destroy the spirit of the excellent Saxon laws which he found in England. That he succeeded in altering the tenures of land is well-known, and also that he partially carried out his designs concerning the eradication of the Saxon system of judicature. Yet some of the criminal courts which he despised, but which helped to bring in an addition to the king’s revenue by the fines and forfeitures exacted in them, were allowed to remain, their constitution and practice alone being changed, not the laws administered therein. In order the more effectually to destroy the Saxon system of jurisprudence—if we may so designate the body of rules observed by our ancestors—William caused that distinction to be made between the clergy and the laity in this country, which the Popes of Rome had contrived to introduce into France. Clerks in holy orders were at this period of history about the only persons who knew the laws; indeed, almost the only persons who could read and write; and they accordingly were accustomed some of them to exercise judicial functions while others took upon themselves the duties of practitioners in the various courts. Such being the case, William perceived that their removal from these respective positions would be the necessary result of their separation from the general body of the people, and

might insure the annihilation of that simple mode of administering the law which had obtained among the Saxons, a mode which was utterly distasteful to the Conqueror and his followers, who better loved the complicated system of the Norman method of legal procedure.

This policy of prohibiting the clergy from practising in the courts was not, however, quite successfully carried out, for the tonsured advocates, unwilling to give up their old and lucrative occupation, managed very often to evade the papal canon which had been published on the subject, by appearing in court in the garb of simple laymen; and it is singular that the chief implement of disguise employed by these gentlemen to conceal their true calling, is one that has descended to the present generation—the last, however of its long career—as a mark of high distinction amongst lawyers, and enjoyed only by judges and serjeants-at-law.* The reader will probably have observed in Westminster Hall, a black patch on the top of the wigs of the learned judges, and also on those of certain grave-looking members of the long robe in the courts there. This ornament (?) is called the *coif*, and it is one of the traditions of the law that the badge in question originated in the attempts made by the crafty ecclesiastics to hide their shaven crowns when they went into court to conduct their clients’ cases. In consequence of this and, no doubt, other transparent devices being winked at by those in authority, the former style of doing business would often crop up—the old law and practice would be, and was, as a matter of fact—frequently alluded to and quoted before the Norman judges by whom William had replaced the clerical presidents. Thus it came to pass that the old laws were not destroyed; on the contrary, many of its provisions were retained, and became the pivot of that system “upon which every subsequent alteration was to operate.” The Conqueror’s youngest son, afterwards Henry I., however, almost restored the Saxon laws, which, from their excellence, were welcomed back, not only by the English, but also by the Norman

* The order of Serjeants-at-law became virtually extinct on the passing of the Judicature Act of 1873, and actually so after the sale of their Inn in Chancery Lane about three years ago.

subjects of the king; and since the period indicated, their principles, except as to the descent, devolution, purchase and sale, &c., of lands, have been the acknowledged basis on which nearly all legislation has been founded. But the Common Law had to struggle against two very powerful opposing forces—namely, the Civil Law of Rome and the Canon Law of the Romish Church; and these two systems were upheld by the clergy. The laity, on the other hand, noble and plebeian, maintaining their regard for the Common Law, we find in the reign of King Stephen a proclamation issued by that sovereign interdicting the study of the two systems of jurisprudence just mentioned. The clergy, feeling themselves unable to establish in England the civil and the canon law, which, unlike the Saxon, were deemed, and rightly, too, to militate against the full liberties of the people—in short, quite unsuited to their genius in every way, after a time abandoned the attempt, and by the reign of Henry III. had from inclination, and also from opposition to their scheme, retired from the secular courts, both as judges and practitioners.

In the reign of this sovereign we find that, although trial by jury, both in civil and criminal causes, was in full operation, yet, in certain cases, it was open to a defendant to defend himself either by jury or by duel. This latter was called the *wager of battle*—a mode of trial then common in the country since the Conquest. The duel was fought in open court, and if the defendant could go on “until the stars appeared,” he won the day. The institution of trial by assize put a stop to this extraordinary practice, but it was not finally abolished by the legislature until the reign of George III. In the reign of Henry III., the judges went their circuits for the purpose of administering criminal justice, as they do now, and were then styled *justices itinerant*, or in *eyre*. The grand and petty jury also took part in the proceedings, and challenges were allowed, as now, to accused persons—that is, they were permitted to object to any of the jurors who were to determine their guilt or innocence.

In this reign also the old Saxon mode of trial by *ordeal* was abolished; but another mode, the *wager of law*—that is, by the oath of the accused, confirmed by those of his neighbours,

called *compurgators*, was allowed to remain. We find trials by wager of law employed in the time of Lord Coke; and even as recently as the year 1824, an application was made to the Court of King’s Bench to assign compurgators to a defendant, “with whom he should come to perfect his law.” The word law, as used here, signifies oath, and wagers of law simply meant acquitting oneself of an obligation by an oath, backed up by other oaths. In the above case, *King v. Williams*, reported in vol. ii. of Barnewall and Cresswell’s Reports, Chief Justice Abbott (afterwards Lord Tenterden) refused to grant the application, observing that the defendant must act according to his judgment. He brought eleven compurgators; but the plaintiff abandoned his action. Wager by law, one of the most ancient features in the practice of the English law, no longer exists, having been abolished by the Statute 3 & 4 William IV., c. 42.

The Englishmen of yore always seemed to think a great deal of keeping the peace, as they termed it. By the word peace, they meant, as we do at present, an abstinence from force in the prosecution of a right, and in any other cases; or, as an old writer explains it, “that amitie, confidence, and quiet, which is betweene men.” To preserve this quiet in the country, Justices, or Justiciars, of the Peace were first instituted, and were sometimes called Commissioners of the Peace, a term, it would seem, of a more appropriate character than the former. Some of the old rules of law on this subject are highly amusing, but a great many of them remain at this day part and parcel of the law of England. Thus, a wife could always demand a surety of the peace from her husband, just as at the present day. We cannot, however, quite see the force of the following statements, made in a work published in 1626:—

The law hath conceived such an opinion of the peaceable disposition of noblemen, that it hath been thought enough to take one of their promises vpon his honour that he would not break the peace against any man.

All other persons, however, including knights and “ecclesiastical persons,”

Might be arrested for the peace . . . lest otherwise it should argue them vnworthie and unmeet to beare or exercise any office in the Commonwealth.

Our forefathers had a long list of what they considered justifiable assaults, the commission of which was not deemed a breach of the peace. Thus, we find it laid down in the reign of Edward IV., that—

It is lawfull for the parents, kinsmen, or other friends of a man that is mad, or frantike, who, being at libertie, attempteth to burne an house, or to do some other mischief, or to hurt himselfe, or others, to take and put him into an house, to bind or chaine him, and to beat him with rods, and to doe any other forcible act to reclaime him, or to keepe him so as he shall doe no hurt.

Thus did the law of free England directly sanction those proceedings against insane persons which for ages formed a standing disgrace to the country, and which, even in these days, we find resorted to by inhuman persons, apparently the exponents of the more repulsive features in the manners and customs of barbarous times. It was also quite justifiable for "a gaolor, or his servant, by his commandment, to chastise his unruly prisoners;" a rule which gave facilities for the most detestable brutality and extortion on the part of those in authority—opportunities, of which we well know, these persons at one time freely availed themselves.

In addition to the surety of the peace, our ancestors had another kind of surety, "of great affinitie with that of the peace," called *surety for the good behaviour*, and which exists at the present day. It was provided chiefly for the preservation of the peace; but there was, and is, of course, more difficulty in performing the surety for good behaviour than that of the peace, it being obviously a question what is meant by "good behaviour." An old work on the law, Dalton's *Justice*, enumerates the offences for which surety for the good behaviour of the party committing them might have been had. A few will suffice to show the state of morals in England about the time of Charles I., the period of this work's publication.

For the following, among other causes, surety for a person's good behaviour was granted :—

Against such as be generally feared to bee robbers by the high-way.

Against such as by night shall evesdrop mens houses.

Against night-walkers that shall cast mens gates or carts, &c., into ponds, &c.

Against common haunters of Ale-houses, or

Taverns; but more specially if they have not whereon to live.

Against common drunkards.

Against all such as goe on message of theeves.

Against the putative father or mother of a bastard child.

Disturbers of preachers

Popish recusants absenting themselves from Church twelve moneths.

Although some of the offences above indicated did not necessarily involve an actual breach of the peace in their commission, yet as "the Common Law of England hath alwayes abhorred force as the capital enemy thereto," so it seems that acts at all likely to lead to force were carefully watched and severely dealt with by our ancestors.

In the time of Charles I., we find the law concerning *witches* and their craft thus stated :—

To consult, covenant with, entertaine, imploy, feed or reward any evill spirit, to or for any intent or purpose, is felonie in such offenders, their aides and counsellors.

To practise witchcraft for the purpose of finding lost goods, to destroy property, or "to the intent to provoke any person to love," was felony.

The writer of these passages, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, proceeds thus :—

Now against these witches, being the most cruell, revengefull and bloudie of all the rest, the justices of peace may not alwaies expect direct evidence, seeing all their workes are the workes of darknesse, and no witnesses with them to accuse them; and therefore for their better discoverie, I thought good here to insert certaine instructions out of the book of discoverie of the witches that were arraigned at Lancaster, A.D. 1612, before the judges of assize there.

1. These witches have ordinarily a familiar or spirit, which appeareth to them.

2. This said familiar hath some bigg, or other marke, upon their bodie, when he sucketh them.

3. They have often pictures of clay or wax like a man, &c., found in their house.

4. Witches may be known if a dead bodie bleede upon them.

5. By their own volontaire confession, which exceeds all other evidence.

The difference between conjuration, witchcraft, and inchantment is this :—conjurers and witches have personall conference with the devill or evill spirit to effect the purpose. The conjurers beleieve by certaine terrible words, that they can raise the devill, and make him to tremble; and by impaling themselves in a circle, which as one saith, cannot keep out a mouse, they beleieve that they are therein insconced, and safe from the devill whom they are about to raise.

The witch dealeth rather by a friendly and volun-

tary conference, or agreement between him and her, and the devill or familiar, to have his or her turne served, and in liew thereof, the witch giveth or offereth their soule, bloud, or other gift unto the devill.

Also the conjurer compactes for curiositie, to know secrets, or worke miracles : and the witch of meere malice to doe mischiefe, and to be revenged.

The inchanter, charmer, or sorcerer, these have no personal conference with the devill, but without any apparition work and performe some things, seemingly at the least, by certaine superstitions and ceremoniall formes of words called charmes, by them pronounced : or by medicines, hearbs, or other things applied above the course of nature, and by the devill's helpe and covenants made with him.

Of this last sort, likewise, are soothsayers, or wizards, which divine and foretell things to come, by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds, and unto such questions as be demanded of them, they doe answer by the devill, or by his helpe—that is, they do answer by voyce, or else do set before their eyes in glasses, christall stones or rings, the pictures or images of the persons or things sought for.

Such were the provisions of a solemn Act of the English Parliament, passed in the reign of "the most high and mighty prince," James I.; and it was not until that of George II. that the Statute was repealed by another, called the Vagrant Act, which, although more sensible in tone, is by no means deficient in quaintness.

J. H. FLOOD.

(To be continued.)



Reviews.

A Catalogue of Rare, Curious, and Valuable Old Books.
On sale by ALFRED RUSSELL SMITH, 36, Soho Square. (London : 1882.) 8vo, pp. 528.

OUR readers will be glad to know of the issue of this really valuable catalogue. To many, a booksellers' catalogue is of great interest, even when carelessly arranged and badly printed, as is too often the case; but we get here a totally different kind of thing. These are some of the heads under which it is classified :—Agriculture, Ana, Angling, Anglo-Saxon, Bibliography, Manners, Brewing, Chap Books, Dramatic History, Finance, Fine Arts, Heraldry, Jest Books, Mythology, Numismatics, Pedigrees, Philology, Folk-lore, Prehistoric Archaeology, Records, and County publications. We cannot pick out any special books for notice, but referring, for instance, to the collection of versions and editions of Reynard the Fox, it will be at once seen that this catalogue, irrespective of its value to book purchasers, is of great interest to students of archaeology. It contains no less than six thousand books for sale.

Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society. Vol. ii., pt. iii. new series. (Colchester : 1882.) 8vo, pp. 223-310.

The papers here presented to the members of the Society are all of great interest. They are "Inventories of Church Goods" 6th Edward VI., by H. W. King, "Liber Scholæ Colcestriensis," being entries concerning sons of the clergy admitted into the Royal Grammar School, Colchester, during the headship of Dr. Dugard, 1637-1642; "History of Hatfield Forest"; "Notes on an inscribed Roman altar found at Colchester," by J. E. Price; and "Notes on an Ancient Cemetery at Saffron Walden," by H. Ecroyd Smith.

The most important of these are undoubtedly Mr. Price's, Mr. Smith's, and Mr. King's. Mr. Price gives some very interesting information on the Roman inscribed altar. It reads :—

MATRIBVS
SVLEVIS
SIMILIS ATTIV
CI CANT
V. L. S.

and may be translated as a dedication to the *Mothers* the *Suleve*, by *Similis*, the son of *Attus* or *Attius*, a citizen attached to the *civitas Cantiorum*. The *Sulevæ* were the tutelary divinities of rivers, fountains, hills, roads, villages, and other localities against whom the anathemas of the Christian councils were hurled, and this new inscription of Mr. Price's clearly places them among the important deities "mother goddesses," whose worship was so wide spread.

Every one should support the efforts of the county Archæological Societies to gather together the antiquities of our country, and we gladly bear testimony to the important work the Essex Society is accomplishing. Not only in publishing, but in the case of their museum and the prosecution of excavations, this Society is furthering the cause of antiquarian study. We cannot speak too highly of the labours in respect of the museums, and we trust the Society will not again have to speak of want of support, for these local museums are national in importance and value.

The Court of the Honour of Peverel, in the Counties of Nottingham and Derby. By JOHN C. GODFREY. (Nottingham : 1882.) 8vo, pp. 32.

Local courts of jurisdiction have been so much pushed on one side (if we may so put it) by the more progressive machinery of government, that a history of one, even in the abridged form of that before us, is always very acceptable. Mr. Godfrey has not given much more than was already known of the Court of the Honour of Peverel, but then he has collected this into a handy and convenient compass; and we are indebted to him for it. We trust he may make this little *brochure* the nucleus round which to collect more information.

The Level of Hatfield Chace and Parts Adjacent.

By JOHN TOMLINSON. (Doncaster: John Tomlinson. London: Wyman & Sons.) 4to, pp. vii.-322.

Mr. Tomlinson has taken up a work foreshadowed by Abraham de la Pryme in 1698, that curious gossiping antiquary, whose diary is equal, in its way, to anything else of the kind that exists. His collection of MSS., together with the labours of later workers in the same field, have been laid under contribution by the indefatigable industry of Mr. Tomlinson, and we may congratulate that gentleman upon the production of a much-needed history of a very important locality.

and sometimes boating, carried in his train a man who had other views than those who were content to let things be as they were. That man was Vermuyden, a Dutchman, who planned and carried out a scheme for draining and embanking this great level in 1628. Of the 170,000 acres comprising Hatfield Chace, there were, in the reign of James I., at least 60,000 acres of no value, except for hunting, fowling, and fishing. Queen Elizabeth had attempted to obtain a plan for draining these lands, but failed; and a commission, issued by James I., reported that the work was impossible. But Vermuyden thought differently; his own native land told him differently. Accordingly, in the words of Abraham de la Pryme, he "entered



THORNE OLD HALL.

The extensive tract known as Hatfield Chace was, in the times of the early Stuarts, little more than a vast swamp, with now and then patches of hard surface, upon which had dwelt the earliest inhabitants of our land, as is shown by the discoveries of barrows, remains of buildings, household utensils, celts, flint axes, arrow-heads, &c. But these little islets in the surrounding swamp were not compatible with the requirements of advancing progress, and it is recorded how Prince Henry of Wales, son of James I., proceeding through these great fens, sometimes wading

into Articles with his Majesty [Charles I.] upon y^e 24th May, in y^e 2nd year of his Reign for y^e Draining thereof, which after a few years labour he happily effected to y^e great benefit and ease of y^e country." For the events attending this great labour, for the settlement of a great body of Walloon emigrants here (whose biography our author justly observes would be highly interesting), for the methods of bringing the land into cultivation, for the great and beneficial results, we must refer our readers to the book itself. In place of swamps there arose the signs of English

life, plots of cultivated land, village homes, and beautiful village churches.

Such books as the one before us have a very special value, because, dealing with the actual history of great alterations in the surface of our land, they enable the historian to obtain clear information of the topographical influences on English history. How important these topographical influences really are we need not touch upon now; but Mr. J. R. Green, in his *Making of England*, has shown how vastly they enter into the history of the early periods of English history, and the same influences must of course exist throughout, though we fear they are too seldom taken into account. Of the vast amount of incidental information contained in Mr. Tomlinson's book we cannot speak too highly. It is illustrated by very well executed woodcuts of Hatfield, Thorne Fishlake, and Barnby Dun churches, of Hatfield Manor House, Thorne Old Hall (a very interesting building), Dunscroft Grange, besides maps of Hatfield Chase before the drainage, and of "the true and perfect plot" as surveyed in 1639. It contains appendixes of very valuable documents relating to the drainage, and a fairly good index. We wish, however, that Mr. Tomlinson's style of narrative were more in conformity with the established rules of important historical records such as he has given us.

The Western Antiquary, or Devon and Cornwall Note Book. Edited by W. H. K. Wright. (Plymouth: Latimer and Sons.) 4to, pp. 80.

Mr. Wright has succeeded sufficiently well with his quarterly issues to venture upon a monthly issue (of which several have already appeared), and we wish him all the success he deserves. The last part of the quarterly issue now before us contains a vast quantity of valuable local notes, and has some illustrations which add greatly to the value of the letter-press. The Editor's observations on municipal records will, we hope, be productive of useful results. Our readers should certainly make themselves acquainted with our local contemporary.

Aungervyle Society. Parts ix. x. and xi. April to July, 1882. 8vo, pp. 64.

These three new parts carry these excellent reprints to a further stage. "The Romance of Octavian, Emperor of Rome," abridged from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (*circa* 1250), by the Rev. J. J. Coneybearc, and edited by E. M. Goldsmid, is concluded; and we have the two first instalments of "The Imprisonment and Death of King Charles I., related by one of his Judges; being Extracts from the Memoirs of Edward Ludlow, the Regicide, with a Collection of Original Papers relating to the Trial of the King." This is an extremely interesting contribution to an always interesting subject. Ludlow was one of the most honest of the English revolutionists, and his notes bear out this characteristic. His exposure of the double practices of Cromwell is very severe, and the occasional bits of grim humour that lit up this troublous age are singularly curious. Cromwell, on one occasion, "took up a cushion, and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs;

but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired." We congratulate the Society upon their work, and would only suggest that they should give us more explanation of the sources and bibliographical value of their reprints.

A Provisional Glossary of Dialectical Place-Nomenclature; to which is appended a List of Family Surnames pronounced differently from what the spelling suggests. By ROBERT CHARLES HOPE. (Scarborough: Theakstone & Co.) 12mo, pp. 22.

This little book will form a valuable groundwork for a very useful work, and the author asks for assistance in making a fuller list. The local pronunciation of many names is often widely different from the orthography, and in some instances there are varieties of pronunciation. Thus, Altrincham, in Cheshire, is called Thrutchm, Autrinjam, Altringam, and Autsjam; and Macclesfield is indifferently Maxfield, Maxfild, or Maxlt. Some of the pronunciations will be found to be conflicting. Thus Accomb is called Yaccan, and Yardley is turned into Ardly. Although these forms will probably live long, they will without doubt gradually die, on account of the influence of those who only know them as written names.

Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society. Vol. i. part 3. London. 1882. Royal 8vo.

We have already welcomed the former parts of this valuable and thoroughly well-edited publication. The St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society is a young institution, but it has rapidly grown in public estimation, and if it continues to be conducted with the vigour already displayed it cannot fail to continue its growth. The papers in this volume are of very great interest. Several important churches are described by Mr. G. H. Birch; Mr. Baden Powell and Dr. Wickham Legg deal with liturgical customs; Mr. Mayhew with Baalism; Major Heales with the furniture and ornaments of the altar; and Mr. Somers Clarke compares St. Peter's and St. Paul's.

Our Noble Selves; or Gleanings about Grantham Surnames. By the Author of *Notes on the Months, Notes on Unnatural History, &c.* (London: T. Fisher Unwin.) 1882. Sm. 8vo, pp. viii.-109.

Lincolnshire surnames are much like surnames in other parts of the country, and therefore the very interesting chapters on the origin and history of names in this book will be of more than local interest. The author writes:—"Here and there I have kept names upon my list which are now only borne upon tombstones among us; here and there I have retained one which has passed into currency elsewhere, and is in Grantham nothing more than a token of bygone years, and mayhap of a half-forgotten man." The subject is a fruitful one, and this is a book that is likely to make it a still more popular one than it already is, although we are not prepared to agree with all the etymologies.

A History of Aylesbury, with its Borough and Hundreds and Hamlet of Walton. By ROBERT GIBBS. Parts i. ii. 4to. (Aylesbury: R. Gibbs.) 1882.

The borough of Aylesbury is known to a large number of persons from the fame of its butter; to others it is a representative place, on account of its excellent system of sanitation; but Mr. Gibbs shows us that it has a history of considerable interest. It is not easy to criticise a work of this character with only two parts before us, but we hope to do more justice to it as it proceeds. Enough, however, has appeared to make us wish for more.

The Field Naturalist and Scientific Student. Nos. 1-3. June to August, 1882. (Manchester: Heywood.)

Now that the third part of this new journal has appeared, we wish to record our opinion that it ably meets an admitted want. Field clubs are formed in nearly every county, and their labours as mediums of instruction can scarcely be overstated. This journal should be their especial organ, and we shall always, as long as it keeps to its proper functions, as it does now, give it our cordial support. It has much work before it, and it is capable, we feel, of doing it well. The information it contains is varied and instructive; and one letter from Mr. Darwin to a young naturalist exhibits perhaps one of the most charming traits of character we have seen for some time. Plant-lore and bird-lore cannot but be interesting to the antiquary.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Archæological Institute.—July 6.—Lord Talbot de Malahide, President, in the chair.—The Rev. W. Loftie read a Paper, and offered some observations, upon the hawk sacred to Chonsu, with special reference to Rameses XII. and Raneferoo, his queen, and described the manner in which the various towns of Egypt favoured the worship of different animals, and the high favour in which the hawk was held.—Mr. W. Brailsford read a Paper on the monuments of the Seymours at Great Bedwyn, Wilts, which included a notice of the remarkable and lengthy inscription on the tomb of Sir John Seymour, the father of Edward, Duke of Somerset, and Jane Seymour, who died in 1536.—Prof. B. Lewis read a Paper “On the Antiquities of Autun, the Capital of the *Ædui* of Cicero.”—Capt. E. Hoare read some notes on a sepulchral statuette, which he exhibited, of an hereditary lord and landowner, of a very rare type, *circa* 1000 B.C.—Mr. H. R. H. Gosselin laid before the meeting some fourteenth-century tiles from Bango Church, Herts.

Anthropological Institute.—July 11.—General Pitt-Rivers, President, in the Chair.—Lord Talbot de

Malahide read a Paper on the longevity of the Romans in North Africa. The author gave several instances of epitaphs and inscriptions on tombs of persons whose age had exceeded 100 years; in some cases the ages of 120, 130, and even 140 years had been attained.—Capt. R. F. Burton read a Paper on some Neolithic implements and other objects brought by himself and Commander Cameron from Wásá, on the Gold Coast. A large number of objects were exhibited by the authors and Mr. Ross.—Gen. Pitt-Rivers read a Paper on the Egyptian boomerang, and exhibited several specimens.—A large collection of Bushman drawings was exhibited by Mr. M. Hutchinson.

PROVINCIAL.

The Royal Archæological Institute.—August 1.—On Tuesday afternoon the Institute commenced the business of its annual meeting in the city of Carlisle. Lord Talbot de Malahide, who is the President of the Institute, was again in his place at its head; but the duties of president of the Carlisle meeting have this year devolved upon the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Harvey Goodwin). At two o'clock the Mayor and Corporation arrived. The Mayor wore his insignia of office, and was attended by his sword and mace bearers. The proceedings were commenced by the Town Clerk reading an address of welcome to the Institute. After the inaugural meeting, the members of the Institute perambulated the city, and visited the ancient castle, cathedral, city walls, and other objects of interest. In the evening Mr. Freeman gave an address on “The Position of Carlisle in History.” He said that city was one of the few cities which could point to a personal founder in historic times, its foundation being dated from a day long before William Rufus, and alone among cities of what we now deem proper England Carlisle bears an almost untouched British name.—Dr. Bruce then gave a Paper on “The Music of the Borders,” illustrated by pipers on the Northumbrian bagpipes, and by a vocal quartette party. Dr. Bruce explained the construction of the Northumbrian bagpipe, and to show how expressive was the music of the instrument he called upon the piper to play the tune “Take a Look at Maggie’s Foot.” The instrument, he remarked, could nearly speak the words. The grandest of Northumberland tunes was the ballad of “Chevy Chase.” He had no doubt that originally the ballad had been the wail of the mourners, a dirge; but though a dirge originally, it had afterwards been made a battle cry, to the strains of which the sons and daughters of Northumberland delighted to hail their chieftain. The reason of the change was obvious. It was a cry from the dead to march to victory and avenge their cause, and it spoke well for a people when their energy was roused by misfortune, and when the dirge of the sire became the battle cry of the sons. Such was Chevy Chase. There were three versions of it. Two belonged to 1450, and the other, which they had now in use, was of the age of Elizabeth—say about 1560. The lecturer next discussed and illustrated the ballad of “Bewick and Gram,” which he said belonged to the western side of the Border. It had nearly been lost,

but was happily preserved by Sir Walter Scott, who obtained some of the verses from an oster in Carlisle. The next piece was "The Roses Blaw," which he believed had appeared in a Scottish collection of ballads. On Wednesday there was an excursion to the Penrith district. The Church of Kirkoswald was first visited, and thence the visitors proceeded to Kirkoswald Castle, where only a few shattered walls now remain of what was once a splendid palace of the Dacres. A description of the building was given by Dr. Taylor, of Penrith, and Mr. G. T. Clarke, of Dowlais. The circle of stones known locally as "Long Meg and her Daughters" was the next place visited. Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, made some remarks upon the cup and ring marks found upon the stones, the real meaning of which had given rise to much discussion. He thought they were religious symbols, pointing to the worship of the sun at a time, in fact, so distant, as the Stone Age. From "Long Meg and her Daughters" the party proceeded to Brougham Castle, where Mr. Clark delivered an address, and the company went by way of Brougham Hall to Eamont Bridge. A mound in the locality, called "Arthur's Round Table," was visited. The circle of stone at Mayborough was subsequently visited and a smaller circle close to it, which Dr. Simpson and Mr. Evans agreed in declaring to have been a place of burial. In the evening the Antiquarian Section met under the presidency of Mr. Evans, and a Paper on "The Antiquities of Algeria," by Lord Talbot de Malahide, President of the Institute, was the chief feature in the programme. The meeting of the Institution was continued on Thursday at Carlisle, Lord Talbot de Malahide presiding. The report for the year was read by the Secretary. Sectional meetings were held during the day, and a visit was paid to Rose Castle, the residence of the Bishop of Carlisle.

Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. — Annual Excursion. — June 27. — The first item in the day's programme was Battlefield Church. This picturesque edifice is believed to be erected over the spot where were laid, as in one common grave, so many hundreds of valiant knights and squires, who perished in the bloody struggle in 1403, between King Henry IV. and the heroic Henry Percy, better known as "Hotspur." The original foundation consisted of a collegiate church for five secular canons, and "endowed with a piece of ground, with all the buildings on it within the lordship of Adbrihton Husee in the field called Haytelfeld, which piece of ground was ditched in, and contained in length and breadth two acres of land, together with two inlets and outlets along the lands of Richard Husee, one 20ft. wide and the other 15ft. wide." The collegiate buildings, as well as the church, probably stood within this enclosure, but not a vestige of them exists at this day, though traces of the moat eastward are visible. Among its other endowments were the revenues of the churches of St. Juliana, and of St. Michael, within the Castle in Shrewsbury, the grant of the latter being in the year 1417. In the year 1861 the present church underwent a thorough restoration. It consists of a nave and chancel or choir, separated by a dwarf stone screen, and contains several handsome monuments to members of the Sundorne family. On

the north side of the chancel is a mortuary chapel, built in 1860, over a spacious double vault containing the remains of several generations of Corbets. The roof is constructed on the hammer beam principle, and on the point of each bracket is a shield blazoned with the arms of one of the illustrious individuals who took part in the battle—viz., on the north side, Henry IV., Earl of Dunbar, Sir Hugh Stanley, Sir John Cockayne, Sir Nicholas Gausel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Robert Malvausin, Sir Madoc Kynaston, and Sir Richard Sandford. On the south side: Henry, Prince of Wales, Edmund, Earl of Stafford, Sir John Clifton, Sir Walter Blount, Sir Robert Gausel, Sir John Massey, Sir Thomas Wendesley, Sir Reginald Mottershead, Sir Jenkin Hanmer, and Sir Richard Husee. In the church is a curious piece of wood sculpture, called "Our Lady of Pites," representing the Virgin Mary seated, bearing on her knees a dead Christ. In a tabernacled niche over the east window is a statue (crowned) of the founder, Henry IV., in whose right hand was once a sword. In the sacrarium is a piscina and sedilia, and the reredos is elaborately carved in stone. After this inspection the party went to Shawbury Church. This church, which is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, is a structure of considerable antiquity; it consists of a nave, chancel, and side aisles, with a lofty square tower, ornamented with eight pinnacles. It exhibits various styles of architecture, from the Saxon—traces of which are observable in the impostes of the south arcade, which itself is Norman in character—down to the Early English, Perpendicular, and Decorated; and there is a curious admixture of red and white stone used in its construction. The north porch is modern, and from it a mediæval arch leads into the nave of the church, which is separated from the aisles by Norman arcades. The Jacobean pulpit and reading-desk are of oak, richly carved, and there is also an ancient alms box cut out of a solid block of oak. The font is unmistakably Saxon. The external aspect of the edifice is bold and massive, especially that of the tower, which displays two distinct styles of architecture, the Perpendicular and Decorated. It has been an addition to the original Norman church. On the north face of the tower is a bracket or corbel, which probably once supported a statue, and over it a shield, on which is inscribed "Thomas" The latter word not being very legible is believed by some to be "Charlton," others think it is "Morton." It is, however, too modern to be the name of the person whose statue stood below. A short distance from the church is a moated "Buhr," which indicates that in the Saxon days a building of some importance stood there. The excursionists then went to Moreton Corbet, or Moreton Turret, which name it retained until 1516. The estates came into the possession of the Corbets by the marriage of Sir Richard Corbet, of Wattlesbury, with the heiress of the Turrets, or Turits, *tempore* Henry III. The church, which is dedicated to St. Bartholomew, is a handsome structure of freestone in the Decorated style of architecture, and consists of nave, chancel with south aisle, and western tower, through which the church is entered by a fine Elizabethan doorway. The tower was built in 1769 by Andrew Corbet. The church contains two fine altar tombs, well pre-

served, each with two recumbent figures. One of these represents Richard Corbet, and his wife, Margaret. It bears the date of the death of the former only, 1667. The other is in memory of Sir Robert Corbet, Knight, and Elizabeth, his wife, 1563. In the south aisle are the remains of a piscina, and an aumbry of which the hooks on which hung the door remain. In this aisle is also a hagioscope, or squint, which clearly proves that the aisle is of more recent erection than the chancel, as the squint usually occurs in the external wall commanding a view of the altar at the elevation of the host, by lepers who were not allowed to enter the church. The picturesque ruins of the adjacent castle were also examined with considerable interest. The remains of three distinct buildings are to be seen. Over the portal of the older one are the initials S. A. C., 1576, and also I. R. C. 1578, with the elephant and castle, the crest of the family. On another portion of the building is an enigmatic inscription O. L. L. E. D., 1515, A. R. C., also the date 1578 on a pedestal. The new house was never completed, though it was held as a garrison for the King in 1664, and was said to be very strong. It was, however, taken by the Parliamentarians the same year, and soon afterwards was seriously injured by fire. There are several curious traditions connected with the place. The next place to visit was Stanton-on-Hine-Heath, famous as the birthplace of Alderman John Boydell, the munificent patron of engravers, and himself an engraver of the highest class. He was Lord Mayor of London in 1790. The church, dedicated to St. Andrew, is a Norman structure, with a square western tower of much later date, the lower portion only being Norman. It is finished with eight pinnacles, and has very massive gargoyles. There is a fine timbered roof which is almost entirely concealed by a hideous coved ceiling. There is some trace of herring-bone work in the south wall of the chancel, which was rebuilt by the then patron, in 1740. Altogether the building appears to have been terribly mutilated according to the whims of successive churchwardens, some of whom have left their marks on one of two massive buttresses built in support of the tower in 1666. The party proceeded on foot to the Bury Walls. This famous Roman encampment is considered to be the most perfect in the kingdom. About twenty acres of land are enclosed and screened on three sides by a natural fortification, a chain of inaccessible rocks; and on the fourth side by a triple entrenchment of impregnable strength. Many Roman coins have been found here, and in 1821 a spur, of undoubted Roman workmanship, was found in the garden of the Bury farm, a short distance from the camp.

Surrey Archæological Society.—July 5.—Annual Meeting.—The Earl of Onslow, Vice-President, in the chair.—The first meeting-place being at the Town Hall, Guildford, Mr. D. M. Stevens read a Paper upon the Corporation Records and Plate. Mr. Stevens mentioned that Guildford was doubtless from its position known and occupied by both the British and the Romans. It became a Royal residence at least as early as Alfred the Great, and had become at the time a borough by prescription, and the settled abode, exclusive of Stoke, of something like 700

persons. He described the various charters, from the first, granted by Henry III., dated January 7, 1257, to that of Richard II., in 1378. The Corporation plate was next touched upon. The history of the small mace had never been solved, but the large mace was presented to the Mayor and approved men of Guildford by Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, but then High Steward. The Mayor's chain was stated to have been presented in 1673, by Arthur Onslow, High Steward, and was described in the records as "a faire chayne of gold, double-linked, with a medal of massey gold whereon his Majestie's armes are curiously engraven, and on the reverse the armes of the said Mr. Onslow." The history of the plate and Mayor's staff of ebony, presented by Queen Elizabeth, was related, and then speaking of the Town Hall, Mr. Stevens said a portion of it doubtless dated back to the reign of Elizabeth, but the front of the building, with the council chamber above, was erected by subscription in 1683. The portraits in the hall were those of James I., Charles II., and James II., the two latter said to be originals by Lely, also of William III. and Mary, a half-length of the Hon. Arthur Onslow, Recorder of the Borough from 1722 to 1768, and Speaker of the House of Commons, and that of Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Onslow, by John Russell, R.A., native of this town. The company next proceeded to Archbishop Abbot's Hospital, and after inspecting that fine old building, and visiting the museum, the Rev. F. E. Tower read a Paper upon the Hospital:—George Abbot, the founder, was born at Guildford, October 29, 1562. He was the son of a clothworker, or "clothier," as his father is described in an old lease of church property (now exhibited). He was consecrated Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, December 3, 1609; Bishop of London, August, 1610; Archbishop of Canterbury, April 9, 1611. On April 6, 1619, the Archbishop laid the first stone of the Hospital, and afterwards settled on it lands to the value of £300 a year. The original statutes of the Hospital are in Lambeth Palace Library. The dining hall next the chapel demands notice. Here the master and brothers and sisters dined in common. They kept Founder's Day every year, as well as Christmas, Easter Day, and Whit-Sunday, expending according to statute ten shillings among the company, that they might with thanks to God lovingly rejoice together. In the muniments-room at the top of the tower are some wonderful account and entry books which might well form the subject of a distinct Paper. A few pictures in the rooms and chapel of the Hospital (the gift of Earl of Onslow) are—in the chapel, the Archbishop, Sir Nicholas Kempe, and Mayor Jackman; in the Master's house, the Reformers, Fox and Wickliffe; on the staircase, Calvin; in the dining-hall, another Reformer, Munzer, a disciple of Luther. The visitors then paid a visit to the museum, and inspected many places of interest in the town, including the Holy Trinity and St. Nicholas Churches, the Castle, the crypts under the Angel Hotel and the opposite house, the use of which is uncertain, but which are supposed to have been occupied as winecellars by Henry III.; and the unique carved wood staircase at Mr. Bull's shop in High Street, the finely-moulded ceilings and oak panelling also attracting much attention. The com-

pany assembled at the church of St. Mary, and Mr. Ralph Nevill read a Paper on the building. Mr. Nevill said the church was one of the most interesting and charming in the whole country, and an excellent example of a very clever adaptation to the necessities of the sites, being built with a great rise to the altar on account of it being erected on the side of the hill. He said the earliest part of the church was the tower, whilst there was also evidence of early work in the paintings which they would see on the inside of the two tower windows, of which no one had made anything, but whilst examining them the other day, with Mr. Waller, they found an inscription on the south side, the top line of which they made out to be Abraham, and the second line he afterwards deciphered as Othbert. After mentioning that the church was probably built in the eleventh century, and was either Saxon or pre-Norman, he went on to give details of the various alterations which had been made to the edifice: He observed that the last restoration seemed to have been carried out with less than the usual amount of damage, and with very good judgment, in repairing the old work with chalk. The tower was in an unsafe condition, owing to the flint work being cut away to get in the bells, and there were cracks everywhere, probably of recent date, and the marvel was that it stood. Mr. Nevill called attention to many interesting points in the church, such as piscinas and an ambry; one of the former on the south side belonged to the two Confraternities of Jesus and Corpus Christi, the lepers' window in the north aisle, and the matrices of two brasses which were preserved in the vestry, but the history of which had perished. Alluding to the wall paintings, Mr. Nevill said they were among the most interesting in England, and it was desirable that full-sized tracings or exact reproductions should be made of the paintings. Mr. J. G. Waller next offered some remarks on the ancient wall paintings in the chapel of St. John the Baptist. On leaving the church, the party were conveyed to Sutton Place. On arriving at this historic mansion, the company were received in the splendid hall by Mr. Frederic Harrison, and conducted by him through the hall, with its panelling, armour, portraits, stained-glass windows, to the long gallery upstairs, an apartment of great length, hung with ancient tapestry, a portion of which was said to represent the story of Joseph. Some antique furniture, both here and in the rooms below, was much admired, notably a magnificent carved oak cabinet. Returning to the hall, Mr. Harrison read a Paper on the history of the mansion and family. The archaeologists drove to Clendon Park, which they entered from the village of Merrow by the handsome iron entrance gates. On reaching the mansion a hearty and kind welcome was given them by the noble proprietor, the Earl of Onslow. The hall was the first point of attraction, its symmetrical form, a cube of exactly 40ft. each way, its handsomely moulded ceilings, and carved marble mantelpieces by Rysbrack, being generally admired. In connection with the above meeting, a museum of local antiquities was open for inspection at the Abbot's Hospital. It is almost impossible to describe in detail the many things of interest shown, and the list given below will give a sufficient idea of them; but amongst them we may perhaps note that in the

Loseley contributions are included some very rare and valuable autographs, such as those of Lady Jane Grey, Charles I., Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, a fine specimen of the Great Seal of Elizabeth, both sides being perfect. Lord Onslow shows the fine painting by Hogarth and Thornhill, of the House of Commons under Walpole's Administration, with Speaker Onslow in the Chair; also the patents of creation of the Earls of Onslow from Queen Elizabeth's time, with Great Seals attached, and the MS. notes of proceedings in the House of Commons by Speaker Onslow. The Stoke parish register for 1662 is shown by Mr. Alderman Schoobridge, giving the names of those parishioners who underwent the curious operation of being touched for the King's evil. A number of portraits are shown, including those of Samuel Russell, Speaker Onslow, Archbishop Abbot, and other local worthies. Mr. G. C. Williamson has a unique collection of Saxon coins minted at Guildford, of Harold I., Edward the Confessor, and William I., tradesmen's tokens, many of them of the scarcest description, one specimen, that of James Snelling, about 1656, being the only one known to be extant; also several eighteenth-century tokens, bearing a representation of Bishop Blaize, the patron saint of woolcombers, the staple trade of Guildford, as it was of Godalming, and casts of the seals of the various priories and abbeys in Surrey. Playgoers will be interested in the old playbills shown by Mr. Stent, whilst a reminiscence of the past is contained in an old stagecoach bill. The two silver spoons used by Abbot, and still remaining in the Hospital, are exhibited, as also the seal of the Hospital, made in 1622, and in use ever since. Several fossils are on view. The following is a description of the interesting remains discovered at Mr. Lasham's:—Of the objects exhibited in the temporary museum attention was directed to the interesting collection of pottery and other relics exhibited by Mr. Frank Lasham. They have been recently taken from a shaft or pit discovered in the course of alterations at the rear of Mr. Lasham's premises in the High Street. The shaft was either excavated in the solid chalk or a cavity or fissure appropriated to the purpose. It had been filled up with debris of various kinds, comprising large quantities of animal bones, among which are already noticed those of the horse, ox, sheep, deer, wild boar, and other animals, associated with layers of charred wood, objects of iron, glass, pottery, and other relics, and but for the circumstance of there being indications of the pit having been carefully covered in, together with the regularity as regards certain of the deposits, it might be viewed as simply a "shoot" or refuse pit of early times. Its object is as yet uncertain, though further researches may assist in forming an accurate opinion. The fragments of pottery discovered make up a large collection, and they include a number of well-known patterns of Anglo-Norman, mediæval, and other pottery, together with many which, found alone, might have been looked upon as either British or Roman ware. It does not, however, at present appear that there is anything to associate the remains with so early a date as the Roman occupation. It is well known that with the close of the Imperial rule the potter's art declined, together with many other

branches of artistic industry, but the forms prevailed, and for centuries after, vessels, though rudely made, gave indications of their design having been derived from a classic source.

Manchester Scientific Students.—July 1.—The members proceeded to Dinting under the leadership of Mr. William Carr, on the route to Melandra Castle. On arrival a Paper was read by Mr. Carr, who said Melandra Castle was a Roman camp or station. The Rev. John Watson, of Stockport, was the first to make the discovery, and to him we are mainly indebted for our knowledge on the subject. He says, in the third volume of the *Archæologia*, that in July, 1771, the people in the vicinity did not know that the ruins were those of a Roman station. Part of the walls and ramparts and the ditch were visible. Since then much of the stone has been carried away and used for building purposes in Hadfield and Gamesley. In the north-east gable of the pile of buildings in Hadfield, of which the Spinners' Arms is a part, are some stones with what seems to have been an ornamental design of an elaborate character in relief. Built into the wall over a back door of a house in Gamesley is a stone about eight inches square, with a Roman inscription upon it. These were taken from the ruins of Melandra. Dr. John Aikin, in his *Forty Miles round Manchester* (1794), quotes the authority of the Rev. J. Watson, and gives an engraving of the ground-plan of the station, the walls of which extended 366 feet by 336. Within the rampart, at the end to the south-east, was the prætorium. Many other ancient relics have been found at different times, and are preserved in the neighbourhood. Among these are a Roman coin of the Emperor Domitian, a bronze British battle-axe, a sword, Roman tiles, and pottery. On the site of the ruins are several heaps of stones, some with marks of the mason's tools, others bearing traces of having been burnt; there are also fragments of tile and rude earthenware lying about. A few years since some men were employed in an exploration of the rampart, but as soon as they discovered sufficient evidence of a building having stood here they were ordered to desist. During the spring of 1875 the farmer who owns the field, in digging up some fifty yards of the soil, came upon the foundation of the wall towards the south-east, and took out a large quantity of unhewn stone. He discovered the remains of an entrance to the station—the latest link of the chain of evidence. The entrance was arched over, as the stones clearly indicate, and was probably the main entrance; it was, at least, at the same end as the prætorium. The stones are valuable relics of this stronghold of the Romans, and ought never to be lost sight of. Two with bevelled edges, one having also a recess cut into it, seem to have been pedestals on which the pilasters were supported, others the parts of the pilasters; there are also three arch stones, one apparently the key-stone. They are all in an excellent state of preservation, their angles as sharp as if newly cut. Dr. Aikin's plan shows one of the entrances to the station as having been near the place where these stones were found. Could the whole of the foundation be explored, many additional facts and relics might be obtained. The form and position of "Melandra Castle" also harmonize with the assumption that it was a Roman station. Its form is an oblong square,

the shape in which the Roman stations were nearly all built, in contradistinction from the British encampments, which were circular or oval. On a promontory sufficiently high to command the whole of the valley in front, it was capable of easy defence, yet was not so high as to be exposed to the severe weather of the unprotected hills, upon which the natives chiefly dwelt. The Romans were not inured to such exposure. The ignorance of the natives of the locality as to the true character of the ruins previous to Mr. Watson's discovery readily accounts for its being called by them "Melandra Castle." There are, for instance, "Mouselow Castle," and "Buckton Castle," both of which there is reason to believe were British duns of the Stone Period. Through the gateway referred to passed the first or Frisian cohort of the twentieth legion of Rome's imperial army. The inscription on the stone over the back-door of the farmhouse in Lower Gamesley is as follows:—

CHO. I
FRISIANO
C. VAL. VIT
ALIS

The Rev. John Watson renders it thus: "Cohortus Primæ, Frisianorum, Centurio Valerius Vitalis." Here, then, we have proof of the presence of the first or Frisian cohort, and of Valerius Vitalis, a centurion commanding. This cohort was doubtless a part of the twentieth legion, which for several centuries lay at Chester, and at least as late as the third century. This stone at Gamesley also apparently indicates that Melandra was not in existence before the year 47 of the Christian era. In that year the Frisians, a people of Germany, were reduced to obedience to the Roman yoke by Corbulo, a Roman general, under the Emperor Claudius.

Manchester Scientific Students.—July 19-24.—About seventy members visited Barlow Hall. The members first inspected the quaint old furniture in the entrance hall, amongst which is a curiously carved cabinet with portraits, and the following inscription: "Edward IV.—1481—Lady Elizabeth Gray." The dining-room contains a fine old stained-glass window, dated 1574, and the monogram A.B., with the Stanley and other coats of arms. In this room are two heads of the royal stag, shot at Glentartney by Mr. Brooks. On the wall is a glass case containing a part of the original old panelling in the interior of the Hall. It was discovered by Mr. Thompson after the fire, and had been used to block up a window. After tea the members visited the celebrated ghost-room, the rest of the time being spent in inspecting the old part of the building, erected in the time of Henry VIII. On the 24th a large party of members visited Chetham's Hospital and Library. The members were conducted first to the quaint old reading-room with its portraits of Chetham, Nowell, and other early Lancashire worthies. The Byrom room was next visited. It contains the library of John Byrom, F.R.S., the author of "Christians Awake," but the most conspicuous object is the immense portrait by Pickers-gill of the late Harrison Ainsworth. It was painted when the "Lancashire Novelist" was in the hey-day of his fame. From the Refectory, by a narrow passage, entrance is obtained to the Audit Room, one

of the finest in the building. With this room is associated the name of Dr. Dee, the wizard warden of Manchester. One of the carved bosses of the ceiling represents Saturn devouring his children, but a legendary explanation has grown up which makes it to be a picture of a former Baron of Manchester—doubtless Sir Tarquin—whose cannibal appetite greatly affected small babies for breakfasts. The cloisters with their quaint inner court were also visited.

Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.—The members of this society visited an interesting district of West Norfolk recently, an unusually large party joining in the day's excursion. Proceeding from Norwich to Narborough, the parish church in that village was the first place inspected, the fine brasses and monuments to members of the Spelman family, a series ranging from 1499 to the present century being viewed. Marford Church, next seen, is a Decorated structure, still unrestored, and containing foliated panelled Jacobean pews and pulpit; the church is suffering from decay, caused by damp. A long stay was made at Narford Hall, described by Murray as a "complete museum of paintings, books, MSS., sculptures, pottery, gems, ivories, bronzes, and other articles of inappreciable value, and so numerous as to defy description." Westair Church and the ruined gateway to the former priory, now the entrance to a farmyard, having been examined, the visitors proceeded to the interesting parish church of St. George, Southacre, where Mr. Herbert J. Greene read a descriptive paper. The church, a decorated structure, occupies the site of an earlier structure. The roof is a hammer-beam, one of great beauty; it contains a fine brass to Thomas Leman, date about 1534, and some effigies and brasses to the Hartyk family. The extensive earthworks and ruins at Castle Acre Castle were next visited, and a Paper was read by the Rev. C. R. Manning, who urged that the earthworks were of Saxon date, and that the undoubtedly Norman masonry built into them was the work of a later period.

Gloucestershire and Bristol Archæological Society.—Stow-on-the-Wold, July 25, 26, and 27. —The Society's head-quarters were at St. Edward's Hall, a building lately erected. The President for 1882-83 was Mr. Edward Rhys Wingfield, of Barrington Park. On the 25th ult. the members visited Upper and Lower Swell, and Upper and Lower Slaughter. The old Manor House at Upper Slaughter, formerly the home of the "Slaughter" family, is one of the finest in the county. Near the church Mr. G. B. Witts has discovered some earthworks, which he supposes to have been raised by the inhabitants in Saxon times as a place of refuge during a Danish incursion. There are similar defences near parish churches of several Gloucestershire villages. Subsequently, the Society visited Icomb, Bledington, Chastleton, Daylesford, and Oddington. Icomb was for many centuries the residence of the Blakets, noble knights who fought for their king at Agincourt and elsewhere. The Rev. D. Royce, who has written a monograph on Icomb Church and House, acted as guide. Chastleton formerly belonged to the Catesbys, who sold it in the time of James I. to Mr. Walter Jones, in order that they might raise funds for "Gun-

powder Plot," hatched, so it is said, at Lypiatt Park. At Oddington the members examined the old Norman church, now deserted and falling into decay. Interesting papers on the history and antiquities of Stow and the neighbourhood were read by the Rev. D. Royce, Dr. G. B. Witts, Dr. Moore, Mr. H. Medland, and others.

Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art.—The annual meeting was held at Crediton, July 25, 26, and 27, the President being Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A. The President's address turned mainly on the making of history, and dealt at length with a most comprehensive scheme for meeting 'a much felt want—viz., a good history of Devonshire. This address, which is printed, and will appear in the Transactions of the Association, will be of great value to bibliographical students, as it contains as an appendix a list of works purporting to be histories of the county and of its various towns and parishes. Mr. Rowe contrasted the state of Devonshire literature in this respect with that of Cornwall, and cited the excellent *History of Trigg Minor*, by Sir John Maclean, as a model parochial history, and one well worthy of imitation. The President also gave some interesting details of the early history of Crediton. Reports of the various committees on "Scientific Memoranda," "Devonshire Celebrities," "Verbal Provincialisms," "Barrows," "Works of Art in Devonshire," "Land Tenures," "Meteorology," &c., were brought forward by various members, and preceded the reading of original papers. The first Paper read was "On the Early History of Crediton," by the vicar, Rev. Prebendary Smith. It was shown that the early history of this little town was of unusual interest, it being the chosen site of the bishop's See of Devonshire as early as 909, and it was the birthplace of Wynfrith, the martyred and sainted Boniface. Crediton continued to hold the episcopal See until 1049, when it was removed to Exeter by Leofricus. Mr. W. Pengelly, F.R.S., contributed several interesting Papers. 1. "Words Current in Devonshire in the Fifteenth Century which are now Obsolete, or Obsolescent." 2. "Notes on a Devonshire Sermon in the Seventeenth Century." 3. "Notes on Slips connected with Devonshire," fifth yearly instalment. 4. "Note on Notices of the Geology and Palæontology of Devonshire," Part IX. Mr. R. W. Cotton contributed a valuable Paper concerning the "Oxenham Omen," a mysterious superstition connected with the Oxenham family: of the appearance of a white bird previous to the death of certain members of the family. Mr. J. B. Davidson described some documents relating to Crediton Minster; and Rev. W. Downes expatiated on "Chert Pits." A most interesting paper on "Crediton Musicians," by Mr. Alfred Edwards (who is preparing for publication a history of Crediton), followed, which led to much pleasant discussion and retrospective statements. "The Devonshire Farm Labourer Now and Eighty Years Ago," by Rev. Treasurer Hawker, was a welcome addition to the many pleasant compilations that gentleman has contributed to the Association's Transactions. Mr. R. N. Worth gave a lengthened account of "The Plymouth Company," and their colonization of New England; and in a subsequent Paper, treated his

auditors to a descriptive account of "Men and Manners in Tudor Plymouth." Mr. E. Parfitt, as usual, treated of the Fauna of Devon; Mr. P. G. Karkeek gave a budget of witch stories; and Mr. Robert Dymond, F.S.A., gave a "History of the Parish of St. Petrock, Exeter." "The Site of Moridunum," by Mr. P. O. Hutchinson, was a very interesting disquisition; a "Glossary of Devonshire Plant Names," by Rev. Hilderic Friend, presented some valuable particulars; two other biographical Papers were contributed by Mr. Charles Worthy and Mr. G. Townsend, on John Hooker and William Jackson, musicians, respectively. Mr. W. H. K. Wright, in dealing with "Devonian Literature and its Special Wants," took occasion to call the attention of the Devonshire Association to the need for a new bibliography of Devonshire, a want which had frequently been urged in the columns of the *Western Antiquary*. The Society is now in its twenty-first year. Its next place of meeting is at Exmouth. There was also a whole day's excursion to some of the delightful scenes with which the neighbourhood abounds. Fulford House, the family seat of an ancient and honourable family, was visited, and a large party from thence proceeded to Fingle Bridge, on the borders of Dartmoor, and near the remains of some undoubted Roman encampments.

North Hants Archaeological Society and Field Club.—July 27.—This Club paid a visit to Southampton and neighbourhood, and after arriving in the town the first object of interest visited was the Hartley Institution. Rubbings of monumental brasses were placed around the walls of the council chamber. The oldest of the brasses dated from the year 1279 and came down to 1631. The largest commemorated the winning of the suit by Bishop Wyvell, of Salisbury, in 1375, against Sir Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, with respect to Sherborne Castle and Bere Chase. Another had a local interest, being a representation of John de Campeden, Warden of St. Cross, Winchester, and a personal friend of William of Wykeham. Others contained the counterfeit presentments by mediæval artists of the Earl and Countess of Warwick (1401) and the Countess of Oxford with heraldic mantles (1607).—Mr. T. W. Shore then gave a brief account of the history of Southampton. The antiquity of the town was pre-historic, which was proved by the fact that they had in the museum specimens of flint weapons found on Southampton Common and the neighbourhood, and one bronze implement that was found when digging for purposes of building at St. Denys. These told them that there lived in the neighbourhood a race contemporaneous with the use of these weapons. In their museum they had the remains of a long skulled man. They knew for certain that there was a most important Roman station here in the neighbourhood, and as they went to Netley they would pass its site, which was now occupied by Bitterne Manor House. Though some might differ with him in the belief, he believed the water there was often visited by the Roman fleet, which protected these shores from the Saxon barbarians. Many antiquities had been found on the site of Bitterne Manor House, and there could be no doubt it was the site of a most important Roman station. After the departure of the Romans, A.D. 440, from Clausentum, the

British population held the station, and found it a secure base, notwithstanding the inroads of the West Saxons. Ultimately the West Saxons pushed their way up and round the river and captured the place, which must have been left a heap of ruins for centuries, until in ancient times the Bishop of Winchester reared a seaside castle, and in that institution they had a plan in which the palace was delineated, and the position corresponded with the ruins which formed the site of the Bitterne Manor House, the enormously thick walls of the ruins being in existence to this day, and clearly bore out the fact that the castle was one of great importance. Coming back to Southampton they had evidence, from the remains of tombs and other Roman relics, showing that Bevois Hill and the district of St. Mary's were burial-places, or places where Roman outlying settlements existed, and in Saxon times they had proof that the site of the town was situated near St. Mary's Church, and it was probable that the ancient Saxon Church was dedicated to St. Nicholas, and occupied a position somewhat east of the present St. Mary's Church. St. Nicholas was quoted in legend history as the patron saint of the sailor, and Leland in 1646 saw the remains of this small church standing; and in the district of Grove Street skeletons had been found from the ancient cemetery. The late Rev. Edmund Kell discovered interesting relics of this Saxon occupation, and no doubt St. Mary's district was the site of the ancient "Hamton." The position and limits of the ancient "Hamton" were clearly settled by the walls. They would see a portion of these walls in different parts of the town, on the Western Shore, and elsewhere, and were about one mile and a quarter long, and built in successive times, and no doubt there was originally not a wall, but there was a fosse, and it was a stockaded town. Their ancient Bargate was of two dates, the central arch being early Norman date, and the flanks of the time of Richard III. The length of the wall was one and a quarter miles, and Leland says there were eight gates, and of these five entrances remained. There was Bargate, the gate of God's House, Water Gate, West Gate, and Blue Anchor Gate, and it was possible that between Blue Anchor Gate and West Gate there was an entrance from the West Quay to the town. The site of the castle no doubt was built in early Norman or Saxon times, he thought Saxon, from a coin of Offa having been found. In Norman times the fortress was referred to in the dispute between the Empress and King Stephen as one to be delivered up to Henry Plantagenet on the death of King Stephen, and Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and brother of King Stephen, was required to give security for the carrying out of the contract. The castle was now approached by two ways—one from High Street, and the other through a series of unpicturesque alleys, he was sorry did not harmonize with High Street, from the bottom of West Quay, and no doubt the ancient road leading to the Castle could be followed. On the West Quay they would find a singular style of fortification, a Norman wall behind the arcade, and that was no doubt due to the fact that there existed along the Quay some Norman houses, and more than one eminent antiquary thought these arches one of the earliest examples of domestic architecture in the country. In one of these

houses they would find an ancient kitchen, but the date was not certain, and there was no doubt after the invasion of the French this reputed House of the Kings was looted. Blue Anchor Lane he took to be an ancient roadway leading from this palace. Passing through the lane they would come to St. Michael's Square, the most ancient part of the town, and was the ancient "Fish Chepe." In this part was also a portion of a woollen hall. In those times Southampton, when there was plenty of passing between England and France, the town was a Norman French one, and it was believed that 700 years ago Henry II. kept his yacht here. The speaker having alluded to the old building at the bottom of High Street, proceeded to speak on the hospital of God's House, the chapel being dedicated to St. Julian, who was the patron saint of travellers, boatmen, and ferrymen, for whose use it was intended, and, no doubt, it was a great benefit to these men at that time. Allusion was made to the great abbeys, monasteries, and chantries that formerly were in the neighbourhood, and the privilege of having a fair at Chapel; and the speaker expressed the opinion that the Reformation excited greater social change here than anything that followed or preceded it. They had the remains here of some distinguished churches, St. Michael's being of various dates, a portion being early Norman and some said Saxon, and the font resembled an ancient one he had seen at West Meon. Holy Rood was an ancient church belonging to the Priory of St. Denys. St. Lawrence was a new church, but on an old foundation. All Saints Church was an ancient church, and probably called All Hallows, but it was rebuilt a century ago. It contained now an interesting series of vaults. Formerly two large pictures of distinguished giants, of the date of Charles I., was outside the Bargate, but there was nothing remarkable about them except that they perpetuated a legend of the Saxon times.

Hertfordshire Natural History Society and Field Club.—July 15.—Field Meeting at Royston.—The first place of interest visited was the Palace of King James I. The palace is a brick building on the eastern side of the high road to Huntingdon. James I., when on his way from Scotland to take possession of the English throne, arrived at Royston on April 29 1603, and was the guest of Robert Chester, at the Priory. He was so pleased with Royston and the neighbourhood that he determined to erect a hunting-box here, and during the following year removed hither with all his Court. Charles I. spent much of his early youth at Hunsdon House and Royston. The visitors then proceeded to view the Royston Cave. In the year 1742, as some workmen were engaged in digging a hole in the ground for the insertion of a post in the Market Place, in Royston, just on the boundary line between Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire, they came upon a millstone, at a depth of about one foot from the surface. On clearing out the earth from the central hole in the stone they found there was a hollow space beneath, which they found to be about 16 ft. deep. The stone was raised, and on a man descending the aperture, which was about 2 ft. across, with notches like steps cut in either side in the chalk, he found that the shaft, which was 4 ft. in depth, led into a large domed chamber.

About 200 loads of earth was removed from the chamber, until the workmen reached the chalk floor. The Rev. George North, F.S.A., who examined the cave before the work of clearing had been quite completed, states that the only relics found amongst the rubbish were a human skull and a few decayed bones, fragments of a small drinking cup of common brown earth, marked with yellow spots, and a piece of brass without any figure or inscription upon it. The cave was found to be about 26 ft. in height from the top of the dome to the floor. The latter is nearly circular, with a mean diameter of 17 ft. 3 in. At the base of the walls is a ledge of podium, about 3 ft. in width and 8 in. in height, its inner limit being octagonal; the diameter of the proper or lower floor being thus about 11 ft. At about a height of 7 ft. from the base is a cornice without mouldings, about 2 ft. in height, rudely carved in a reticulated pattern. This cornice recedes, as it rises, about 6 in., thus making the diameter of the base of the dome about 18 ft. Beneath the cornice, and extending nearly to the floor, the surface is covered in almost every available place, with rude carvings in low relief, chiefly representing incidents in the life of our Lord and the Saints. Much diversity of opinion has existed, and, indeed, still exists, as to the date of the construction of the cave, and the purpose it was intended to serve. The most reasonable supposition as to its origin and purpose is contained in a report presented to the Royal Society of Antiquaries by Joseph Beldam, F.S.A., who, in an exhaustive paper on the subject, arrives at the following conclusions:—(1) That the cave was first formed by means of shafts, either of British or Romano-British construction, and at a period anterior to Christianity. (2) That at a somewhat later period the cave was used as a Roman sepulchre. (3) That about the period of the Crusades it received the greater part of its present decorations, and was then, if not before, converted into a Christian oratory, to which a hermitage was probably attached. (4) That it remained open until the Reformation, when it was filled up, and its existence subsequently forgotten. On leaving the cave, the visitors inspected the antiquarian treasures of Mr. Edmund Nunn. They are nearly all local, having been found in Royston and its neighbourhood. The position in which the ancient cross stood—the junction of the Ermine Street and the Icknield Way—was pointed out, but all that remains of the structure is the boulder which formed the "foot-stone" of it. This is now to be seen in the garden of the Royston Institute. Its age cannot be exactly ascertained, but not improbably it belonged to Saxon times. It formerly stood on the spot still called The Cross, which was the point of junction of the two Roman military roads, the Ermen Street and the Icknield Way. Its dimensions are 4 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 6 inches, by 2 feet 2 inches. It is of irregular shape, well worn, and the angles rounded off. On its upper face is a hole, in which the upright portion of the cross was probably fixed. The material is millstone grit, of which many of the boulders found in this neighbourhood are composed. The visitors next proceeded to The Heath. Mr. F. N. Fordham and Mr. E. Nunn gave some interesting reminiscences of excavations which had been made at different parts of the Heath, and descriptions of what had been found. Following

the Icknield Way, along the road to Baldock, there are a number of mounds, which are undoubtedly artificial, as well as others, which are simply the outcrop of the chalk range. In August, 1856, an excavation was made at the top of one of these natural hillocks on Royston Heath, a little to the north of the old road, and facing the Roman villa at Litlington (co. Cambridge), about a mile and a half distant, which was discovered some years ago. At the summit of the mound was a depressed oval, lying north-west and south-east, and measuring about 31 feet by 22. On excavating the ground, two circular chambers were found, both surrounded by a low wall, and communicating with each other by an opening about 3 feet wide. The floor of the northern chamber was reached at a depth of 5 feet from the surface, and that of the southern at a further depth of 2 feet. The dimensions of the northern chamber were about 7 feet between north and south, and 6 feet between east and west; the other chamber being somewhat larger. A bench of masonry, about a foot high, and the same in width, ran round a portion of the northern chamber. As there was no pavement discovered, it was the height of this bench—assuming it to have been a seat—which determined the level of the floor. Further excavation brought to light the skeleton of a dog, two iron knife-blades, a bone knife-handle, a small circular bronze ornament, an iron styus, part of a quern, a celt of white quartz, a quantity of oyster-shells, some pieces of broken pottery, and bones of oxen and sheep. Nothing was found beneath the floor of the southern chamber.—On Thursday, the members proceeded to Tewin and Welwyn. In the parish church at Hertingfordbury, is a chapel on the north side of the chancel, in which is a mausoleum of the Cowper family, containing several monuments of beautiful design and workmanship, and a mile north-west is their ancestral seat. In the gardens of the mansion is seen the fine old oak known as the "Panshanger Oak." Going on to Tewin, by the Hook's Bushes Wood, the church was visited, and then the celebrated "tomb of Lady Anne Grimston," to which so many people every year make pilgrimages. In the church some time was spent in examining the old parish registers, which Canon Wingfield kindly produced. These date from the year 1558, and "the very first entry gives a name long known and respected in the parish, that of William Wilsniere, who was buried on the 17th of November, 1558." It should be stated that the registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials are contained in nine volumes, besides those now in use. In the two oldest and most curious of these, commencing in 1558 and 1703 respectively, one book only was used for all entries; after 1754, a separate volume was provided for the marriages, and in 1780 the same was done for the baptisms and burials.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—July 24. The Rev. E. Adamson presided.—The Rev. Dr. Hooppell read an interesting Paper, which referred to a supposed old bridge near Hylton, Sunderland. In his remarks he said he had long been of opinion that the road by which the Roman General, Agricola, marched into Scotland, when he made his first attack on that country, A.D. 80, must have passed through the eastern portion of the county of Durham. In a valuable paper, entitled "Durham before the Con-

quest," Dr. Hooppell expressed his belief that an ancient line of road had been laid down from the neighbourhood of the present city of Durham to South Shields, crossing the Wear near Hylton, at a spot called "Le Forth." There was a mass of evidence that a noble stone-arched bridge existed in Roman times. At the conclusion of the Paper, Dr. Bruce said they were all obliged to Dr. Hooppell, but the matter required further investigation. Dr. Bruce intimated that he had received a gem from Mr. Clayton, which had been taken from a cornelian stone.

Wiltshire Archaeological Society.—August 2. —The Society held its opening meeting at the Town-hall, Malmesbury, under the Presidency of Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, M.P. The Rev. A. C. Smith, General Secretary, read the Report of the Committee, the President delivered his opening address, and Mr. C. H. Talbot read a Paper on "The Architecture of Malmesbury Abbey;" and in the evening Papers were read by the Rev. Canon Jackson and Mr. Ravenhill.

FOREIGN SOCIETIES.

Berlin Anthropological Society.—At the last meeting before the summer vacation, Dr. Jager read a Paper on "Prehistoric Pottery in Egypt and the Pyrenees." His theory on the subject had been approved by Dr. Sarnow, of the Royal Porcelain Factory. Various interesting temple ornaments illustrative of the subject were exhibited by the author of the Paper and other members of the Society, including Professor Virchow, who at a later period of the sitting related his explorations among the Trans-Caucasian burying grounds. The discovery in the tombs of certain Byzantine coins affords a clue to their date.

Berlin Academy of Sciences.—At a recent meeting Professor Mommsen reported (from written and telegraphic information) the favourable progress of Herr Humann's explorations in Asia. The monumental relics of antiquity near Angora were specially dealt with. The Broussa district was also mentioned in connection with these researches, as being rich in antiquarian treasures.

Mecklenburgh Historical and Antiquarian Society.—At the general annual meeting Dr. Wigger gave an interesting description of the policy of Duke Adolphus Frederick of Mecklenburgh during the Thirty Years' War, up to the time of his deposition. An excursion was made to Wismar for the purpose of examining the ecclesiastical remains of the fourteenth century still to be found there.

Berlin Archaeological Society.—At the July meeting, Herr Curtius described a stone tablet discovered at the Piræus recording a contract for a building. The distinction between painting and relief sculpture was dealt with by Herr Konze, with special reference to recent Pergamic discoveries of altars, &c. Herr Mommsen exhibited a leaden plate found in a Carthaginian tomb, with a singular inscription of a maledictory character.

Berlin Historical Society.—This body lately visited the city of Brandenburg, where it had once been domiciled. The Roland pillar, the churches of

St. Paul and St. Katharine, and other interesting spots were visited, historical explanations being introduced at appropriate intervals.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Hindu Marriage Ceremony.—Some of the ceremonies performed on the occasion of a full caste marriage (shádé) are detailed below.

(1.) Pili chithi—the yellow letter. This is a notice written on paper smeared over with turmeric, proposing a date for the marriage, sent by the girl's father to the boy's father, by the hand of the family barber. When a date has been finally fixed on, the girl's father sends the

(2.) Lagan—the date. This also is a letter containing a notice of the date agreed on, and is sent by the family priest or barber to the boy's father. It is generally accompanied by some copper or silver money, betel nuts, turmeric, sacred grass, and sometimes a red thread, with knots on it corresponding to the date agreed on. These things are given by the messenger to the boy before his assembled relatives.

(3.) Tel bân—the cleansing ceremony. The boy and girl are, for a few days before the marriage, rubbed over with a mixture of oil, turmeric, and flour to purify them.

(4.) Barál—the marriage procession. The boy's father gathers his relatives together, and, taking the boy, starts off in as grand a procession as he can form, for the girl's village, at the outskirts of which they are received by the girl's relatives in ceremonious fashion and conducted to a place set apart for them for rest and refreshment.

(5.) Bárothi—the threshold ceremony. The boy is taken to the threshold of the girl's house, and is then welcomed by the girl's female relatives, one of whom waves round his head a tray containing a small lump of flour and melted butter with other things.

(6.) Phere—the turns round the fire. This is among the Hindus the important ceremony which makes the marriage binding. It almost invariably takes place at night under an awning specially prepared in the courtyard of the girl's house. The relatives of both parties gather here, and when the sacred fire (hom) has been properly prepared, the boy and girl, with their clothes knotted together, are made to go round the fire seven times—at first the boy in front and then the girl in front—while the Brahmins representing both parties repeat the marriage vows and perform other ceremonies. The boy and girl are then made to sit down, the girl being at the wife's place on the left hand of the boy; and the girl's father gives away the girl to him by placing her hand, with a copper or silver coin, a little water, and some grains of rice, in his, while the Brahman pronounces the formula of gift.

(7.) The badhár—the marriage feast—takes place the following day; and on the day after that, when the dowry has been presented, and the parties have exchanged presents, the marriage procession starts back again, taking with it the girl, who remains for a

few days in the boy's house, and then returns to her father until puberty.

The binding ceremony is the phere, or turns round the sacred fire.—Tupper's *Punjab Customary Law*, ii. pp. 127-128.

Dates and Styles of Churches.

Beverley Minster.—East end and portions of nave, Early English; remainder of nave, Decorated; north porch and west front, Perpendicular.

Ely Cathedral.—Nave and transepts, Norman; Great Western tower, Transitional; Western porch and presbytery, Early English; Octagon and Lady Chapel, Decorated; Chapels of Bishops Alcock and West, Perpendicular.

Bath (St. Paul's).—Florid Gothic, date 1814.

Hinton Charterhouse (Somersetshire).—Early English.

Woolley (Somersetshire).—Debased Roman, date circa 1755.

Bathaston (Somersetshire).—Perpendicular; north aisle rebuilt 1833.

Bamford (Derbyshire).—Modern decorated, 1840.

Hathersage (Derbyshire).—Decorated.

Walsall (Staffs.).—St. Peter's—Early English, 1844.

St. Paul's—Grecian, 1826.

Wednesbury (Staffs.).—St. John's—Early English, 1845-6.

Barfreston (Kent).—Norman, circa 1100.

Stone (Kent).—Decorated.

Staffordshire Churches.—(Communicated by Mr. J. Jones.)

Abbotts Bromley (St. Nicholas).—Pointed Gothic; five bells; register dates from 1558.

Acton Trussell (St. James).—Early English; register dates from 1571.

Bednall (All Saints').—Early English; register dates from 1570.

Adbaston (St. Michael).—Tower, nave, and north aisle, Perpendicular; chancel, Decorated; four bells; register dates from 1601.

Aldridge (St. Mary).—Early English; register dates from 1660.

Alrewas (All Saints').—Tower and nave, Norman; chancel, Early English; six bells; register dates from 1547.

Alstonfield (St. Peter).—Gothic; three bells; register dates from 1538.

Alton (St. Peter).—Norman; register dates from 1681.

Upper Arley (St. Peter).—Tower, nave, and aisle, Early English; chancel, Decorated; six bells; register dates from 1564.

Armitage (St. John the Baptist).—Tower, Norman; nave, chancel, and aisles, Gothic; register dates from 1673.

Ashley (St. John the Baptist).—Tower, Early English; three bells; register dates from 1551.

Audley (St. James.).—Early Decorated; six bells; register dates from 1538.

Barlaston (St. John the Baptist).—Tower, Early English; five bells; chancel, nave, and north aisle, modern Gothic brick building built in 1845; register dates from 1578.

Great Barr (St. Margaret).—Early English; en-

tirely rebuilt in 1860; six bells; register dates from 1644.

Barton-under-Nedwood (St. James).—Tower, Norman; chancel and aisles, Gothic; six bells; register dates from 1571.

Barwick (Holy Trinity).—Tower, Early English; chancel and nave, modern red brick; register dates from 1601.

Figured Stone at Pluscardyn.—An interesting stone, discovered in the vestry of Pluscardyn Priory, is here figured. The upper lintel of the window—formerly the door into the choir—was discovered to have some figuring cut upon it, of which a rubbing was taken. Subsequently a considerable portion of the slab was laid bare. Evidently this old stone was found when the vestry was being built, and was made to do duty in its present position. Similarly figured crosses may be seen in *Cutt's Manual of Sepulchral Stones and Crosses*, plates xlv. and xlv., where the stones belong to the thirteenth century. Another, plate vi., of the twelfth century is very similar. A stone with incised cross is also to be seen at

Rosemarkie, and is figured in *Muir's Old Church Architecture of Scotland*, p. 110. In Furness Abbey chancel is a slab almost identical in form, and there is also one inside Cartmel Church.—*MACPHAIL'S History of Pluscardyn*, p. 162.

Bronze Vessel found at Pluscardyn.—The bronze vessel here figured was found on the site of Urchard Priory, and is now preserved at Duff House, Banff. At the spot where it was found there were also discovered large beams of oak used in the construction of some pit or underground store. The vessel is by no means uncommon in form; several almost identical may be

found in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum, and Mr.

Anderson says no date can be assigned to them, as this form is common through many centuries.—*MACPHAIL'S History of Pluscardyn*, p. 98.

Antiquarian News.

The Swiss papers announce an interesting anthropological discovery—the skull of one of the lake-dwellers in the vicinity of the Bussen-see. The skull is dolicho-cephalic, and apparently that of a woman. It was found beneath a bed of turf 15 ft. thick.

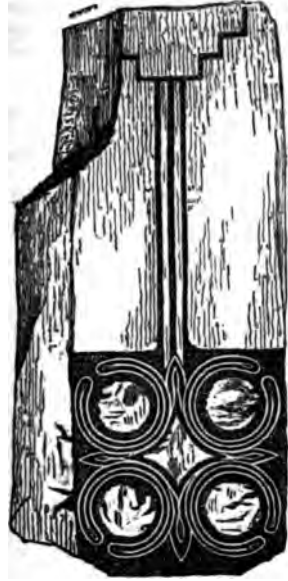
Persons interested in the preservation of ancient monuments should give their attention to the state of the ancient church of Perranzabuloe—the lost church in the sands, which was dug up from the sand “towans” of the north coast of Cornwall, some years ago, but is now in danger of total destruction from tourists. This church has been considered by some as the oldest in England (for St. Martin's, Canterbury, has been added to, almost rebuilt in the Middle Ages, and restored in modern times). It is a valuable relic, to say the least, of the Brito-Celtic past, and ought to be jealously preserved.

On July 26, in the Town Hall, was hung the fine oil painting—taken in the year 1722, by Evans, of Rickmansworth Old Market Hall, as it stood in the High Street until the year 1805, the painting having been most generously presented to the inhabitants by Mr. J. W. Birch, Rickmansworth Park, ex-Deputy Governor of the Bank of England.

The popular local feast of St. Wilfrid commenced on July 29, at Ripon, with a procession of the patron saint round the streets of the city, preceded by the Ripon Volunteer Band. The saint was arrayed in robe and mitre, and bearing in his hand a crozier. The custom, which is an ancient one, commemorates the return of St. Wilfrid from Rome to Ripon in the seventh century. On Sunday the Mayor and Corporation attended divine service at the Cathedral in their robes of office.

Mr. Shawcross, writing to the *Manchester City News*, says:—Walking last Saturday from Harlech to Corsygedd, in search of cromlechs, I noticed the top stone or cover of the largest of the two cromlechs behind the old school at Dyffryn, known as Coltan Arthur, or Arthur's Quoit (the other quoit being in the grounds at Corsygedd), had recently had one end broken off, also part of one side, by some hammerman, who perhaps wanted a specimen of the bright copper to be seen on the under side. The fracture was quite new; perhaps done that day. It is high time some restriction was put upon these hammering idiots who roam about destroying ancient monuments that money cannot replace.

Beddgelert Parish Church, which has been restored from the designs of Mr. Kennedy, Bangor, was lately re-opened. It had been suggested that the building, which suffered from “improvements” made during the present century, should be demolished and a new church erected, but the proposal met with scanty support, the feeling being very general in favour of



preserving, as far as practicable, all that could be maintained of the ancient structure. The restoration includes the opening of the east window to its original length; the replacing of the roof with new timber; the demolition of an unsightly gallery; the opening of the two arches on the north side for the formation of a transept, and the erection of a vestry on the south side. There is very little of positive data as to the early history of the church, but it appears to have been the conventual church of a priory of Augustines. In a history of Beddgelert Priory, reprinted from the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, the writer says, "It is by no means improbable that some kind of hospitium had been established here from an early period of the Christian history of Wales, and that advantage was afterwards taken of this circumstance to found a more important establishment. Situated in one of the loveliest of Cambria's many lovely vales, at the base of the most august of all her mountains; on the high road of communication, even in the remotest times of civilization, from the ancient Roman city of Segontium towards Mediolanum, and so into the Salopian plains round Uriconium; dedicated to God under the invocation of the Virgin, and called the House of the Valley of the Blessed Mary of Snowdon—it must have been considered in ancient times as a chosen spot of happy meditation, and as secure from all the chances and changes of worldly existence." Charters of Edward I. are addressed to "The Prior of the House of the Blessed Mary of Bethkeleert."

Some months ago (see *ante*, iv. 123) we informed our readers of the somewhat peculiar circumstances attending the discovery of an interesting window of the sixteenth century, in front of the premises, and on the second storey, of Mr. Roberts, fishmonger, Wyle-cop, Shrewsbury. During the past week this window has been re-filled with stained glass by Mr. John Davies, of Wyle-cop, from a water-colour drawing in the valuable collection of Owen's "Etchings," in the possession of Mr. S. Caswell, of this town. In each of the openings is a coat of arms, surrounded by Quarry work, as follows:—Shrewsbury, Berrington, St. George's Cross, Duke of Richmond's, arms unknown, and Wollascott. It is presumed that the premises belonged at one time to the Berrington family, and that the Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.), when Earl of Richmond, is said to have stayed there when passing through Shrewsbury. The unknown arms are, "Gules, a chevron, argent, between three bells, or." The glass has a fine rich antique appearance, and the window will be sure to find admirers among those who inspect it.

To what extent archaeology is becoming popular is to be seen by the excursions to picturesque old buildings. Such an antiquarian excursion recently took place, at the invitation of Mr. John Reynolds, of the Manor-house, Redland. Gurney-street Manor-house, near Cannington, the first place visited, is a fair example of domestic architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The curious domestic chapel—now used as a china closet—was only large enough to accommodate the priest and his assistant. To render the mass visible three squints were made in the walls; two affording a view of the altar from a room on the first floor, and one in the side walls, opening

to one of the rooms on the ground floor. The piscina, portions of the altar, and niches for two statues remain. Some old coloured glass in one of the small windows elicited much commendation, the figures of the birds represented in it being quaint and very spirited. The party reached Stogursey, the "Estocha" of the Exon Domesday Book and the Stoke Courcy of later times. Stogursey Church is a fine building, and must have been originally one of the handsomest Norman churches in Somerset. "It was," Mr. E. A. Freeman says, "a church of a peculiar class, and therefore had a special interest; it was an alien priory, a cell appendant to the Benedictine abbey of Lonlay, in Normandy. It was suppressed, with other alien priories, by Henry V. Stoke Courcy church belonged to a class different from other monastic and parochial churches, for instead of having aisles in the nave and no aisles in the choir, it had aisles to the choir, and none to the nave." There are two recumbent effigies in the chancel of the Verney family—that of Sir Ralph (died 1351), clad simply in a tunic; that of Sir John (who died in the reign of Henry VI.), is in armour. The Verneys were lords of Fairfield manor. The font is a fine Norman one, and the churchyard cross is simple and imposing in design. Castles are not a prominent feature of the archaeology of Somerset. The remains of that at Stogursey are sufficient to show it had two towers and a good moat, though the castle has laid in ruins ever since it was taken and burnt by Lord Bonville, soon after the first battle of St. Albans. The mill (valued in Domesday Book at sixteen pence) is near the Castle. Dodington Manor-house, the next place visited, is an interesting example of the house of a private gentleman of early Tudor period. Its minstrels' gallery, very fine roof, and handsome sculptured chimney-pieces, attracted much attention. It was the residence of the Dodingtons for several hundred years. Blackmore Manor-house is a very interesting and complete early sixteenth century building. The domestic chapel retains the old arrangement, the western part being divided into two stories, the lower for the domestics, and the upper communicating with the principal rooms for the master of the house; the eastern part being the whole height of the chapel, for the altar and officiating priest. A similar chapel exists at Berkeley Castle, and at other places.

Sir Reginald Graham has taken possession of his ancestral estate at Norton Conyers, recently purchased from Lord Downe, to whom it was sold twenty years ago by Sir Bellingham Graham. In April of the present year, Sir Reginald Graham repurchased the estate, which has been in the family several hundred years. The history of the Grahams in connection with the district is memorable, for Sir Richard Graham, in the battle of Marston Moor, was desperately wounded, and fled to his home at Norton when the battle was lost, where, according to the popular story, he was followed by Cromwell, who galloped into the hall and up the broad staircase, and as the horse turned to descend, the print of the horse's hoof and shoe was stamped on the topmost stair, where it remains to this day. In the mansion are some fine paintings of members of the family, one of which

represents Sir Richard Graham standing by the side of the horse upon which he took his flight from Marston Moor. Valuable and antique articles of furniture are also contained therein, including a chair occupied by James I. when he came to claim the throne in 1603, and a bed upon which he slept. The hall is pleasantly situated, and the return of the Graham family to it was hailed with pleasure by the inhabitants of the district.

A new gallery has been added to the British Museum, between the Elgin room and the Egyptian gallery. It will form an important addition to the Museum in connection with the Hellenic room, and is intended, we believe, chiefly for the reception of the remains of the mausoleum and the colossal groups of sculpture erected by Artemisia of Caria over the remains of her husband, Mausolus. The new gallery is about 150 ft. in length, 40 ft. in width, and 30 ft. high to the panelled ceiling. There are two descending flights of steps, one at each end—the south one being in connection with the Hellenic room, a square compartment which connects the central saloon of the Egyptian gallery with the Elgin room, and the north entrance at the end of the former. It is in contemplation to make other alterations on the east side. The books purchased at the Hamilton Library sale, and other curiosities, will be included in the collection. The valuable additions that have been made of late years in this department of archaeology have made it absolutely necessary to provide more accommodation, notwithstanding the removal of some departments to South Kensington. The basement of the building is filled with treasures that have never been exhibited. The remains of the mausoleum of Halikarnassos, erected by Artemisia, B.C. 352, over her husband, Prince of Caria, are important specimens of Greek art, which are rather crowded for want of room. The Ionic structure, which stands on a lofty basement, and was crowned by a stepped pyramid of white marble, is one of the finest examples of its class. The chariot group, portions of the colossal horses from which are here deposited, surmounted the pyramid, which altogether was 146 ft. high; in this group Mausolus himself probably stood. Many fragments of slabs of this group, and the frieze of high relief which surrounded the basement and cella of the peristyle, are to be seen here. The chief frieze represented the combat of the Greeks and Amazons. Many architectural details of this unique edifice are represented by portions of the cornice, Ionic capitals, leaves, and mouldings. The Hellenic room, to which the new gallery forms an important addition, contains also examples of Greek architecture, which are not so well studied as they might be. The sculptured slabs of the frieze of the temple of Apollo Epicurius, erected by Iktinos to commemorate the delivery of the Phigalians from the plague, B.C. 430; the fragments of Doric and Ionic capitals; and the very valuable sculptured remains from the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, and other temples, to be found in the Elgin room, form alone a school of Greek art which the student of architecture has been slow to appreciate. The pedimental sculptures from the first-named temple certainly deserve higher

recognition than they have yet received. Many recent additions to the Elgin room have been made; among them an interesting lion of colossal dimensions, which surmounted a Doric tomb of the Treasury of Atreus type, vaulted with radiating cells; also a sculptured drum, found by J. T. Wood at Ephesus, belonging to one of the columns of the temple.

In the course of the excavations for the Co-operative Stores, at Gloucester, the following relics have been dug up:—Copper coin: Anglesey mines halfpenny, 1788. A quantity of refuse, probably from glass melting-pot, of greenish-blue colour, much oxydized, with nodules of silica. Remnant of crucible, in which silver has been melted; particles of silver embedded. A quantity of shards, dating probably from the fifteenth century. Fragments of encaustic tiles, ornamental and plain, dating from fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Fragments of delf stone-ware, quart pots, &c., of fine blue colour; initials A. R. (Queen Anne) and G. R. (Prince George of Denmark, her husband) existing on some fragments. Pint-pot, stone-ware, upper part painted red, lower part enamelled; on enamelled part is, very spiritedly painted, a fox (in blue colour), with the legend, "We shall catch him anon." Portions of brown stoneware cups, quart and pint; the name of "Hodack" is stamped on one pint cup. Remains of glass Dutch flasks; one, tolerably perfect, bears a crest (a dog's head) stamped thereon; the oxydation on some fragments is very beautiful. Portion of terra-cotta dish, painted inside a beautiful light blue, with portion of (qy.) head of Charles I. in dark blue, with yellow crown. The head has the characteristic long hair of Charles I. Freestone head of infant Christ, of thirteenth-century workmanship; the carving finished on one side only, the other side having evidently been against a Madonna, remains of gilding existing on hair. Old glass phial and glass bottle. Enriched classic moulding in white marble. Two ancient earthenware pots. These relics are in the possession of the architects, Messrs. Medland & Son, but will be offered to the County Museum.

At the end of last year M. Delaporte went out to Cambodia for the purpose of exploring further the architectural remains which abound in Cambodia. According to a just-published statement, M. Delaporte believes he has been able at last to solve the difficult problem of the purpose of the religious buildings of this ancient metropolis of Indo-Chinese civilization. His discoveries have led him to the unexpected conclusion that these ancient Khmer temples were dedicated to Brahminism. At Angkor-Wat he detached from the higher parts the *chefs d'œuvre* of Cambodian sculpture; bas-reliefs, once brilliantly gilt; pediments, all the subjects of which M. Delaporte maintains, down to those which decorate the most secluded sanctuary, are devoted to the exploits of Rama and the glories of Vishnu. At Angkor-Tom, M. Delaporte visited several new monuments, on most of which he also finds on the principal pediments the exploits of Rama and Vishnu. He believes he has proved the presence of the *linga*, the emblem of Siva. He cleared of rubbish and explored the ancient palace of the Khmer-kings, the rising terraces of which are adorned with compositions in bas-relief; the enormous three-headed

elephant, Irávalti, is there enthroned in all the places of honour, as at the angels of all the gates of the city, where he is shown by the god Indra, accompanied by two *apsaras*, or celestial *danses*, of his paradise.

Mr. J. H. Greenstreet is about to publish, by subscription of only 100 copies, an autotype facsimile of the Lincolnshire Survey, or list of landholders, in the time of Henry I., from the original MS. in the Cottonian Library.

A church of high interest to artists, says the *Athenæum*, has lately undergone "restoration," and no longer possesses historical, personal, or pictorial value. It is that of Aldenham, near Watford, which is associated with William Hunt, Byrne, Edridge, and Mulready. The nave roof of this once interesting building was enriched with paintings, *c.* Henry VI., of curious decorative character. These have been restored under the decoration of Mr. A. W. Blomfield. New glass has been inserted in the windows, new tiles have been placed on the floor. The eminently picturesque church at Chipping Ongar, Essex, is to be enlarged by the addition of a south aisle and restored, the wooden spire repaired, the roof retiled, and the flint-work repointed.

An important collection of Oriental manuscripts, consisting of 138 volumes, and including some of the oldest Arabic MSS. hitherto known, has been added to the British Museum Library, which now possesses not only the largest number, but the most valuable MSS. of the Old Testament. One point of extreme interest to the Oriental student is the fact that though the commentaries are written in Arabic they contain large quotations from Anan's commentaries in Aramaic, thus proving beyond doubt that Anan, the founder of the Karaites, wrote in Aramaic, the language spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ.

It is announced that the library at Towneley Hall, so famous for its MSS. of importance to local history, is about to be dispersed. This will be no mean addition to the famous sales of the season; but the announcement will be received with great regret in Lancashire, for no collection is more intimately associated with the history, literature, and science of that county than that which is now to come to the hammer.

Lord Ashburnham, says the *Academy*, has at last consented to the publication of his unique fifteenth-century MS. of the "York Mysteries," which has never been printed, though its existence has long been known. With much liberality, he has placed it in the hands of Miss Toulmin Smith, who is preparing to edit the whole, with notes and a short introduction, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press having agreed to publish the volume. The collection is an important addition to our early drama. It contains forty-eight plays—more than are found in any of the three great collections, which have Coventry Plays forty-three, Towneley Mysteries thirty-two, and Chester Mysteries twenty-four plays. The subjects of the first eleven York pieces are taken from the Old Testament, as far as the flight of the Israelites and the drowning of Pharaoh in the Red Sea; the remainder are taken from the New Testament, the Gospel of Nicodemus,

and some of the Marian legends. The Biblical narrative is closely followed in many parts. The handwriting is that of about 1450, but the composition and other facts point to an earlier date for the plays. They comprise several interesting varieties of metre—among the rest, some fine alliterative rhyming verse. The volume was, in all likelihood, the official "register" of the plays belonging to the Corporation of York, whose duty it was to assign the performance of the plays to the different crafts. We know from Drake, and from the evidence of the volume itself, which must have been in active use after 1553, that alterations were sometimes made by the performers, as well as revision of the text to suit later taste. Some interesting points arise as to the authorship of the plays. On comparison with the Towneley Mysteries, also a Yorkshire collection, and written in the same Northern dialect, four or five of the plays are found to be not only parallel in subject, but to be identical in long passages and scenes; in fact, they are the same plays with additions or omissions. The York collection being perfect, it may be expected that it will serve to correct the Towneley set—many of the plays in which are imperfect, and one, at least, of which seems to be displaced in order—as well as to supply useful variations in readings for the parallel plays. Not the least interesting feature of the MS. is, that it supplies the scores for the music sung by the angels, recurring in the play on the vision of our Lady to St. Thomas, probably one of the earliest specimens of the use of music in the English drama. The MS. single play of this collection (the Scriveners', on the incredulity of St. Thomas) which has been printed first at Croft in 1797, and reprinted by the Camden Society in 1858, appears to have been an actor's copy. It is a separate MS., lately belonging to Dr. Sykes, of Doncaster. The text agrees with that of the York play.

Correspondence.

THE GREAT CASE OF THE IMPOSITIONS. (v. 61-65.)

Mr. Hall, in his able paper, treats of a subject of such great historical importance that I would venture to offer a few comments on the propositions he has advanced. I would first deal with the double transaction of 1303—viz., (a) the negotiations with the alien merchants; (b) the negotiations with the denizen merchants. But, before doing so, I would lay stress on the broad principle, that all negotiation in the Middle Ages between the ruler and the ruled was based on mutual concession, on "give and take." Wherever a privilege is granted from above we have to look for the "consideration" which purchased it from below. Of this principle the Charters to towns afford an excellent instance. It of course, however, only applies to normal circumstances and not to cases of *force majeure*. Now, the working of this principle in the matter of taxation I take to have been practically as follows:—Just as the burgess in demesne obtained the right to govern himself in

return for hard cash, so did the subject obtain the right to tax himself in return for an increased contribution. In the special case of traders they would also obtain increased privileges for trading. Let us then consider, in this light, the events of 1303. The customs revenue at this period is rightly divided by Mr. Hall into three sections, but, for clearness' sake, it will be better to define them as (1) the customs proper (*magna custuma*)—viz., a defined tax on wool, woollfells, and leather; (2) the *butlerage*—viz., a defined (as I shall show) tax on wine; (3) an undefined right of "prises" on miscellaneous merchandise. These two last were the *parva custuma*. It will be noticed that I speak of the "prisage" on wines as "butlerage," to distinguish it from the right of prisage on other goods. This is an important point, for Mr. Hall uses the term as though it applied to wine alone. When the Crown approached the *alien* merchants in 1303 it offered them two concessions, (1) to commute what I have termed its "undefined right of prises on miscellaneous merchandise," for a defined scale of charges (*ut ipsi de prisis nostris—notice here the plural, overlooked by Mr. Hall—quidam esse . . . valeant*). This was nothing less than a surrender by the Crown of its right of impost and, as such, was clearly to its disadvantage; (2) certain trading privileges (for such was practically in those days the meaning of *libertates*). In return for these two concessions the Crown obviously sought to attain the great object it had kept steadily in view—viz., that increase on the *defined* taxes which could only be obtained by the payers' consent. This increase (*nova custuma*)* the aliens granted. Mr. Hall however, while admitting that they granted it on class 1, attacks Professor Stubbs for stating that they also granted it on class 2 (wine). Unfortunately I have not the *Fœdera* at hand to examine the *Carta mercatoria*, but I would submit (on behalf of Professor Stubbs and in opposition to Mr. Hall) that the 2s. on the tun was *over and above* the existing "butlerage," firstly, because such increase would be co-ordinate with the *nova custuma* on wool, secondly, because the concessions which the crown sought from the denizens were avowedly based on those which it had obtained from the aliens, and as the 2s. a tun which it eventually succeeded in obtaining from the former was (according to Mr. Hall himself) *over and above* the butlerage, we must conclude that in the case of the aliens it had been so also. Their freedom from prisage, to which Hakewill alluded, referred I believe to that right of undefined impost which I have spoken of as class 3, and which, as I said, the crown surrendered to them. We now come to the negotiations with the *denizen* merchants. Mr. Hall here (p. 63) assails Professor Stubbs for the statement in his *Select Charters* (p. 490) that Edward "attempted to get the consent of the merchants to raise the custom on wools, woollfells, and leather." Now, even assuming that this is erroneous—which I am not prepared

to admit—it is often needful (I say it in no disrespect to Professor Stubbs) to compare his several works before deciding on his conclusions. Thus here, in his *Constitutional History* (which Mr. Hall might surely have consulted), he speaks (ii. 156) of "their consent to an increase of the custom on *wine, wool, and other commodities, which had been granted by the foreign merchants*," thus supplying the void complained of in the *Select Charters*. But when Mr. Hall says of this transaction—"the great object of the Crown was not to get a present advance on the wool customs, but to settle permanently the scale of the charge upon wines and merchandise"—I must differ from him *in toto*. For, on the one hand, the whole history of the struggle proves that "a present advance on the wool customs" was the supreme object of the Crown, and that in its dire need of supplies it was ready to surrender its great right of imposition in return for this immediate gain, and on the other, the commutation of its right of undefined "prises" on general merchandise for a defined and limited scale was, instead of a gain (as implied by Mr. Hall), an actual loss not only (as is obvious) in money, but also, and specially, in prerogative!

I now turn to the "butlerage." Mr. Hall says of it (p. 64) "it was the undefined nature of the prisage that was always contended for by the advocates of the prerogative in later times." He has here I think been misled by his loose use of the term "prisage." As far as the "prises" (for the plural form, as I have shown, is the right one) referred to the right of imposition which I have spoken of as class 3, it was indeed as I said, "undefined," but the prisage of *wine*, that is the "butlerage," had from the first, on Mr. Hall's own showing, been most clearly defined—viz., on nine casks or under, *nil*, on more than nine and less than twenty, one cask, on twenty or more, two casks. Thus, whatever the size of the cargo, the prescriptive "butlerage" could be at once determined. It is true that in this, as Mr. Hall points out, Professor Stubbs's definition is inaccurate, but when he proceeds to challenge the assertion that the butlerage rate was 20s. the cask, I can bring, I think, rebutting evidence. On the conquest of Ireland the right of "butlerage" was extended by the Crown to that kingdom, but was early granted to the family who took from it their name of "Butler." This right was defined by the 10th Earl of Ormonde as "one choyse tonne of wyne out of every shippe or bottome arriving and contayning nyne tonnes of wyne, and twoe choyse tonnes of every shippe or bottome so arriving and contayning twenty tonnes of wyne or upwards." (Chief Rememb. Roll, Dublin, 7 Jan. I.) Thus the two "butlerages" were similar in extension, (which proves, by the way, that this curious scale was at least as old as the Conquest of Ireland). But as in John's Charter to Dublin he specially reserves the right of butlerage, and authorizes his "butler" to take "two hogsheds of wine for his use for 40s., that is to say, 20s. each hogshedd, and nothing more" (*Carta Orig.*), it seems certain that even at that early date 20s. was the butlerage rate in Ireland, and *pari passu* in England.

Such points as these are obviously of the greatest constitutional importance, and hence, as Mr. Hall rightly reminds us, ought to be cleared from all

* In this I follow Professor Stubbs (*Const. Hist.*, ii. 524): "The increment fixed in 1303 was known as the 'nova' or 'parva' custuma, in opposition to the 'magna et antiqua custuma' of 1275." Yet I find this very "custuma" of 1275 described by the king as "*la novele custume*" (Fine Roll, 3 Ed. I).

obscurity or inaccurate interpretation. It is on this ground that I have ventured to offer these observations. It may be as well to add that the *maltole* of 1297 surely followed "the episode of the refractory earls," instead of "producing" it (as on p. 63), and that Mr. Hall's statement, just beneath,—"therefore it still enjoyed the custom on wool and hides" is a *non sequitur*, that enjoyment depending not on Article VI., but on Article VII.—"sauve a nous e a nos heirs la custume des leines," &c. &c.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

NEWPORT MARKET.

A bit of "old London" is about to be swept away, which is interesting not only for the older memories which cluster around but for the uses to which it has latterly been put. The long talked-of clearance in the southern part of Soho for the erection of improved "Working-class dwellings" has been commenced under the auspices of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The larger of the two blocks to be demolished comprises an area of about 40,000 feet superficial, which is bounded on the south by Newport Court, on the east by Princes Row, and along the north and west by Litchfield Street, Grafton Street and Little Newport Street. To the north-west of this is a smaller block already partly removed which, including Hayes Court, lies between Gerrard (more properly Gerard) Street on the south, Nassau Street on the west and King Street to the north. Within the larger block are situated what was the Market-house, an octagonal building with a glazed upper chamber, and—adjoining the public-house in Princes Row—the last of the slaughter-houses to survive the Public Health Act of 1849. South of the Market-house is an ancient barn-like structure which has some shadowy association with King Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell. This is erroneously stated to have been the slaughterhouse, but was in fact a place where the live beasts were stabled for sale, the dealers and purchasers congregating in the "chaffering floor" above. But drovers, butchers and slaughtermen have long disappeared. In this same quaint building, its fine old woodwork of ages ago and even the stalls yet remaining, many a wretched outcast without a home or domesticity of any kind could look for at least one night's shelter and food, one word of counsel, one effort of help; and here some sixty wastrels are reclaimed from the streets, housed, clothed, fed, and placed in the way of earning an honourable livelihood. Your readers will learn with regret that the Newport Market Refuge and Industrial Home, ousted from their present quarters, are in sore straits, having but slender resources to find another settlement. The Market-house and Home are encompassed on three sides by Princes Row, access to which is gained by Market Street and openings out of Litchfield Street and Newport Court. Market and King streets contain some fine examples of the stately brick houses which were once the favourite residences of the fashionable frequenters of Soho. Numerous evidences exist of the nationality, then as now, of a portion of the inhabitants, in the shape of restaurants, magazines, and cafés. Grafton House in Little Newport Street,

which, with the antique house next to it, will go the way of the rest, stands upon the site of the town mansion of Mountjoy Blount, whom King Charles I. created Earl of Newport—from which title (for he was subsequently created Earl of Warwick and Lord Gray) the estate derived its name. He was then living in Military Square, or Garden (now Leicester Square) so called from the Artillery Ground which was made for Henry Prince of Wales, where is now Gerrard Street. The alterations will fortunately spare the houses of Burke and Dryden, Nos. 37 and 43 in Gerrard Street—so named after Charles Gerard, or Jarard, first Earl of Macclesfield—but will make sad havoc in a quarter which is full of interest for the student of the past. In Newport Market Orator Henley was wont to preach before he betook himself to Clare Market; and a market poulterer—a "Turkey merchant" as his son called him—was father to Horne Tooke. It was here that the father had the memorable dispute with the household of Frederick Prince of Wales about the making of a way from Leicester House in Newport Street through his back premises in the market beyond. In the result, as the late Earl Russell proudly enunciates in his *Essay on the English Constitution*, the "tradesman of Westminster triumphed over the heir apparent of the English Crown, and orders were issued for the removal of the obnoxious door." William Cavendish, third Earl of Devonshire, died at Newport House in the year 1654, soon after which time it passed into other hands. In the rate-books of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields there appear under Newport Street the following names:—The Earls Bollinbroke, Newporte, Leicester, and Hollande; the Ladies Cornwallis, Euret, and Harris; the Lord Crofts, and so on; whilst among eminent inhabitants of a later day may be instanced Charles Howard, first Earl of Carlisle, our ambassador to the Czar of Muscovy and to King Charles XI. of Sweden; Sir Joshua Reynolds, who in 1761 moved from No. 5 on the northern side to Leicester Fields; Rymer, compiler of the *Fadera*, Vivares the engraver, and Carte the historian.

W. E. MILLIKEN.

Cornwall Residences, N.W.

ST. IVES, HUNTS.

(v. 219.)

I have read with pleasure the observations or report made by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and respecting our parish church. An allusion is made to the ancient name of the town, *Slepe*, and which was so called in Domesday Book, and appears to be Saxon for *slipe* or *slepe*, a strip of dry land, because the old town was built upon a strip of such land. Ednoth is said to have built a church here, which was destroyed in 1207.

Now, upon referring to Domesday Book, I find the following statement:—

"In Slepe lib, Abb de Ramsey xx Hid ad Ged; Tra xxiiii car; : in d'mo tra iiii car : lbi P'br, Eccle 60 ac pa T.R.E. nat. xx lib, Eyward, Ingeltraun & Plienes iiii hid &c v villi vi bor'd, cir. iiii car: Eccleam : P'bm. valet xlv sol," &c.

It appears from this extract that there were two

churches, one maintained by the abbot and the other by the landowners. It was probably the *latter* church where the body of St. Ivo was found (if found there at all), as it stood, with the ancient priory, at the *east* end of the town, surrounded by pastures and arable lands. Whereas the present church is erected at the *west* end of the town, close to and abutting upon the river, and isolated. It must have been, at the time of its erection, built upon piles, away from habitations, so as not to be likely to be destroyed by fire, and at a distance of one-third of a mile from the former church.

St. Ivo is said to have travelled here about 600 A.D., and in 1007 Ednoth built a church to his memory, &c. This was 400 years afterwards, and 200 years subsequently, or 100 years after Domesday, when the church was destroyed. But *which* of the two churches were so destroyed? as there were, apparently, two churches at the time of the Survey.

Further on it is stated that the building on the bridge was visited. I well know this cottage (it formerly belonged to myself, as did the house also visited as lately occupied by Mr. Sherringham); but I am not able to concur in the notion that the cottage on the bridge was ever a chapel. It was, in my opinion, a lighthouse, erected in order to give light to the passengers in crossing the dangerous river and swamp in flood time to the south side. This swamp extended far away over what are now called Hemingford and Fenstanton and St. Ives Meadows. It was, until recent times, *extra-parochial*. If it ever belonged to the Priory (near to) it would have been sold or disposed of when the Priory was dissolved by King Henry VIII. The two storeys erected on the building were no doubt added to it after 1689, when a great fire occurred at the end of White Hart Lane, passed across the Sheep Market, and consumed the upper part of the cottage, and over the river to the two houses there. But the fire did not extend to the parish church, as was supposed, such church being nearly half a mile distant. The Priory and its old walls were not, it appears, visited by the Society.

There is one short error in the report—namely, that the church was served from the Abbey of Ramsay, which was not a *very great distance* from the Abbey. Now, it must be remembered that Ramsay is distant from St. Ives (straight) at least ten miles, a distressing distance in those early times for a traveller to take. The Stone Chair, nearly mid-way, was probably erected or put down for weary travellers to rest upon in bad weather.

J. KING WATTS.

St. Ives, Hunts.

POPULAR NAMES OF TUMULI, &c.

In "Shrowl field," in the parish of East Harptree, Somerset, there stood until recently (I regret to say they have been ruthlessly broken up) two stone pillars, locally known as "the devil's quoits." Tradition tells that the devil on a time was "hurling" at our church from the vantage ground of the opposite hill, but that his "quoits" fell thus short of the mark. Though not an advanced historical sceptic, I should

rather conjecture that they are the remains of a "côet" or "dolmen" laid bare (if ever covered) by the combined action of the weather, and the plough or spade. However, the legend in this form is, I fancy, not uncommon, and I should hardly have troubled you with an instance of it had I not wished to direct attention to the curious confusion which appears to exist as to the wood quoit or coit, as thus applied in two distinct senses to the same object. Has it ever been satisfactorily explained? "Côet," we are told, means in Breton, "a groove or wood," and is sometimes transferred to the rude stone monument standing therein, as—e.g., Kils Coitz House, Arthur's quoit, and many others. How this etymology is reconcilable with the situation of some of these "quoits" I confess I do not understand: but supposing it to be correct, it would seem that the derivation of "quoit" (cestus) must be from an entirely distinct root, and that the later legends of heroic or satanic quoit throwers were founded on the accidental similarity or rather identity of the names applied to monumental and hurling stones. I may add that these stones were of the same conglomerate formation as those of the Stanton Drew circles some five miles distant. The Stanton stones are supposed by some to have been brought from East Harptree, but I understand that recent investigations rather lead to the conclusion that they were dug *in situ*.

C. H. NUTT.

East Harptree Rectory.

ECCLESIASTICAL ART EXHIBITION.

Will you kindly permit me to appeal to your antiquarian readers for contributions to the "Loan Collection" of the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, which is to be held concurrently with the Church Congress in October next. The Committee will feel greatly obliged by the temporary loan of examples of ancient church plate, metal work, embroidery, enamels, ivories, rubbings of monumental brasses, drawings or photographs of ecclesiastical buildings, and any other articles likely to prove interesting to those who attend the Church Congress.

I need hardly say that the greatest care will be taken of all objects entrusted to the Committee. Communications should be addressed, without delay, to Herbert Cooper, Esq., 11, South Parade, Derby, or to

JOHN HART.

OLD FOOTSTEPS OF THE SAXONS.

Reference is made in the interesting article on this subject in the last number of THE ANTIQUARY to the correspondence, respectively, between the English place-names Buxton, Hereford, and Exeter, and the German place-names Buxten, Herford, and Exter.

This conformity must, however, be accidental, inasmuch as the English names cited are modern corruptions only of the ancient names: Buxton of Bectune, Hereford of Hen-flordd or Caer-flawydd, and Exeter of Exanceastre or Exacestre.

FREDERICK DAVIS.

Palace Chambers, St. Stephen's, S.W.

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The Antiquary.



OCTOBER, 1882.

St. Crispin's Day.

(OCTOBER 25.)

By T. FAIRMAN ORDISH.

This day is call'd the feast of Crispian:
He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
Will stand a tip-toe when this day is named,
And rouse him at the name of Crispian.

* * * * *

And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered;
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers.
Henry V. act iv. sc. iii.

Then call we this the field of Agincourt,
Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus.

Ibid. sc. vii.

THIS accords with the idea of Shakespeare, both in our own and other countries, that he has no meaningless words, even though, through the accidents of time, there be possibly some obscure. Upon the familiar passage at the head of this article some light may fall from what can here be said of St. Crispin's Day; enforcing, may be, the advantage of collateral study, upon which living eminent Shakespearean critics insist with such practical enthusiasm.

Crispin and Crispinian are the patron saints of the shoemakers, who have been accustomed to celebrate their martyrdom on its anniversary, the 25th of October (the eighth of the kalends of November). The occasions have taken mostly the form of processions, followed by feasting, which element flourished more in our own country than on the Continent. There are some interesting notices of these commemorations; but in order that their meaning and sociological significance may be perceived, it will be necessary to make a short excursion into legendary history. It will then be seen that, although

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their origin is common, there is an essential difference between the English and the continental shoemaker saints. Their points of divergence may nevertheless be traced, as well as the transmutations which the original crede underwent when it reached English soil.

The history of the saints is brief enough; and to save the reader the trouble of taking down from his shelves the *Lives of the Saints*, by the Rev. Alban Butler, and the book with a similar title by Mr. Baring-Gould, an abridged account of them may be given.

They were natives of ancient Rome, and it is supposed they were of noble birth. Embracing Christianity, they journeyed into Gaul, and settled at Soissons, where they preached their faith, sustaining themselves by shoemaking. They put into practice the Christian ideal of Charity, and gained much honour with the Bagundæ, amongst whom they dwelt. When Maximinus Herculeus, in the course of his expedition against the Bagundæ, in 284 A.D., came to Soissons, he was inflamed by finding followers of Christ in that comparatively remote province; and the fame of Crispin and Crispinian led to their being seized and handed over to Rictiovarus, prefect of the Gauls, to be tried and punished. Mr. Baring-Gould writes: "At Soissons is shown now the place where they are traditionally said to have been imprisoned. An abbey called Saint Crépin en Chaie (*in cavea*) was built on the spot."

The brothers were ordered by Rictiovarus to be executed by the sword, and their bodies to be cast into the common sewers. This is probably all the truth of the martyrdom. The Acts, however, contain much apocryphal matter, detailing the miraculous preservation of the Saints in their torments. Spills of wood are thrust between their nails, but these start out of their fingers and stab their tormentors; mill-stones are hung round their necks and they are thrown into the river, but they do not sink; boiling lead is thrown over them, but that refreshes them; pitch, oil, and fat are stewed together, into which they are thrown, but still without damage. Rictiovarus then becomes so disgusted that he casts himself into the fire under the cauldron, and there stifles his chagrin. These circumstances are fictitious,

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but they have yielded subjects for the canvas, and so deserve mention. The Acts further tell us that, seeing their chief tormentor disposed of, the brothers placidly submitted to be decapitated; and this is probably correct.

The Emblems of these Saints are thus stated by Dr. Husenbeth* (who dates the martyrdom 280 A.D.):—

Tied to a tree and flayed alive. *Das Passional.*

Two shoemakers at work. *Callot.*

Strips cut from a hide. *Die Attribut.*

Shoemakers' tools near them. *Iconographie.*

Instructing shoemakers in their shop. *Gueffier.*

The picture representing the Saints at their shoemaking work is placed at the head of Hone's account of them, and is said by him to be faithfully copied from an old engraving of the same size by H. David.

On pages 308-9 of Dr. Husenbeth's book, the October Calendars of the different European countries are placed in juxtaposition. The Festival of St. Crispin is marked in only the old English of Sarum use, the French, and the Spanish; these are all on the 25th of October. It is also marked in the German Calendar, but on the 26th of the month.

With regard to the burial, the relics, and the monuments of the Saints, something must be said. According to Mr. Baring-Gould, the burial took place on the spot where afterwards stood the church of St. Crépin-le-Petit, at Soissons. He writes:—"It is customary at Rogations for the procession to pass along the Rue de la Congrégation, and halt before the house No. 14, which occupies the site of this old chapel, and there to chant an antiphon and collect of SS. Crispin and Crispinian." This is probably the building of which the Rev. A. Butler writes:—"A great church was built at Soissons in the sixth century, and St. Eligius richly ornamented their sacred shrine." But according to the Roman Martyrology, the bodies were translated in the ninth century to Rome, and buried in the church of St. Lawrence, and Mr. Baring-Gould says:—

The bodies were also translated to Osnabrück, in Westphalia, by Charlemagne, in the eighth century, where the fact of the translation is annually observed on June 20, with office approved by the Sacred

Congregation of Rites. However, the Church at Soissons exhibited during the Middle Ages, if not all the bones of the saints, at least a considerable number of them.

It may be surmised from this account that the Festival of St. Crispin retained its religious character; and so, for a long time, and in the Roman Catholic countries of the Continent, it did. That it was otherwise in Britain is again to be expected, for the insular and Protestant character of its people never fails to affect what comes to it from foreign sources. In France and Flanders, before the Reformation, several Shoemakers' Guilds had been established. Their ideal was very high, and was fostered by the church. The "Confrerie des Compagnons Cordonniers," was established in the Cathedral of Paris, in 1379, by Charles the Wise. In 1304 the company of Cordonniers of Ghent, framed provisions against immoral life amongst its members. At Namur a Guild of Shoemakers was flourishing in 1376. When the incorporation was granted, the authorities expressed the hope that the statutes would advance "the honour and glory of the blessed Son of God, and of the Virgin Mary, and of all the blessed saints of Paradise."* A more recent and more important fraternity was that established by Henry Michael Buch, commonly called "Good Henry," an account of whom is given in a lengthy note appended to his short account of the Crispin Martyrs, by Butler in his *Lives*. Henry was of poor parents in Luxembourg, who made him a shoemaker. He determined on a pious life, took the Saints Crispin and Crispinian for his models, and exercised much benefit upon his companions. So he lived at his work several years at Luxembourg and Mersen, when he came to Paris. Here he attracted the notice of the pious Baron Rentz, who proposed to him a project for establishing a confraternity to facilitate the heroic exercise of all virtues among persons of his profession. For this end he purchased for him the freedom and privilege of a burgess, and made him com-

* *Delightful History of ye Gentle Craft*, by S. S. Campion. 1876. Second edition, revised and enlarged. An interesting history of feet costume, with illustrations; and an account of shoemakers who have attained celebrity.

* *Emblems of the Saints*, by F. C. Husenbeth, D.D., V.G., second ed. pp. 42-3.

mence master in his trade, that he might take apprentices and journeymen who were willing to follow the rules that were prescribed them, and were drawn up by the curate of St. Paul's, regarding frequent prayer, the use of sacraments, the constant practice of the Divine presence, mutual succours and relief, &c. The date of the foundation of this fraternity was 1645. What was its connection with the guild established in Paris by Charles the Wise does not appear.

The martyrdom of the Crispin Saints was the subject of several mysteries, of which the most important was printed and published at Paris, in 1836. It is entitled, *Mystère de Saint Crispin et Saint Crespinian, publié pour la première fois, d'après le manuscrit conservé aux archives du royaume*. Par L. Dessalles et P. Chabaille. Another form of dramatic representation, and of contrary motif is, *St. Crispin's Triumph over Pope Innocent; or, the Monks and Fryers routed. A tragi-comedy, as it was lately acted at Dantzick, in Poland, by the Reforming Shoemakers, &c., in verse*. This was published in London, 1678.

When we come to England we find the historical fact of the martyrdom clothed in a legend, consisting of two distinct stories, into which the incidents of the lives and deaths of the martyr brothers are split up, altered indeed in the process, but still recognizable. It is interesting to observe how the national character constructs for itself an ideal out of foreign elements. The personality of the martyrs is lost. The martyrdom itself becomes only the *dénouement* of a romance, known as that of St. Hugh and the fair Winifred. The apotheosis of the craft is derived, not, as on the continent, from the holy martyrs having gained their livelihood by shoemaking, but from its adoption by two youths who are princes in disguise, one of whom, secretly and in very questionable circumstances, marries the daughter of the Emperor Maximian, from whom they are hiding. This is Crispin, who in name answers to the chief of the martyrs. The other, Crispinian, unlike the martyr so-called, who has no existence apart from his brother, is a very active personage; he is "prest to the wars," and gains the Emperor's favour by his prowess and valour, and so

brings about the reconciliation which is the end of the story. The festival in England, therefore, is stripped of its religious character; it becomes a feast, and latterly, as will presently be seen, a revel.

This shoemaker's epic has long held a place in English literature, but whether it will endure so long as the 25th of October shall continue to revolve is at least doubtful. In a restricted form it appears in *The Gentle Craft*, 1648, which is a second edition of *The Gentle Craft*, 1639, both in black letter. The story, however, receives its proper development, and attains its literary position, in a volume entitled *The Delightful, Princely, and Entertaining History of the Gentle Craft*, which consists of the dual legend with a variety of cognate matter in the way of ballad and song. This book must have been very popular. There are three chap-editions of it in the British Museum. Of these only one has the romance of St. Hugh and St. Winifred. This proportion is probably significant of the tendency to eliminate the martyrdom from the legend. In the volume of chap-books containing the latest of the three editions, there is pasted a paper with these words: "This collection was made by me, James Mitchell, at Aberdeen, in 1828. It may be considered as the Library of the Scottish peasantry, the works being sold by itinerant chapmen about the country, especially at Fairs." Apart from the interest of this statement, it has meaning and application to our subject, for the commemoration of the Feast of St. Crispin has been more general in Scotland than in any other part of the kingdom.

But to the *Delightful History*. Some outline of it must be given. The chapter headings will almost suffice. Chapter I.: "The pleasant, entertaining, and princely history of St. Hugh, and his constant love to the handsome virgin, Winifred." She is daughter of Dunvallo, last king of Tegneria, now called Flintshire. Chapter II.: "How beautiful Winifred, being over much superstitious, forsook her father's wealth and lived poorly by a springing fountain, from whence no man could get her to go; which spring to this day is called Winifred's Well." In the third chapter, the Romans have de-

scended on Britain, and captured Dunvallo, Winifred's father, and sent him to Rome, where he dies. A religious persecution has commenced, and Winifred is in prison under sentence of death for her faith. In the meantime, St. Hugh, who, since his continued failure to win Winifred from thoughts of religion to those of love, had been travelling abroad, comes back again; and, on his arrival, hears that his father has fallen in repelling the Roman invasion of his country. He is thus made a fugitive, but happily falls in with a journeyman shoemaker, who relieves his wants and teaches him his trade. He resolves again to seek Winifred, and journeys to Flintshire to that end. When he reaches there, he hears of the persecution and Winifred's impending fate. His grief attracts attention, and he is cast into the same prison that held Winifred. During his confinement the shoemakers relieved his necessities, in return for which he composed verses in their praise, styling them therein, "The Gentle Craft," which title has continued to the present day. It is in the sensational circumstances of the execution that followed that we are reminded of the martyrdom of the saints. In consideration of her blood-royal, Winifred is offered choice of modes of execution. She instantly chooses to be bled to death. The tyrant caused the flowing blood to be caught in basins, and poison put therein. They were then presented to St. Hugh, who seized them eagerly. Casting his eyes around, he saw several shoemakers in the crowd, and, with a smile of noble courtesy, drank to the honour of the "Gentle Craft," and bequeathed them his bones. The body of the princess was thrown into a hole near the well that bears her name, while that of St. Hugh was hung on a gibbet, exposed to the fowl of the air. When there was nothing left but bones, the journeyman shoemakers happened to pass, and remembered St. Hugh's affecting bequest. They fetched the bones away, and treasured them as relics, converting them into tools for use by the Gentle Craft, from which it became usual to say, when seeing a traveller pass along with a small bundle at his back, "There go St. Hugh's bones."

The fifth chapter of the History commences the story of the brothers. The

heading runs:—"How Crispianus and his brother Crispine, the two sons of the King Logria (thro' the cruelty of the tyrant Maximinus) were forced in disguised manner to seek their lives' safety, and how they were entertained by a shoemaker at Faversham." It is noteworthy here that Crispianus is mentioned in the first place, and that he is the spokesman on the occasion of the interview with the shoemaker and his wife. They became apprentices of the shoemaker. The sixth chapter tells us "How the Emperor's Daughter Ursula fell in love with Crispine, coming with shoes to the Court, and how in the end they were secretly married by a blind Friar." Chapter the seventh: "How Crispianus was prest to the wars and how he fought with Iphicratis, the renowned general of the Persians, who made war upon the Frenchmen. Showing also the occasion of the proverb, That a Shooe-maker's Son is a Prince born." This chapter is headed with an engraving representing two armed knights in full tilt, with visors down, and horses armed and caparisoned. There is an obvious violence to chronology in introducing Iphicratis here, by whom is probably intended the Athenian general, who lived 600 years before the time of Crispianus. But as he is said to have been the son of a shoemaker, his presence here is doubtless for the dignity of the craft. He is overcome by a brother of the craft in the person of Crispianus, for whose prowess he testifies great admiration. The following chapter brings us back to Crispin and Ursula, and tells of the birth of their son, from which occasion arose the saying that a shoemaker's son is a prince born. In the next and last chapter we read of the reconciliation of the brothers with the Emperor, who now knows of their princely station:—

At which time the shoe-makers in the same town made holiday: to whom Crispine and Crispianus sent most princely gifts to maintain their merriment, and ever after upon that Day at night the Shoe-makers make great cheer and feasting in remembrance of the two princely brethren.

The story was doubtless popular in Shakespeare's time, and largely circulated in editions of earlier date than those mentioned. In the fly-leaf at the beginning of the British Museum copy the following note is written:—

It may be conjectured this trifling work first appeared about the close of the reign of Eliz. or beginning of that of her successor, from the following epigram by Sir John Harrington :—

OF A BOOK CALLED YE GENTLE CRAFT.

I past this other day through Paul's Churchyard
And heard some read a booke and reading laught ;
The title of that booke was Gentle Craft.
But when I markt the matter with regard,
A new sprung branch that in mind did graft,
And thus I said; Sirs, scorn not him that writ it ;
A gilded blade hath oft a dudgeon haft,
And well I see, this writer roves a shaft
Neere fairest marke, yet happily not hit it,
For neuer was the like booke sould in Poules
If so with Gentle Craft it could persuade
Great Princes midst their pompe to learne a trade,
Once in their lives to worke, to mend their soules.

No. 46 of "Epigrams both Pleasant and Serious, written by that all-worthy Knight Sir John Harrington, and never before printed." 1815. 4to.

Another circumstance confirms this was printed before 1600, as it was probably the occasion of the play of the *Shoemaker's Holiday* being written ; the plot being from that part of the work which begins at chapter the tenth. [How Sir Simon Eyre being at first a shoe-maker, became in the end Lord Mayor of London, through the counsel of his wife ; and how he broke his fast every day on a table that he said he would not sell for a thousand pounds ; and how he caused Leaden Hall to be built.] Both play and tract were popular : of the latter editions have been too numerous in the chap-shape to enumerate ; of the play editions are known of dates 1600, 1610, 1618, 1621, 1631, 1657.

Another play to which the *Delightful History* gave rise is, *A Shoemaker's a Gentleman*. This is more directly connected with the legend, and is thus described in Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* (vol. iii. p. 267) :

Comedy by William Rowley. Acted at the Red Bull ; and afterwards revived at the Theatre in Dorset Gardens, 4to, 1638. The plot of this play is founded on a novel in 4to called Crispin and Crispianus, or the History of the Gentle Craft. It consists of a good deal of low humour, and appears from Langbaine to have been a great favourite among the strolling companies in the country, and that some of the most comical scenes in it used commonly to be selected and performed by way of droll at Bartholomew and Southwark Fairs.

Crispianus doubtless figured largely in the popular mind at that time as a typical warrior and soldier of fortune, and the reference to him in the speech of Henry V. before the fight at Agincourt, testifies not so much to Shakespeare's acquaintance with the fictions of

that time, but to his consistent idea of the character of Henry, who, it is supposed, would not have mixed in the miscellaneous society of his wild days without becoming acquainted with so popular a history. The readiness with which the occasion is seized, points to the general character of the feast on the one hand, and to Henry's clear decision and promptness of character on the other. The famished band of English soldiers, standing like sacrifices before the French host, are animated by the spirit of their leader. He is their king, in fact as well as name, because he is their hero.

He that outlives this day and comes safe home,
Will stand a tip-toe when this day is named,
And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
He that shall live this day, and see old age,
Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,
And say, "To-morrow is St. Crispian ;"
Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars,
And say, "These wounds I had on Crispin's Day."

The prophetic picture of these lines is probably suggested by the custom of keeping that day a feast ; a custom in which others than those of the craft doubtless sympathized. The example of Crispianus, the shoemaker warrior, appears to be implied. It was here, on French soil, that he was said to have won his fame, which led to his regaining his princely condition. And one can imagine that the inspiration of the legend appears in the lines—

For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother : be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition.

As if to share that battle with the prince is to be ennobled, in a manner resembling the apotheosis of the craft of shoemaking by its having been followed by princes. And later on, when twitted by Henry for wishing for more men from England, Westmoreland exclaims—

God's will ! my liege, would you and I alone,
Without more help, could fight this royal battle.

Perhaps it would not be altogether fanciful to connect Crispianus and his warlike exploits in Gaul with that reference to the past in Henry's speech to his men before Harfleur—

On, on, you noblest English,
Whose blood is fet from fathers war-proof,

Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,
Have in their parts from morn till even fought,
And sheathed their swords for lack of argument.

There are several woodcuts illustrating the *Delightful History*. That opposite the title-page represents the two brothers side by side. Crispianus is completely armed, and there is a view of camp tents in the background. Beneath are these lines—

Honour and many victories do crown
The name of Crispianus with renown,
Whilst Crispin a new conqueror doth prove,
And wins at home a royal lady's love."

Of the notices of the observance of the Feast of St. Crispin, there is one, a cutting, pasted in the volume of the *Delightful History*, in the British Museum. The account, dated, Dublin, 25th of October, 1734, is as follows :—

Yesterday, being St. Crispin's Day, the Society of Journeymen Cordwainers, vulgarly called Shoemakers, walked in Procession through this City, and made a handsome appearance. As they passed by the Tholsel, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, ordered them to be stopped and deprived St. Crispin's Guards of their arms, together with their trumpets and kettle drums, and, as we hear, obliged some of them to take the Oath of Allegiance. This disappointment, however, did not stop their proceedings; they went to St. Michael's Church and heard an excellent sermon, suitable to the occasion, preached by the Reverend Mr. Robinson. After divine service they returned to the Bull's Head in Fishamble Street, where they had an excellent dinner, and concluded the day with Healths to their Majesties the Royal Family, &c."

The origin of the legend of St. Crispin being laid in France, the fact of its observance being more general in Scotland than other parts of the United Kingdom needs no further explanation.

In October, 1741, the Edinburgh shoemakers made a very handsome parade in honour of their tutelar Saint Crispin, attended by several thousands of the populace. Their king was very richly dressed; he had on a fine crimson velvet suit trimmed with gold, a train of crimson satin faced with ermine, and a collar round his shoulders with the Order of their Champion Crispianus; on his head was a rich coronet adorned with jewels; a gold ribband was tied round his left leg, and he had a bâton in his hand. He was attended by six Ushers, six Pages, and twenty-four others. The colours came after, and were very fine, having the resemblance of St. Crispin taking the measure of St. Ursula's foot. [This is one of the woodcuts in the *Delightful History*.] He was preceded by a set of music, and twelve officers with white rods, and walked through the city with great pomp."—*Saint Crispin and the Gentle Craft*, 1868.

"King Crispin's Procession in Falkirk the 9th day of September, 1814. A new song, composed for the occasion by a brother craft," of which the following are some of the verses, describes one of the celebrations :—

The Champion bold he did appear
with his iron coat of mail,
Well guarded by his aid-de-camps (*sic*)
lest any should assail.

They look'd like ancient warriors
which history doth record,
They were all dress'd in fine array
admired by young and old.

King Crispin he did next come forth
in all his fine array
Attended by his royal court,
which grandeur did display;
The noble crown upon his head,
And robe with a long train;
Supported by a few young crafts,
that it might not get a stain.

The Lord Mayor next did appear,
with his wig and scarlet gown,
Surrounded by his Counsellors
then all march'd west the town, &c.

They returned to Shearer's Inn, whence they started; a sumptuous dinner, with many toasts followed, and at night dancing and merriment.

There is a description of a Festival in the *Percy Anecdotes*, under the title of King Crispin. It resembles the preceding one, but exceeds it in splendour :—

In the morning his Majesty King Crispin, with the whole of his officers of State, attendants, &c., that is, persons representing them, assembled in the chapel royal of Stirling Castle, and the company being there properly marshalled according to the most approved rules of heraldry, marched through the streets of Stirling in the following order :—

Three men in front with broadswords drawn.

The champion on horseback, armed, and supported by two aides-de-camp, also on horseback, with broadswords drawn.

The head colonel with silver-hilted sword drawn, sash, and gorget.

Stand of Colours.

Ensign with sash, gorget, and silver-hilted sword, supported by two captains with silver-hilted swords drawn.

A military band of music.

Lord Mayor, supported by two aldermen and colours.

The ushers, with green bâtons, two and two, hats off.

The KING, in his royal robes, with a large green bâton, supported by his right and left hand secretaries, their hats off, his train borne by his pages.
Prime Minister, hat off.

Fifteen lords, with stars on their left breasts,
hats off, three and three.

Two captains with silver-hilted swords
drawn.

The corporation colours borne by two ensigns,
supported by two captains with silver
hilted swords, drawn.

Commons, two and two.

Two stand of colours borne by two ensigns,
supported by two lieutenants with
silver-hilted swords drawn.

Fifes and drums.

Two captains with silver-hilted swords
drawn.

The Indian Prince in his robes, armed with
battle-axe, and bows and arrows,
supported by his two secretaries in character,
also armed, and all on horseback.

Two captains with silver-hilted swords
drawn.

Lieutenant-colonel with sash and gorget,
silver-hilted sword drawn (or pike).

Two captains with silver-hilted swords
drawn.

Three broadswordsmen

Two majors on horseback."

As the procession advanced through the town, they were greeted by the cheers of an immense number of spectators, and every window displayed beauty and smiling approbation. At five o'clock, his Majesty in council entertained his loyal subjects with a sumptuous dinner at the principal hotel. After the cloth was removed, "His Majesty's well-beloved cousin, King George the Third," and various other toasts appropriate to the occasion, were drunk.

The King's secretary then read a speech on behalf of his Majesty, after which the assembly adjourned to the ball-room, "where the merry dance on the light fantastic toe displayed the taste, elegance, and envied beauty of King Crispin's empire."

The military or warlike element in the preceding show is very pronounced, although Crispianus does not appear by name. St. Crispin's Day has received attention in the pages of *Notes and Queries*. On January 10, 1852, "R. W. B." writes:—

In the parishes of Cuckfield and Hurstpierpoint in Sussex, it is still the custom to serve St. Crispin's Day, and it is kept with much rejoicing. The boys go round asking for money in the name of St. Crispin, bonfires are lighted, and it passes off very much in the same way as the Fifth of November does. It appears from an inscription on a monument to one of the ancient family of Bunell, in the Parish Church of Cuckfield, that a Sir John Bunell attended Henry V. to France in the year 1415, with one ship,

twenty men-at-arms, and forty archers; and it is probable that the observance of this day in that neighbourhood is connected with that fact. If so, though the names of

Harry the King, Bedford, and Exeter,
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloster,

have ceased to be "familiar as household words" in the mouths of the people, yet it is a curious proof for what length of time a usage may be transmitted, though the origin of it may be lost.

If any of your correspondents can inform me whether St. Crispin's Day is observed in their neighbourhood, and if so, whether such cases can be connected, as in the present instance, with some old warrior of Agincourt, they will much oblige.—(*Notes and Queries*, v. 30)

"R. W. B." evidently was not aware of the legend of the patrons of shoemaking, Crispin and Crispinian, or Crispianus. The fact he communicates is very interesting nevertheless. There is another notice of St. Crispin's Day, by "S. T. R.," dated September 11, 1852. The celebration was at Hexham, in Northumberland, and consisted of dinner, procession, and dance, in the manner already described. "S. T. R." adds: "There is some legend connected with the affair which I do not sufficiently remember to relate." Another festival in the same county occurred on July 29, 1822, when

the cordwainers of Newcastle celebrated the festival of St. Crispin, by holding a coronation of their patron saint in the court of the Freeman's Hospital at the Westgate, and afterwards walking in procession through the principal streets of the town. This caricature show produced much laughter and mirth; but, considering the rapid increase of knowledge, it is probably the last exhibition of this kind that the craft will exhibit in this place.—*History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, vol. i. p. 88, by E. Mackenzie (1827).

In Sunderland there is a St. Crispin's Friendly Society, of which the articles are enrolled in the county court. Among these it is specified that—

An annual dinner be had on every 25th of October (St. Crispin's Day), towards which every member pays 1s., the rest to be paid out of the funds of the Society. The present state of their finances is very good. . . . They have a secretary and two stewards, who attend to the business of relieving sick members, &c. They have one warden, whose business is to see all petites dettes paid incurred by their meetings. A committee is annually elected, to which all cases of an extraordinary nature are referred. Immediately after dinner on St. Crispin's Day the procession is got up, in which they generally personify all the male members of the then reigning Royal Family, together with the Lord Mayor of London, Aldermen, &c., arranged as follows:—

Champion, duly equipped.
King, in his royal robes, with crown and sceptre,
having his train borne by four little boys.

Royal Dukes.
Lord Mayor of London.
Aldermen, &c.

The private members take up the rear, and are generally dressed in black coats. In this order they generally proceed to walking round the room a few times, and occasionally they have a public procession. But as no part of the expenses of such procession are allowed to be paid out of the funds of the institution, this public exhibition occurs but seldom. The arrangements, however, are nearly the same, whether public or private, with this difference, that when public, the champion is mounted on a charger, and the whole train, preceded by bands of music, &c. When private, they necessarily dispense with the noble animal, and for "bands of music" substitute the stringed instruments. On Friday last the festival was kept in this way, "secure from public gaze."

Invariably in the evening females are admitted, when his Majesty, ere he resigns his regal honours, selects himself a Queen: their Majesties then lead off the dance; thus they together sport on the "light fantastic toe," and so conclude the day.—*Crispin Anecdotes*, pp. 25-7.

Such was the custom of commemorating St. Crispin's Day. Is it a custom now? Probably not. St. Crispin in modern life may be celebrated by a dozen or two of gentlemen of the last in swallow-tails; and in neat complimentary speeches after dinner, reference may be made to the past, and the numerous celebrities who have made shoes, from the brothers Crispin and Crispinian and St. Hugh downward. The old lines from the *Shoe-maker's Glory*—

To add more lustre unto the merriment,
Our ancestors came of a royal descent;
Crispin, Crispina, and noble St. Hugh,
Were all sons of kings, this is known to be true,

may be repeated in the year 1882. The fantastic procession is probably defunct; gone to the old-clothes shop. It existed in Carlyle's young days in his country; but he it was who gave significant intimations to the world that it was growing out of its clothes, and must begin to think of fresh suits. Life is change; and change is development; but mankind loves the past. There it is that the soul of things may be seen, and man's spirit, struggling for expression, appears before us in symbols often strongest where most grotesque.

Preston Gild.

T a time when the old Gild life has departed, it is pleasant to reflect that its memories are still kept up with such vigour as we have witnessed at Preston. Commencing on Monday, the 4th of September, and continuing throughout the week, the festivities and ceremonies of this ancient Gild, which take place every twenty years, carry us back, in thought at all events, to the early history of Gilds, about which so much has been written, and about which so much has yet to be written. The daily newspapers having duly chronicled the modern doings of the Gild, we propose to take our readers back to the ancient doings, and endeavour to find out the true significance of the early history of Preston Gild.

In treating of the history of Gilds and Municipal Corporations, it is necessary to do away with the notion that each Gild or Corporation has an entirely independent history. It has so long been the fashion to attribute the origin of Corporations to the charter of the sovereign or over-lord, that the mere idea of grouping the whole of the Gilds and the whole of the Corporations together, and deducing from the evidence thus accumulated the lines of a common history, has scarcely occurred to the student, and I venture to think that my contribution to *Archæologia* (vol. xlv.), "On Traces of the Primitive Village Community in English Municipal Institutions," was the first effort in this direction. During the continuation of these studies, which are gradually assuming a somewhat extensive compass, I have ascertained some important facts with reference to the contribution of Preston to the early history of Gilds, and I propose placing them before the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY*.

It is worth while, in the first place, pointing out why the charter cannot be said to have originated the Gild or the Corporation. At the present day, when a town is incorporated into a borough, it formulates its desires into a document, which becomes the basis of the new charter. Thus the charter may be said to stereotype existing facts and history, rather than to create a state of things that did not previously exist. Accordingly,

the study of municipal chartered rights is a study of the customs of the town at the time of the grant—altered or varied, it may be, in some matters of detail, in some matters of definite privilege, or of State relief from taxation, but in the main elements a simple permission to carry on the customs and exercise the functions that had hitherto been carried on and exercised. In the case of Preston this is actually known to have been the case. The first charter granted to the town is that of Henry II., without date, and known only by an *Inspeximus*; and then follow charters of 1st John, 11th Henry III., and 37th Henry III. The Royal Commissioners, reporting hereon in 1835, distinctly assert that “the three earlier charters seem to have been little more than confirmations of certain unchartered privileges which the burgesses of this town had enjoyed from very ancient times.”*

Now this clearing away of the obstacles to our penetrating beyond the times of charters for the early history of Gilds, enables us at once to ask the important question—Does not the wide-spread existence of Gilds proclaim a history which begins in the earliest times of the English race? Mr. Spencer, relying upon the evidence brought together by Dr. Brentano, points out with great clearness that in the Gild of later days we have the representative of the ancient family.† He rests his conclusion mainly upon the liability of the Gild brethren to answer for the good behaviour of each other, and upon the singularly curious evidence of the common family (*i.e.*, Gild) meal—two institutions which essentially carry us back to the primitive family unit of a village community. But Preston Gild adds some further important evidence, the value of which cannot be overrated. The family unit of the primitive village community held tenements in the village, the possession of which gave them their only rights in the village, in the periodical distribution of arable lands, and in the common pasture. To each of these important features of the archaic family, Preston Gild presents a corresponding feature. According to the ancient Custumal, now pre-

served among the Corporation archives, and which it is curiously stated “they have from the Breton law”—

No one can be a burgess unless he have a burgage, of 12 feet in front.

Also, when any burgess shall receive his burgage, and it shall be a void place, the Reeve shall admit him so that he shall erect his burgage within forty days upon a forfeiture; but if he does not erect it he shall be in mercy [*i.e.*, shall be amerced] 12d.*

This is the ancient village tenement upon which depends the rights of the villager. Another entry in the Custumal enables us to absolutely identify this Gild tenement as a relic of the archaic village tenement, for it carries with it the primitive rights of pre-emption:†—

Also when any burgess shall be desirous to sell his burgage, his next-of-kin is to buy that burgage of him before any other, and when it shall be sold and he hath not another burgage, when the other shall be seized he shall give 4d. for the issue, but if hath another burgage he shall give nothing.‡

A further interesting feature of these clauses of the ancient Custumal of Preston is the fact that “forty days” only were allowed for the erection of the tenement—a time that takes us to the ancient village habitation, consisting of wooden frames filled in with wattle and daub. Some reminiscences of these old buildings were retained until modern days. When the old buildings facing the market-place were removed in 1855, much curiosity was excited by an examination of the framework, each tenon and mortise being numbered to correspond with each other, so that when the frame was placed on the site it had to occupy the component parts could be easily fitted to each other.§ The ancient homesteads of England exist still here and there—let me note in passing the ancient wood and plaster building (consisting of one large room) at the back of the wall on the lower quay at Southampton—and a study of them is very much needed.

The next important feature of this old Custumal of Preston is that which connects the burgage tenement with the rights over the land.

A burgess hath common pasture everywhere, except in cornfields, meadows, and hayes.||

* Dobson and Harland's *History of Preston Guild*, pp. 74-75.

† For the archaic feature of this, see vol. iv. p. 89.

‡ Dobson and Harland, *loc. cit.* p. 77.

§ *Ibid.* p. 47. || *Ibid.* p. 77.

* See also Thompson's *English Municipal History*, p. 92.

† *Political Institutions*, p. 557.

This unfortunately does not give us complete evidence of the ancient mode of periodical distribution of the arable lands, it not being stated in what manner the "corn fields, meadows, and hayes" were held; but on turning to the Reports of the Commission of 1835, we ascertain that among the present property of the borough, irrespective of special grants for charity, are some plots of land, let principally on leases for life or to yearly tenants, by public tender. Considering the evidence to be derived from the general history of Corporation property, it is not too much to say that these modern life-leases and rack-rentals are the descendants of the earlier arable plots held by all the burgesses in right of their tenements within the village, especially as we have the pasture rights definitely preserved in the forest, wood, and swamp, the ancient "mark" of the village.

There is one other important item of primitive life preserved in the Custumal of Preston Gild.

The Pretor of the Court 'shall collect the king's farm at the four terms of the year . . . and shall take away the door of such burgage, and the burgess shall not replace his door until he have paid his debt.*

The association of the burgage tenement with the liability is very extraordinarily shown by this curious custom, and comparing it with the more severe practice at Folkestone† and at Hastings‡ of the commoners pulling down the chief tenement upon the refusal of a burgess to accept office, we may carry the whole practice back to that age when the village tenement was the centre from which issued all the rights, and correspondingly all the liabilities, of the primitive villager.

Thus it appears to me that these old Gild records are deserving of still further study—a study which shall proceed upon the lines of comparative archæology instead upon the old plan of isolated descriptions of ancient facts and events. Picking out one or two of the leading features of the earliest Custumal of Preston Gild, we have been able to glean therefrom a contribution to the science of primitive politics, and by a thorough comparison of the customs of other Gilds, it is possible to ascertain a great deal more of the pre-historic phases of English social

history. Into that we cannot of course enter just now; but I must be permitted to quote some curious facts concerning the Gild show at Shrewsbury, in order to give an example of the significant relation which the modern Gild bears to the ancient family. I cannot conceive anything more directly indicative of the ancient village settlement in families than the following mimic Gild festivities, and they become so only because they fit in with other evidence from the antiquities of Gild life, and because the picture thus produced is a counterpart of the picture produced by a study of the oldest land and village customs of England.

At Shrewsbury, on the southern side of the town, separated from it by the river, lies a large piece of high ground called Kingsland. This land belongs to the Corporation, and it was on this spot that the Shrewsbury Gilds held their annual festivities; and hither they directed the pageant procession, which, as in other places, was held about the feast of Corpus Christi. Portions of land were distributed to the different Gilds, the officers of which built thereupon their halls, or "arbours," as they were termed. These erections were principally composed of wood, and each was furnished with a large table or tables and benches, from which the members of the Gild regaled themselves at their annual festivals. Supplementary buildings, sometimes of brick, were attached to the halls for the accommodation of the persons in charge. Each hall was appropriated to a particular Gild, and all had a plot of ground allotted to them, usually rectangular in shape, which was surrounded by a hedge and ditch, and had also an entrance gate of more or less ornamental design.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

On Some Quaint Old Laws of England.

By J. H. FLOOD.

PART II.



AGAINST transgressors of the law generally our forefathers were by no means so leniently disposed as we are, but were accustomed to take full stock of all delinquents who were

* Dobson and Harland, *loc. cit.* p. 75.

† *Report of the Record Commission*, 1837, p. 453.

‡ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xii. p. 197.

to be dealt with. The old writer, quoted in the last article, says on this subject:—

Now, upon the examination of felons, and the like offenders, these circumstances following are to be considered:—

His name, that is, if he be called by divers names; his parents, if they were wicked and given to the same kind of fault; his abilitie of body, that is, if strong and swifte, or weake and sickly; his nature, if civil or hasty, witty and subtile, a quareller, pilferer, or bloudy minded, &c.; his means, if he hath whereon to live, or not; his trade; his company, if ruffians, suspected persons, or his being in company with any other offenders; his course of lyfe, that is, if a common ale-house hunter, or ryottous in diet, play or apparell; whether he be of evill fame or report; whether he hath committed the like offence before; the change of his countenance, his blushing, looking downewards, silence, trembling; his answers, doubtfull or repugnant; the measure of his foot; if he fled; if he lyes lurking in a place where he had nothing to do; time, the yeare, day, houre, early or late.

It may, however, surprise the reader to hear that, in the reign of Elizabeth, dyeing cloth or other material with logwood was deemed so heinous an offence, that persons convicted thereof were committed to prison, and there "remained without baile" until they paid the penalty required by the law.

By a Statute passed in the reign of Edward VI. it is enacted that:—

No person under the degree of a lord, shall shoot in any handgun, within any citie or towne, at any fowle or other marke, upon any church, house or dove-cote. Neither shall any person shoot in any place, any haile-shot, or any moe pellets than one, at one time, upon paine to forfeit 10*℥*, and to have three moneths imprisonment."

A good position in society seems to have also been a *sine quâ non* to all lovers of sport in the merry days of a still older period, judging from the following enactment of the time of Richard II.:—

If any lay man, not having in lands 40*s.* per annum: or if any priest or clark, not having living 40*℥* per annum, shall have, or keep any hound, greyhound, or other dog for to hunt, or any ferets, hays, hare-pipes, cords, nets, or other engins, to take or destroy deere, hare, conies, or other gentlemen's game, and shall be thereof convicted at the sessions of the peace, every such offender shall be imprisoned for one whole yeare.

Due attendance at divine service was required by the law in the time of "good Queen Bess," one of her statutes declaring that—"persons above the age of sixteen yeares, which shal absent themselves from

the Church by the space of one moneth, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, shal forfeit for every moneth 20*℥*, without baile."

We are informed by an old author that "the law abhorreth idlenesse as the mother of all evill;" and it would appear that the spirit of this sentiment was duly observed by our forefathers in the time of Edward III. During the reign of this sovereign, Parliament passed an Act, known as the Statute of Labourers, the particulars of which are curious, "and are a good standard to settle the comparative value of money." The object of the Statute was to rectify the state of disorganization existing in the labour market of the day, which had been caused by the plague of the previous year. This terrible visitation having seriously depopulated the country, some of the labourers, according to the recital of the Statute, were now taking advantage of the scarcity of hands to insist upon extravagant demands, while others were choosing rather to beg and live in idleness, than to earn their bread by labour. This Statute, which was a sort of Master and Servant's Act, declares that "a common labourer in the hay harvest, is to have one penny a day, except a mower, who, if he mows by the acre, is to have 5*d.* an acre, or otherwise 5*d.* a day. A reaper is to have 2*d.* the first week in August, and 3*d.* till the end of the month, and he not to ask for either meat, or any other perquisite or indulgence" (see *Barrington on the Statutes*, p. 239).

In the time of Elizabeth it was permitted to every justice of the peace, upon request, "to cause all such artificers and other persons as be meet, to labour by his discretion, to worke by day in hay-time, and harvest-time, for the saving of corne and hay, and might upon their refusal imprison them in the stockes by the space of two dayes and one night"—a very salutary law, which might advantageously be revived in these days in certain cases.

A commentator upon the old enactments "made for the setting to worke and relief of the poore," recommends justices of the peace to use "their best endeavours for the due execution thereof," on the ground that "infinite swarms of idle vagabonds are rooted out,

which before wandred up and downe, to the great danger and indignitie of our nation."

Against offenders of this class, the law was extremely severe, a Statute of Elizabeth declaring that "any one justice of peace may appoint all rogues and vagabonds which shall be taken begging, wandering, or mis-ordering themselves, to be stripped naked from the middle upward, and to be whipped till their bodie be bloudie." After the rogues and vagabonds had been thus accommodated, the duty of the justice acting in the matter, was to present them with "a testimoniall under his hand and seale, testifying their punishment," with the date, place, &c.; no doubt a very gratifying species of testimonial to the fortunate recipients. The definition of a vagabond in old English law books is this:—"He which hath neither certaine house, nor stedfast habitation, but liveth idely, and loytering, and a rogue and vagabond seem to be all one." The following are some of those included in this category:—

All idle persons going about the country, either using any subtil craft, or unlawfull games, being fortune tellers, or juglers, or using any other crafty science.

All proctors, patent-gatherers, collectors for gaoles, prisons, or hospitals, wandering abroad.

All fencers, bearewards, common players of enterludes, and minstrels, wandering abroad.

All pedlers, petty chapmen, tinkers, and glassemen, wandering abroad.

All persons wandering, and pretending themselves to be Egyptians.

Poore, diseased, or impotent persons travelling to the bathes for ease of their griefes.

When rogues became very bad indeed, they were called incorrigible, and are thus spoken of:—

Now these incorrigible rogues be such as shall either appear to be dangerous to the inferiour sort of people, or such as will not be reformed of their roguish kind of life.

A rogue that affirmeth that hee was borne in such a towne in such a county, and is sent thither, if he were not borne there in truth, is said to be an incorrigible rogue.

Beggars were a far greater abomination in the eyes of our ancestors than they are in ours, for we read that "Master Perkins," in his exposition of the eighth commandment, "Thou shalt not steale," saith "that he breaks that commandment, which being lustie, lives

by begging. And so of him which shall relieve, feed, or cloath stout and lustie rogues."

Closely allied to these transgressors were another species, called *night walkers*, defined in old law to be "suspected persons as shall sleepe in the daytime, and goe abroad in the nights," who were held so much in abhorrence, that one writer speaks thus of them:—

Such night-walkers, or night-birds, are ominous, like the whistlers, and such night walkings are unfit for honest men, and more suiting to the thiefe, the night-whistler, and to beasts of the prey, which come forth from their dens, when man goes to his rest.

It appears that the section of the British public commonly now known under the name of gipsies, were, in the reign of Henry VIII., the subjects of a severe enactment. A Statute of the twenty-second year of that king declares that "every justice of peace, or sherife, within one moneth after the arrivall may seise all the goods of any outlandish persons calling themselves Egyptians, that shall come into this realme, and may also keepe the one moitie thereof for his owne use." By a Statute of Elizabeth it was further enacted that "if any person shall call himself an Egyptian, or shall be in the companie of such, or shall disguise himselfe in apparell or speech, it is felonie without *benefit of clergie*."

On the strength of these Acts of Parliament, according to Sir Matthew Hale, in his work, *Pleas of the Crown*, upwards of a dozen of the unfortunate wretches in question were executed at one time in Suffolk. Not until the reign of George IV. were these laws fully repealed, and even at this day no small amount of prejudice exists against the "strange kind of commonwealth," as Blackstone terms the gipsies (vol. iv. 165), who were so inhumanly treated in this our liberty-loving England.

The phrase, "benefit of clergy," has just been mentioned, and it is one employed to denote a very singular feature of old English law, which requires notice in a Paper like the present. It was an ancient privilege allowed to the clergy, of claiming, when accused of felony, to be delivered up to an ecclesiastical judge—always favourable to his own order—for compurgation, instead of being tried in the ordinary way before the lay judges of the land. In ancient times, few persons, except those in holy orders, could read, and ac-

cordingly the test for an accused person claiming benefit of clergy, was his ability to read. If he could not, the courts would not part with the defendant, but proceeded to try him as though he were a layman. Afterwards, when education became more general, other persons besides clergymen were able to read; and so, in the reign of Edward III., Parliament extended the privilege of clergy, as it is called, to clerkly laymen, and in the reign of Elizabeth this enactment was confirmed. Women were not allowed their clergy until the reign of William and Mary, when Parliament extended the benefit to them. In the reign of Henry VII., however, a blow was aimed at this singular privilege as enjoyed by laymen, and a statute was then passed—against “diverse persons *lettered*, who have been more bold to commit murders, rapes, robbery, theft, as well as all other mischievous deeds”—which enacted that persons “not within holy orders” accused of these offences, and convicted thereof, were in cases of murder to be marked with the letter “M” on the brawn of the left thumb, and in all others with the letter “T,” to denote, it is presumed, that the person had been guilty of theft. In cases of high treason, benefit of clergy was never allowed to be pleaded. It is stated that, when an accused person claimed his clergy, it was usual to test his learning by requesting him to read the first verse of the fifty-first Psalm, which in Latin begins with the words, *Miserere mei Deus*. In addition to the extraordinary character of this proceeding, in which a touch of grim humour seems perceptible, its absurdity is apparent; for, of course, men might easily have coached themselves up in the required test. The ecclesiastical judge, who was generally the bishop, might, however, have given the defendant anything else to read; and in either case, in the event of his inability to comply, might have handed him over to the law, and this proceeding frequently meant death. A custom which favoured criminals solely on account of their good education, appears to us who live in times when it is justly thought that superior intelligence adds a stain to criminality of any kind, to be in the highest degree absurd; yet we are told by able writers that the benefit of clergy, or learn-

ing—for “clergy” is here tantamount thereto—was not so ridiculous as it seems. Without saying more on the subject, it may be stated that the privilege was abolished in the reign of George IV.

In conclusion, we will present the reader with a specimen of an indictment for murder in use in this country not so very many years since. It is as quaint a composition as can well be imagined, and few persons could peruse its cumbersome phraseology without observing its childishness and narrow-mindedness:—

Westmorland. *AT the general quarter sessions of the peace holden at Appleby in and for the county aforesaid, the seventh day of April in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the third of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, and so forth, Before J. P. and K. P. esquires, and others their associates, justices of our said lord the king, assigned to keep the peace of our said lord the king in the said county, and also to hear and determine divers felonies, trespasses, and other misdemeanours in the said county committed, by the oath of ——— good and lawful men of the county aforesaid, sworn and charged to inquire for our said lord the king, and for the body of the county aforesaid, it is presented:*

That John Armstrong late of Appleby in the county aforesaid, yeoman, not having God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, on the thirtieth day of March in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lord George the third of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, and so forth, at the hour of nine in the afternoon of the same day, with force and arms, at Appleby aforesaid in the county aforesaid, in and upon one George Harrison in the peace of God and of our said lord the king then and there being (the aforesaid George Harrison not having any weapon then drawn, nor the aforesaid George Harrison having first stricken the said John Armstrong) feloniously did make an assault; and that the aforesaid John Armstrong, with a certain drawn sword of the value of five shillings, which he the said John Armstrong in his right hand then and there had and held, the said George Harrison in and upon the right side of the belly near the short ribs of him the said George Harrison (the aforesaid George Harrison as is aforesaid then and there not having any weapon drawn, nor the aforesaid George Harrison then and there having first stricken the said John Armstrong) then and there feloniously did stab and thrust, giving unto the said George Harrison then and there with the sword aforesaid, in form aforesaid, in and upon the right side of the belly near the short ribs of him the said George Harrison one mortal wound of the breadth of one inch, and of the depth of nine inches; of which said mortal wound, he the said George Harrison then and there instantly died: And so the jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid do say, that the said John Armstrong him the said George Harrison on the aforesaid thirtieth day of March in the year aforesaid, at Appleby aforesaid in the county aforesaid, in manner and form aforesaid, feloniously did kill; against the peace of our said lord the now king, his crown and dignity, and against the form and statute in such case made and provided.



Fletcher of Saltoun's Writings.

FLETCHER remarks in one of his entertaining essays that a person may be indebted for valuable discourse to a great aunt, whose existence he had never heard of. Fletcher appears to have received his unquestionable temper and undaunted fearlessness from some grand aunt or uncle of the Bruces on his mother's side. In two lines of an old pasquil, we find him tersely and not inappropriately described :—

If Saltoun for freedom and property cry,

While tyrant may be read in his tongue and his eye.

All the notices of him by his contemporaries are exact. In them we find few of the lights and shades in character drawing to which we are now accustomed. They are as precise as the recorded verdict of a body of jurors, and bear the indelible stamp of his own age. His character is a strange and interesting study to a lover of the idiosyncrasies of the human mind, and would not inappropriately form the groundwork of an article on self-tormentors who are never satisfied ; or on men with ideals which the fitness of things can never realize ; or on men having no power of adaptability ; or on men with striking individualities. A theorist in an age of action, a student among men of arms, his ideas of government were, as Rawlinson sententiously puts it, "too fine spun." Alike in views and in temper, he was impracticable in a time when events hurried with great quickness, if not with precision. His fast-and-hard principles made no allowance for emergencies. The occurrence of extraordinary events embroiled him with men who had previously been his friends ; all intimacy was severed with the Duke of Shrewsbury, because the Duke, in the interests of his country, again became Secretary of State ; and he used Lord Sunderland in the same manner, on his lordship voting for the army. His keen spirit of independence made his career a wayward one, and his haughty temper drove him into indefensible positions in Parliament ; he laid hands on Lord Stair, and gave him "the reply valiant,"

on his lordship having made a remark which Fletcher imagined applied to him. Whigs and Tories, in his emphatic way, he considered names to cloak the knaves of both, and Sovereigns were only effective hindrances to national liberty and progress ; yet he entertained the hope that a republic would prove happy to Scotland. Mr. Hill Burton thinks that he would have been an ungenial companion and fellow-labourer for burghesses or boors ; and there can be no doubt that his own country's nobles and politicians found in him one on whose support they could not depend, and whose geniality they could not discover. But he stands out from among those of his age and his country, too many of whom were time- and self-servers, and tainted with the influence of the Courts, as a thoroughly honest man. All his contemporaries bear enthusiastic witness to his sterling honesty. And it is one of the strange contrasts of his character, that while he ever acted for what he deemed the advantage of his country and the freedom of the nation, he proposed a plan of predial slavery for the swarms of beggars that infested the land. Sir George Lockhart holds him up for his honesty as an example to those desiring "to serve and merit well of his country ;" and Malcolm Laing reveres and laments over him as being "the last of the Scots." This "low, thin man, of a brown complexion, full of fire, with a stern, sour look," was as honest as the sword he wore. In his strong opposition to the Highland parties, whose interference was seldom beneficial to the nation, and to the Jacobites, he claims the sympathy of the Saxon Lowlanders. He possessed a virtue, by no means common then or now, of being consistent in his opposition. Despite the power of the Governments, he opposed as vehemently the intrigues of the courtiers as he did the designs of the Sovereigns. While he sadly lacked statesmanlike qualities, it is necessary, in order that we may understand the fulness of his character, that we place ourselves to a slight degree in sympathy with his patriotic zeal. His learning was in advance of most of his equals ; and it is the opinion of the English historian that he bore a lively resemblance to Roman senators. Many of his eccentricities fall into forgetfulness as we are guided in our judgment by the noble

spirit of the love of country which animated him; and then even the calmness of the Scottish Historiographer-Royal recognizes that few men in Scotland or in any other country has attained, as he did, what was noble in classic patriotism and courageous in mediæval chivalry.

Most of our early Scotch writers are stiff and formal, as if they wrote upon their oaths. Grace, ease, and style they sadly lacked. Fletcher, with his pure English, his swinging flexibility, and the wonderful neatness of his style, far surpasses most, if not all, of our old Scotch politicians. His writings rank him among the best of early Scotch authors. A ruddy glow of enthusiasm, a bright ideal of national freedom, and a noble indignation against corrupt manners, reign over them. They read as a faithful transcript of his full spirit, and the pages flow with a forcible yet elegant style, pointed with a wealth of illustrations. The pith of his power is frequently compressed into short, nervous sentences, where at once his strong personality is felt. His fervour not unfrequently turns his thought out in epigrams, which readily lend themselves to quotation.

If we may live free, I little value who is king.

I cannot see why arms should be denied to any man who is not a slave, since they are the only true badges of liberty.

Whoever is for making the king's power too little or too great, is an enemy to the monarchy.

The sea is the only empire that can naturally belong to us.

Upon the union of the crowns Scotland was totally neglected, like a farm managed by servants, and not under the eye of the master.

They (the Presbyterians) must not tell me that their church can never fall, since it is the true church of God. If it be the true church of God, it needs no crooked arts to support it.

This last quotation shows at once his quickness of sight and his keenness of touch. His style is free to a great degree from the defects of his time, and possesses the singular freshness which follows foreign culture. Clear, precise, and pithy, earnest in his convictions, and full of hope, with a decided facility of insight withal, his writings form excellent reading. His Saxon blood runs through his Saxon words. Many sentences of happy meaning arrest our attention. He said that the "mutual good offices" between the Sovereign and Parliament should,

like regular tides, ebb and flow between king and people. . . . The king stands in need of money, the people of good laws. . . . Money may be given at once, for a long time, or for ever; but good laws cannot be so enacted, the occasion and the necessity of them discovering itself only from time to time.

As an accurate descriptive writer of the manners of his time he ranks high. His pictures are generally sad, though his hopes were ever bright. They are full of gloom, with the shades dull and dark and full of awe; but, vivid with picturesque terseness, they lift his writings above the fleeting reputation of an essayist into the position of valuable historical materials. Sir Walter Scott was among the first to recognize this value of his being a limner of national life; and in the novelist's pages we come across quotations from Fletcher, which give us glimpses into the cavalier-like manners of the time and the deplorable state of the country. His accuracy is undoubted, and a page of his description is like a table of statistics clothed in realization. With considerable power he describes the state of agriculture in 1698:—

Were I to assign the principal and original source of our poverty, I should place it in the letting of our lands at so excessive a rate as makes the tenant poorer even than his servant, whose wages he cannot pay; and involves in the same misery day labourers, tradesmen, and the lesser merchants who live in the country villages and towns; and thereby influences no less the great towns and wholesale merchants, makes the master have a troublesome and ill-paid rent, his lands not improved by inclosure or otherwise, but, for want of horses and oxen fit for labour, everywhere run out and abused.

The condition of the lesser freeholders, or heritors as we call them, is not much better than that of our tenants; for they have no flocks to improve their lands, and living not as husbandmen but as gentlemen, they are never able to attain any. Besides this, the unskilfulness of their wretched and half-starved servants is such, that their lands are no better cultivated than those laboured by beggarly tenants. And though a gentleman of estate take a farm into his own hands, yet servants are so unfaithful or lazy, and the country people such great enemies of all manners of inclosure, that, after having struggled with innumerable difficulties, he at last finds it impossible for him to alter the ordinary bad methods whilst the rest of the country continues in them. . . . To all this may be added, the letting of farms in most part of those grazing countries every year by roop or auction. But our management in the countries cultivated by tillage is much worse, because the tenant pays his rent in grain, wheat, barley, or oats.

He had a patriotic Lowlander's antipathy against the Highlanders; and, if the state of the Highlands was as he represented it to

be, he cannot be accused of narrowness in that antipathy. He thus spiritedly describes the Highlands and the state of the country with the number of lawless beggars :—

There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the church boxes, with others who, by living upon bad food, fall into various diseases) two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. These are not only no way advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country. And though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, yet in all times there have been about one hundred thousand of those vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land or even those of God and Nature ; fathers incestuously accompanying with their own daughters, the son with the mother, and the brother with the sister. No magistrate could ever discover or be informed which way one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them ; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants (who, if they give not bread, or some kind of provision, to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them), but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days ; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together.

To encourage industry and to discourage thieving, and as a remedy for such lawlessness, he proposed his plan of predial slavery ; and, rather than the beggars continue a burden on his country, he said it would be better if they "were sold to the gallies or West Indies." His political opinions are interesting, and are strongly flavoured with his republican sentiments. He very justly proposed that all rents of farms be paid in money and not in grain, the evil effects of which in his own age he has well summarized. In the same Paper he made the startling proposal of gradually abolishing interest on money, with the object that all the money of the nation should be taken from investments and employed in cultivation or in trade ; and then he brought forward the republican proposal that no man was to be allowed to possess more land than he was able to cultivate by servants, having for his objects "the plough being everywhere in the hand of the possessor," and the race of "horses and black cattle much mended." His martial spirit is shown in the proposal that all young

men should enter a camp for two years' military training ; the camps were not to be stationary, but to remove from "heath to heath." Besides the use of arms, they were to be taught "wrestling, leaping, swimming, and the like exercises ;" and to "carry as much in their march as ever any Roman soldier did." Many of the regulations are not without a dash of his strong humour. The soldiers were to

be obliged to use the countrymen with all justice in their bargains, for that and all other things they stand in need of from them. Their drink should be water, sometimes tempered with a proportion of brandy, and at other times with vinegar.

The patriotic Scot, recognizing that the young soldiers, "like wax, they may be moulded into any shape," was desirous of due care being taken that "the youth" should not "be infected with foreign manners."

It is in "An Account of a Conversation concerning a right Regulation of Governments for the common good of Mankind," that Fletcher reaches his highest literary powers. It has been aptly described as "singularly natural, easy, and pleasant, showing great powers, both historical and dramatic ;" and it is valuable as a record of his manner of speaking, though it is barbed at times with biting banter and hilarious humour, and contains many of his lofty ideas and characteristic notions. But we seek in vain for any definite principle of government ; and while recognizing the necessity of a union, he desires a union of England and Scotland's strength, a federative union ; his schemes are extravagantly enthusiastic, and undoubtedly Utopian. This little pamphlet is, nevertheless, remarkably interesting to the man of letters and to the student of history for its delightful old charm. The tone and style are those of an educated country gentleman, a little pompous and high-tempered. There is a pleasant air of consequential dignity in the Earl of Cromarty's remarks of the view of London from his lodgings in Whitehall :—"You have here, gentlemen," said the Earl, "two of the noblest objects that can entertain the eye ; the finest river, and the greatest city in the world. When natural things are in the greatest perfection, they never fail to produce most wonderful results."

And a neat touch of the old picturesque, approaching idyllic prose, worthy of Sir Thomas Overbury, appears in these words of Sir Christopher Musgrave :—

The county of Kent furnishes us with the choicest fruit ; Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire with corn ; Lincolnshire, Essex, and Surrey with beef, veal, and mutton ; Buckinghamshire with wood for fuel, and the river with all that the seas and the rest of the world affords. In a word, all the useful and superfluous things that Nature produces, of the wit of man has invented, are to be found here, either made by our artificers, or imported by our merchants.

It also contains one or two bits of rough jesting and some sallies of touchy tempers, which seem to be recorded with all their strength of heated passion in the words. Take, for example, this strikingly described scene :—

What account, said he (Sir Edward Seymour), should we make of Scotland, so often trampled under foot by our armies ? Of late years, did not the very scum of our nation conquer you ? Yes, said I, after they had, with our assistance, conquered the king and the nobility and gentry of England ; and yet that, which you call a conquest, was a dispute between parties, and not a national quarrel. It was, said he, inseparable from the fortune of our Edwards to triumph over your nation. Do you mean Edward of Carnarvon, said I, and his victory at Bannockburn ? No, replied he, I mean Edward the First and Third, whose heroic actions no princes have ever equalled. Sure, said I, you do not mean the honour of the first, or the humanity of the third, so signally manifested at Berwick ; nor the murder of Wallace by the first Edward, or the poisoning of Randolph, Earl of Murray, by the third, after they had both refused to give battle to those heroes ?

His ever-memorable remark about national ballads occurs in this "Account of a Conversation," and in this way :—

Even the poorer sort of both sexes (said Sir Christopher) are daily tempted to all manner of lewdness by infamous songs sung in every corner of the streets. One would think, said the Earl, this last were of no great consequence. I said I knew a very wise man so much of Sir Christopher's sentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation. And we find that most of the ancient legislators thought they could not well reform the manners of any city without the help of a lyric, and sometimes of a dramatic poet.

It is noteworthy that this proverbial saying is said to have been quoted by Fletcher from "a very wise man," though it has long been attributed to Fletcher's own self. In the records of our old authors such a remark is not to be found, and universal belief has fixed the authorship upon him. It was pro-

bably with a little stern egotism that he referred to himself as being "a very wise man." This remarkable saying has been said to have been uttered by men as widely separated as Burns and Cobbett. In our literature this was the earliest acknowledgment of the power of ballads. But the fact that in Scotland the kings kept bards and *jongleurs* who strolled about the country singing their ballads at burgh street corners, among villagers, and at farmhouses, goes to show that the author of that happy saying was a Scot. In Scotland at that time ballads alone formed the literature of the people. They were their songs, and to their music they danced. Their directness and simplicity show us that, if not written by, they were at least written for, the people. Over the country they grew like wild flowers. Satiric-smiling pasquils spread over the land like briar roses. Ballads breathed the hopes and fears of the people, and went straight to their hearts ; their highest and holiest matters were said in the old minstrelsy ; in times of national wars and national troubles, their strains stirred the people's blood like trumpet sounds ; and the burdens of their loves and sorrows found meet expression in the sweetness of their own songs. Down in the Borderlands the ballads were the best, and it is not improbable that Fletcher had them in his memory when his lips spoke of their power. And, strange to say, the lives and manners of these Border marauders, bold and brave and hearty in their lawlessness, agree to a nicety with the burdens and descriptions of their popular ballads. The spirit of lawless daring, a light laughing scorn of personal danger, gladdens their lives, and the music is full of the clanking noise of gallant moss-troopers returning from the Borders with flocks of sheep and heads of cattle, with Englishmen in pursuit waving their spears and lances, and the ringing yelp of a bloodhound on the rieviers' track.

With the true reformer's spirit, Fletcher saw that real progress has first to be made in the national heart. It was another way of expressing that he would rather have been Homer than Alexander the Great. And in his own country it receives a home-thrust in pointed facts. Burns did more for Scotland than all the lawmakers of

the Scottish Conventions or the Scottish Parliament. The sentiment possesses not a little of the genuine power of culture. Half a truth, though it may be, as most sayings are, it has long passed current on the people's lips, and found lodgment in their hearts; and, proverb-like, it is as full of meaning and as fresh in spirit to-day as when it was spoken two centuries ago. It is singular that Meusnier de Querlon intended writing the history of his country by a chronological series of songs and ballads; and our Gallic neighbours will be among the first to appreciate the rough truth that lies in the words of the honest Scot. The glowing passion of the "Scots wha hae" has and ever will stir the hearts of Scotchmen as no other song can; the spirited words of the "Marseillaise" will long exercise its marvellous influence over the French after "The Feast of Pikes" is forgotten by them; and the national voice with which King Henry was greeted on his return from Agincourt with the lines thus opening—

Oure kynge went forth to Normandy,

is not lost, and still rises occasionally to the old ballad notes. And happy indeed is that country which has got a wealth of simple ballads, bright with generous thoughts, and set to the rapturous music of common language, for the meet expression of the national feeling.

JAMES PURVES.



Extracts from ye Gild Book of the Barber-Surgeons of York.

THIS is a quaint book we have before us, and beautifully got up too, with its illuminated portraits of every sovereign that has ruled in England from Henry VII. to George II. It is all in manuscript on vellum, written in Gothic characters, and besides the constitutions of the gild, it has annexed some wonderful diagrams of cabalistic and medical lore; an essay on the letting of blood, and an essay on cures for the pestilence.

But we will for the present deal with the

constitutions of the gild, which bring before us something of the life of those days; we can see the barbers and the surgeons hurrying to the council of their gild held in the "room on Ouse Bridge," their gowns on for fear of the fine. Ouse Bridge must have been somewhat like London Bridge in those days, covered with houses. Then they would meet the members of other gilds in the fine old Gild Hall down by the water's edge; and very particular were these barbers and surgeons of York not to allow any interference with their craft, no quack vendors of unauthorized drugs would they tolerate; they and they alone were licensed to kill, cure, and shave the good citizens of the then capital of the North.

This book tells us on its title-page that it was begun in 1486, in the second year of the reign of King Henry VII., William Chymney being Mayor of the City of York, and administers to all whose names should be inscribed therein the following oath:—

Ye shall swear to be trusty and true unto the King our Sovereign Lord, and to this City of York, and also to the science of Barbers and Chirurgions within the same, and all good ordinances, statutes, usages, and customs heretofore made and used in the same art or science ye shall keep, support, and maintain at all times to your power, and the secret and counsel of the same art ye shall truly keep and learn. So help you God, and by the contents of this Book.

In the year 1592 at the request and expense of the whole company the articles of the gild were expanded and corrected, and from these we can form a fairly clear idea of the working of the confraternity.

Two searchers were annually appointed on the Monday after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist: in this year they were Master Henry Leach and Master George Dimming; their duties were very onerous, the whole superintendence of the gild rested on their shoulders, on going out of office they had to "render their accounts unto the Master of the said art of all things belonging to them, upon pain of a fine of 6s. 8d. to the chamber and the company."

The searchers had to warn all the men of the art of the occasions on which they should appear in the Gild Hall, 6s. 8d. being the fine for non-attendance after such warning had been received.

Then the searchers saw to the carrying out of the following article :—

Every man of the said art when he first sets up to keep shop as a member shall first be a freeman of the city, and then searched by the said searchers, whether he will be able to occupy as a member or no, and if the searchers approve him able, then at the first setting up as a member he shall pay 18s. 4d. (except the sons of franchised men), and if he be found unable then he shall give such a convenient time with some brother of the said science, as shall be appointed and set down by the searchers.

Again, if any man before the term of his apprenticeship had expired did "presume to set up as a member not being admitted, it shall be lawful for the searchers to take away his basins or other signs which he hath towards the street to shew his art, and to carry them to the chamber on Ouse Bridge to the Lord Mayor," and this functionary had to settle the fine the delinquent was to pay.

Also the searchers had to see that the members hired no servant "to practice this art above six days" without a proper license, the penalty being 6s. 8d. for doing so.

About aliens and strangers practising the art in York, the searchers had to be very strict; if a man presumed to shave or to heal in York for more than five days he had to pay a fine of 2s. per diem for each day beyond that limit.

Then the searchers had to search into and examine all manner of cures, and to see that the cures were consistent with the then accepted rules of chirurgery, and if any brother of the gild "do utter or give any indecent words to the searchers" in the exercise of their office, then he laid himself open to a fine of 3s. 4d. Furthermore, if any member of the art was found obstinate, and refused to come to the hall of the assembly without his gown, then he had to pay a fine of 6d.

They were very strict on the matter of medical etiquette, as the following item proves: "None of the said company shall intrude himself into the company of any other brother, who is dressing of any patient ether wounded or hurt, except he be specially requested by the patient or by some friend of his, upon pain of 6s. 8d. to the uses of the guild, and also no barber shall powle, trim, or shave any of his brothers' customers until such time as the

said brother be fully contented and paid, upon fine and forfeiture of the same sum."

Regulations about the Sabbath day are likewise set down. "It is ordered that none of the barbers shall work or keep open their shop on Sunday except two Sundays next or before the assize weeks." 10s. to be paid for breaking this rule. This seems to have been a rule liable to be broken, for in 1676 there was another law laid down against Sabbath breaking to the following effect :—

This court taking notice of several irregular and unreasonable practices committed by the company of Barber-Surgeons within this city, in shaving, trimming, and cutting of several strangers as well as citizens' hair and faces on the Lord's day, which ought to be kept sacred, it is ordered by the whole consent of this court, and if any brother of the said company shall at any time hereafter either by himself, servant, or substitute, tonse, barb, or trim any person on the Lord's Day in any Inn or other public or private house or place, or shall go in or out of any such house or place on the said day with instruments used for that purpose, albeit the same cannot be positively proved, or made appear, but in case the Lord Mayor for the time being shall upon good circumstances consider and adjudge any such brother to have trimmed or barbed as is aforesaid, that then any such offender shall forfeit and pay for every such offence 10s.: one-half to the Lord Mayor, and the other to the use of the said company, unless such brother shall voluntarily purge himself by oath to the contrary, and the searchers of the said company for the time being are to make diligent search in all such as aforesaid public or private places for discovery of such offenders.

Another regulation about Sabbath breaking is worthy of note :—"If any brother of the said company shall resort to any Inn or Tavern or Alehouse upon the Sabbath day, or other holiday, in time of divine service or sermon, he shall pay a fine of twelve pence."

If one brother absented himself from the funeral of another without good and reasonable excuse he had to pay 3s. 4d.

Regulations about apprentices of course were very minute, as out of apprentices sprang the future members of the gild. At first he must be the son of a freeman, or else a fine was imposed upon him. This regulation was, however, in later days abolished. Indentures, recorded by the clerk of the company, had to be drawn up for each apprentice eight days after entering the service of his master. And if any apprentice or servant were convicted of stealing from his master any goods

over the value of 6*d.*, he was "to be clearly discharged forth of the said company for ever at the discretion of the then Lord Mayor."

At the recording of every apprentice twelve pence was to be paid into the stock or common fund of the gild, over which the searchers held jurisdiction, and every member paid 3*d.* quarterly "towards the increase of the said stock." Also at the receiving of his oath each member paid twelve pence, and out of this common stock the expenses of the gild were liquidated: the fees due to the searchers, the fees to the clerk or attorney, and the expenses of their establishment.

Then last, and in the eyes of many doubtless not least, of this draft of 1592 was the following:—

It is agreed by a general consent of the company of Barber-Surgeons that from henceforth the antient head searcher upon the election day shall make the whole company a dinner, and every person paying 6*d.* a-piece of their own charge, and the surplusage (if any such be) to be paid out of the stock.

On the 8th day of June, 1614, the Council of Barber-Surgeons sat again on Ouse Bridge to add further rules and regulations to the above. They are eleven in number, and being clearer in statements than those of the former, I will quote them as they stand:—

1. That the company of chirurgeons every year shall chose one of the said company to be the master in anatomy, which said master shall have the disposing of all things belonging to the said anatomy, as also the keeping of all things pertaining to the dissection of the same, and to make account of those things at the ending of his year, and to deliver them up to the company, and they to the next master elected.

2. That the said master so chosen be a licensed chirurgeon, and twice in the term of the said year the said master shall read a lecture either in anatomy or chirurgery, and if he so refuse to do he shall pay for every such refusal 10 shillings to the use of the Lord Mayor and Corporality of the said city, to be levied by distress or to be recovered by action of debt by the town clerk of the said city for the time being in the King's Majesty's Court to be holden before the sheriff of the said city, wherein no wages of law shall be allowed for the defendant.

3. Every dissection to be attended by the whole company, and they that shall willingly or wilfully at any time (if in any sort he profess chirurgery) absent themselves, not having a reasonable excuse, shall be fined for every default 3*s.* 4*d.* to the aforesaid uses, and to be levied and recovered in manner aforesaid.

4. The said master at every dissection shall ap-

point such of the licensed chirurgeons as he shall like best of to dissect the said anatomy, and if they refuse so to do, to pay for every time they deny 5*s.* as aforesaid.

5. The said master shall describe to such as he shall appoint to dissect (if they be unskilful in dissection of that part) the rising circumference and insertion of the said part, which if he do not, they requesting him thereunto, he shall pay 3*s.* 4*d.* as aforesaid.

6. That the said master, and two searchers for the time being, shall call before them (having such other company as they think fit to assist them) all such as be strangers and others unlicensed, practising chirurgery in the city, to examine them, and finding them insufficient, or refusing to be examined, to forfeit and pay for every time offending 20*s.* to aforesaid purpose.

7. Every one of the said company professing chirurgery shall read a lecture either in chirurgery or anatomy to the whole company out of some author in chirurgery or anatomy as shall be appointed by the master of anatomy and by one of the searchers, being a licensed chirurgeon, which if he refuse (having had reasonable warning to provide for the said reading), from such time not to practise the art of chirurgery till he perform the reading of the said lecture, upon pain to pay for every time not reading a lecture 20*s.* to purposes aforesaid.

8. Every chirurgeon within a month after he is made free shall likewise read a lecture unto the whole company out of some author as appointed, upon pain of 20*s.* fine.

9. Every one professing chirurgery and living within the city, or others coming to this city being licensed or otherwise, shall either become freemen of the said city and company within 3 months after their said coming or else avoid the city, and pay for every month they remain after 40*s.* as aforesaid.

10. That none unlicensed or such as can give no reason for the cure they undertake, as to have knowledge of the causes and signs thereof, or none that understand not the virtues of such medicines as they apply, whether they be simple or compound, taking money for their medicines, shall practise chirurgery upon pain to forfeit for every time 20*s.* as aforesaid.

11. Every freeman or woman of this city either taking or using, or suffering their children or servants to take or use, the counsel or help of any strange or any other unworthy professor or unlicensed chirurgeon, having not first had and used the counsel and help of the free licensed chirurgeons of this city (bone-setters excepted) shall forfeit for every time so doing 40*s.* to the aforesaid uses.

There are the decrees of one or two sittings of the gild entered in this book relative to the precedence of the master of anatomy, who was adjudged to rank before a searcher, and to the vexed question of apprentices. Then follow the names of all who are entered in the guild, the last entry being in 1782.

J. THEODORE BENT.

The Great Case of the Impositions.

By HUBERT HALL.

PART II.

HALLAM tells us that Queen Mary was the first English Sovereign since the accession of the House of Lancaster who had recourse to illegal means of enhancing the revenue of the Crown; that in 1557 she set a duty on cloths exported, and afterwards on the importation of French wines. Hallam does not, however, say a word in explanation of these new duties from the history of the times; neither does he seem to have profited by Chief Baron Fleming's powerful protest against confining a bounty on a native industry with a prohibitory tax on an imported luxury.

On the other hand, our popular historian, being in blissful ignorance of the merits of the whole transaction, has wisely passed it over along with the rest of the social history of the period between the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Invincible Armada.

The truth is, that Hallam, who saw nothing unusual or outrageous in the tyrannical and vexatious trade-proclamations of this period,* reserved all his indignation for those financial innovations of the first James, which were but the natural outcome of such precedents.

The merest glance at the above dates will tell us that in 1557 and 1558 Mary must have found it highly convenient to conciliate the growing outcry against foreign competition by restricting the exportation of woollen fabrics at the expense of her husband's heretic subjects in the Netherlands; while the interrupted commercial relations between France and both England and Spain, would sufficiently explain a prohibitive duty on the chief French import, even if this fact were not stated at large in contemporary documents.

The English merchants who, according to Hallam, were aggrieved by this restriction, were also disappointed in their hope of seeing it removed at Elizabeth's accession. This assertion is indeed partly true, but it is also extremely vague.

* Hallam, *Constit. Hist.*, first ed., p. 255.

The great merchants who could trade more advantageously than their foreign brethren had little to lose from useless attempts to secure retail as well as wholesale profits to this country; but the crowds of petty traders, whom it was the policy of the Government to discourage, found their account in a free-trade with the Low Countries.

With reference to a case partly reported by Dyer, Hallam appeals to an argument of Plowden which, "as far as the difficult handwriting permitted him to judge," was adverse to the Crown, his authority being a copy in No. 32 of the Hargrave MSS.

But it so happens that this copy is not in No. 32 at all, but in No. 27; a fact of which I am painfully aware from the tedious search it cost to discover it. Moreover, the handwriting is not in the least difficult, but as fair and plain as could be wished. The writing throughout No. 32, however, is really formidable, so that I shrewdly suspect that Hallam, misled by a false reference, lighted upon something in the latter volume which he took in earnest for Plowden's argument.

This in reality is rather a valuable list of precedents, most of them certainly opposed to the prerogative, and indeed on that account largely quoted by Hakewill, but which are little more than an expression of the great common lawyer's well-known jealousy of the equitable jurisdiction of the Crown.

But this is nothing to what follows in the very next passage of Hallam's history. Alluding to the abrupt termination of Dyer's Report above mentioned, he observes:—

But we may presume that if any such (judgment) had been given in favour of the Crown, it would have been made public. And that the majority of the bench would not have favoured this claim of the Crown, we may strongly presume from their doctrine in a case of the same description wherein they held the assessment of treble custom on aliens for violation of letters patent to be absolutely against the law.*

Now, in the face of such a decision as this the whole case for the impositions would fall to the ground. The right of the Crown to restrain, license, or even entirely exclude foreign merchandise was ever, notwithstanding Magna Carta, an essential of its prerogative. Most certainly it was neither opposed to the "common assent," nor to the "com-

* Hallam, p. 341.

mon profit" of the realm stipulated for in the highly restrictive articles of the Confirmation Chartarum, according to the current interpretation of those expressions.* If therefore this right was solemnly disallowed in the Exchequer itself, or rather in a conference of the whole bench, what precedents could be urged in favour of the always far more doubtful legality of impositions upon English merchants?

Hallam's authority for this statement is decisive. With reference to the above passage he observes in a note: "This case I have had the good fortune to discover in one of Mr. Hargrave's MSS. in the Museum, No. 132, fol. 66. It is in the handwriting of Chief Justice Hyde (*temp.* Car. I.), who has written in the margin, 'This is the report of a case,' &c." Then he quotes the whole report, ending with the words, "And after, by Parl. 5 Eliz. the patent was confirmed and affirmed against aliens;" from which the reader must suppose—as Hallam beyond question himself believed to be the case—that the Government of Elizabeth were driven to obtain the sanction of Parliament for their illegal and tyrannical measure.

During some years I had made an impartial study of this case an object, without however being able to overcome the conclusive evidence offered by Hallam on this point. But as my youthful faith in the veracity and accuracy of historians came to be diminished by experience, I examined Hallam's quotation from Hyde more narrowly, till I pitched at last on the phrase "confirmed and affirmed," and as this seemed a somewhat remarkable variation of the usual form, "confirmed and assured," I did what everyone should do at first, consulted the original MS.

Then I found that Hallam's presumably accurate transcript was a very inaccurate and misleading paraphrase. It is a painful fact that he could not read the manuscript. As this version has probably been a source of difficulty and error for two generations, as it is highly interesting in itself, even in its present mangled form, and as the issue which depends on it is of the first importance for the present argument, I shall make no

* See Chief Baron Fleming in Lane's Report, and Coke, 12th Report.

apology for transcribing it here *verbatim et literatim*.

[What follows in this page and the whole of the two next pages are in Lord Ch. J. Hyde's own hand-writing.]*

This is the copie of a report in my lord Dyer's written original but is not in the printed books.

A report of a case resolved concerning the king's power to restrayne traffik and to impose.

King Philip and Queen Marye for affection born to the towne of Southampton when the sayd king did first arrive in England, did grant by thear letters patents (dated at Westm. 14 dayes after thear marriage) unto the Maior Baylifes and Burgeses of the towne of Southampton and to thear successors. That all wyne called Malmesey, whiche at any time after the feast of St. Michael the Archangell then next following the date of the sayd letters patents shold be brought into this kingdom from foreyne partes, sholde be landed in no place of the realm but only in the port and towne of Southampton. And the sayd King and Queen did by the sayd letters patents prohibit al marchants—denizens and aliens—that none of those wyne sholde be landed in any other port or place but only in the sayd port of Southampton upon the penaltie of paying triple custom for them, that is XX^s a but, the single custom being vj^s viij^d.

And for as muche as divers merchant strangers of Venice had brought Malmesey from beyond the seas after the making of the sayd charter and had landed them at a place called *Hone end in Kent* to be conveyed to London whear they were landed: An information was brought for the Queen in the Exchequer Tr. 1 Eliz. rot. 73. for the treple custom, and thear was demurred in law, and the case was thear argued at the bar, and not at the bench. And in Hill. Term 3 Eliz.: it was argued in the Exchequer chamber in the presence of all the barons of the Exchequer and of the Justices of bothe benches by Wray and Carus; and in Ester Term next following, in the halle at Sergeants In, wear of opinion against the letters patents Freuil baron of the Exchequer, Weston, Corbet, Rastell, Whiddon, justices, Saunders chief baron, Dyer et Catlin cheefe justices, as well for the principall matter of restraynt in the landing of Malmesey at the will and pleasure of the merchants for that it was against the lawes, statutes and customes of the realme, Scil. Ma. Ch. ca. 30, 9 E. 3, 14 E. 3, 25 E. 3, 27 E. 3, 28 E. 3, 2 R. 2, ca. 1; and others, as also in the assessment of treble custom which is merely against the law, also the prohibition above sayd was held to be private and not publiqz. But baron Luke e contra et A. Browne, Justice censuit deliberandum, And after at an other meeting the same Ester Term at Sergeants' In, It was resolved as above, Baron Luke changed his opinion, A. Browne being then absent, and after by Parliam: 5 Eliz: the patent was confirmed and assured against aliens."†

It will be seen that the mention of "deni-

* This direction is in Hargrave's largest hand-writing, so that Hallam gained his knowledge of palæography somewhat easily.

† Harg. MSS. No. 132; 166 et seq.

zens and aliens" in the above, which Hallam entirely omits, throws a new light on the question. The grievance of the common lawyers was not so much that aliens should be arbitrarily taxed for the public good, but that denizens should be included with them. Still, the concluding mention of aliens is ambiguous, and though convinced that some mistake had been made, and that this was a later and less authentic transcript from a draft of Dyer's original in which the Latin at least of the Letters Patent must be preserved, I could discover no such duplicate.

The blame again must be laid on Hallam. Had he given a correct reference to Plowden's argument, myself or some other, or, if he had ever really consulted that manuscript, he himself would have found there, on a fly-leaf, in Hyde's own hand, the duplicate and more authentic transcript of Dyer's report.

This is the same in substance with the one given above, except that, as I had expected, the Letters Patent are quoted in Latin, and the whole of the technical proceedings, from "and the case was there argued" to the end, in Law French; and after the concluding word "aliens"—"*Et non versus Indiginis.*"

The cause of Hyde's clerical error, and of Hallam's ludicrous and reprehensible blunder, can be easily seen by a reference to the manuscript. The concluding sentence runs thus: "Et puis p Parliament, &c. le pattend fuit confirme et assure versus alienigeñ et non versus Indiginis." Then, in the same line, without any break, and with a doubtful capital V, the manuscript continues:—"Vide p argumt, 2 E. 3," &c. Hyde had carried his eye from "alienigeñ" to "vide" through a common optical delusion.

Hitherto I have preferred to speak of the impost as derived from the ancient right of Prizage, as deduced through the latter from the prerogative of purveyance or pre-emption. Here, however, I may easily be in error, so that I will mention a second theory, that adopted by the Crown itself during the period now in question.

"The Right conteyning the matter of Tonnage and Butlerage and the ymport of wines is thus to be derived. The Tonnage and Butlerage are well to be maintained by records as the Pondage, and the ymport for wyne is of the same nature that the custome

of the woole is."* Here the impost is derived on the same analogy as the great customs; but as the latter were always classed with the pre-emption of tin, &c., as an outcome of purveyance, the point at issue becomes the same in either case. That point is neither more nor less than this. Was it lawful for the Crown, in the interests of the nation, to exercise any part of that ancient and undefined prerogative which had descended to it from the Anglo-Saxon period? No constitutional lawyer of this or any period could have answered that it was not lawful.

If the Scotch threatened the Border, who but the sovereign could authorize muster and array? Even his surly Commons could not deny this prerogative to Charles I. in 1639. Who besides the king had a freehold or enjoyment of the public forest lands? The two first Stuarts asserted their forestal rights with a rigour unknown to Norman tyrants. Charles I. put the right of pre-emption to a novel use by establishing a retail pepper trade; just as his father claimed a monopoly of the sale of tobacco, and his son made heavy requisitions on tin.

Even in the present day the Crown may profit by treasure-trove, escheat, and forfeiture; while it is only of late years that its guardianship of the common highways has been in abeyance.†

All these rights were and are due to the Crown by prescription not more ancient than the pre-emption of wools and the prizage of wines.

The objection to this argument will be, as it always has been, that the prerogative was here exerted against both the wishes and the interest of the nation for the sole aggrandizement of the Crown. This was partly alleged on Hampden's part in the case of the ship-money. The strict right of the Crown could not be denied even here, but the existence of an emergency to warrant its exertion was successfully disputed.

During the middle-Tudor period, however, I unhesitatingly maintain that both the interest and feeling of the bulk of the nation were on the side of the prerogative, and that, moreover, the Crown did little more than

* Galba, c. ii.

† The wholesale encroachments permitted of late years on the river Thames are sufficiently notorious.

seek to recover its undoubted revenue, which natural causes had diverted.

I could point to scores of passages from contemporary MSS. to prove that the impost on imported wines was a burthen scarcely felt by the consumer, and dear to the heart of the producer in this country.

The ships which were unladen of French wines, were reladen with English woollens for exportation. This practice not only caused a keen competition in the carrying trade of exports, in favour of the more enlightened foreigner, but by glutting the foreign cloth market, and lowering prices, made it impossible for the unskilled English weaver or dyer to supply the home market at current quotations.

Thus, the action of the Government in attempting to secure the monopoly of the export trade to the English merchant, and of the retail trade to the English artisan, was supported by one, and virtually by both, of those two great classes. It was only a few old-fashioned politicians, advocates of an agricultural revival, and a small but vigorous and enlightened minority of the nation, that resisted the false economical policy of the Government. These were the petty traders, mercers or grocers, who, grown rich by an unlimited course of trade, were fast taking their place amongst the landed interest.

These were the men who, swelling the ranks of the Tudor yeomanry, became the Puritan gentry of the next century, and won the fight for the liberty of the subject.

But to show how entirely the whole question is one of expediency decided by class interests, these very men were they who in turn imposed the Navigation Act upon their Dutch co-religionists.

There is good reason, however, to suppose that the Government of Mary and Elizabeth were actuated by better motives in seeking to restrain the growing consumption of luxuries than those chiefly imputed to them. Contemporary literature is replete with satires at the expense of the dandified consumer. The consumption of drink, with its ill effects on popular morality, was enormously on the increase, as may be gathered from the fatal tavern brawls which figure in the writs of gaol delivery for the period.

But there is one more view of the conduct

of the Crown, and one to which I have several times invited attention.

The importation of wine had increased since Edward I. at least four or five times. The value of the butt of wine was more than doubled, and ships carried a larger cargo than of old. A smaller margin of profit was left to the Crown from the farm of the custom, whilst the purchasing power of money had increased perhaps a third, and the expenses of the Crown had increased in proportion.

Was it then fair that the latter should still be content with the old and unvarying butlerage from Aliens, the uncertain and inadjustable prizage in kind, and the ancient rates of the subsidy?

It was the same with the revenue drawn from the custom on cloths. The legality of the old custom on wool, as regulated by the *Confirmatio Chartarum*, was indeed unquestioned, but what was now the value of this custom to the responsible executive?

The export trade in wool had practically disappeared, and an export trade in unwrought cloths had taken its place. Who should murmur if the Crown took what was its own in another form; for, by some means or other, the deficiencies in the customs' revenue must be made up, to avoid that bankruptcy of the Government which seemed imminent? This was the view taken by the Ministers who instigated these exactions—by the high-principled Gardiner and the prudent Cecil.

None could charge the Government of Elizabeth at least with prodigality. Border fortresses were indeed kept up, harbours or dockyards laid out, and a volunteer militia drilled and equipped. It was only a war of extermination by land and of reprisals by sea that was discouraged, a crusade of Protestant against Catholic that was sternly repressed. The Crown was far more careful of the growing resources of the country than its own unprincipled subjects.

We should, in common justice, take account of all these circumstances before we place ourselves on the side of the great advocates of constitutional liberty, Hakewill, Hale and Hargrave. As for the position of certain later historians, some of whose statements I have ventured to criticize, it matters little in comparison that they have failed in their

attention to obscure sources of information in view of the general greatness and thoroughness of their work.

The true moral to be derived from the whole history of the question is at the expense of the shameless impostors who, without originality or industry, and respecting not the dignity of history, have edited it as a lying romance to their infatuated disciples.

(To be continued.)

Notes and Extracts from the Account-Book of Richard Bax, A Surrey Yeoman,

KEPT BETWEEN 1648-1662.

By ALFRED RIDLEY BAX.

THE book from which the following extracts are taken is about 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ wide, is bound in parchment, and is now in a very dilapidated condition, many of the leaves being much torn, whilst many of the earlier and later ones are altogether wanting, their stumps being alone left to indicate where they once were; and, as often happens, those which are missing just embrace that period when entries would have been particularly interesting.

It appears to have belonged to three Richards in succession. The relationship between the first and second Richard is not very clear, but the second and third stood in the relation of uncle and nephew to one another. The book is now the property of their descendant, George Bax Holmes, Esq., of Horsham.

Concerning the parentage of the writer we know little, and nothing certain, although I am strongly inclined to think that he was son of Richard Bax, who is described as of "Kitlands" in a *Brief Survey of the Manor of Dorking*, in 1622. This Richard married at Ockley,* on June 30, 1612, Agnes Shoe, and by her he had John and Agnes Bax, twins, baptized July 14, 1614, and both buried on the same day in the churchyard at Ockley, and Richard Bax, baptized Sept. 27, 1615.

* Register of St. Margaret, Ockley.

It is probable that the writer of the Account-Book, or his father, was the first of the family who lived at Kitlands, although the name occurs in Ockley much earlier. In the Parish Register it is recorded that "Ralph y^e son of John Bax was bapt. March, 22th day, 1547."

The family seems to have been settled before that time in Sussex, as we find Richard Bakkes and John Bakkes enumerated in the list of tenants of Rusper Priory in the 24 Hen. VIII., 1532;* the latter is rated "pro le Newe House in Warnham, xijd." A few years later than this the name occurs repeatedly in the Warnham registers.

Our earliest trace of it hitherto is in a subsidy roll of the Rape of Lewes in 1296, copied from an original MS. by the late W. H. Blaauw, Esq.;† therein it is spelt Bac. John Bac and Rich. le Bac are rated with other inhabitants of the Villate de Brystelmstone et Molscumbe.

But to return to our Account-book, which was undoubtedly kept at "Pleystowe," a homestead in the parish of Capel (near Dorking). The earlier leaves having been torn out as before mentioned, the first legible entry is in 1648; it begins abruptly, and has reference to the quantity of oats threshed.

It will be observed that the worthy yeoman appears throughout his accounts and memoranda to have greatly favoured the phonetic system in spelling, not always with economy of labour to himself in writing.

It has often been asserted that, until Dr. Johnson's time, orthography was uncertain and fortuitous, and we have only to examine the epistolary correspondence of persons even of rank and position before his age to perceive how this is borne out by facts.

The same Daye of Nouember 1648.

	£	s.	d.
Oeaining‡ to Richard Wright for worke	0	13	4
The Accountes of Thomas Dandey his Thresheinge of Oeates§—			
It. at one time 55 bushelles			
wher of Thomas Had 17 "	0	4	0
It. 3 dayes worke a grobinge	0	3	6
It. at one time 6 bushelles of wheat	0	1	6
Tho. Dandey for thresheinge of Oeates			
II qu.	0	9	9

* *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. v. p. 261.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 295.

‡ Owing. § Oats.

The accountes of James Bottler, his Threshinge of Oeats—

It. for Howldinge of plowe 14 dayes	}	0 11 8
It. James Bottler for Threshinge of fortene qur. of Oeates		
It. at one time to Allen Boughton for wood cotinge*		0 12 0

Further on he has evidently been erecting either a new barn or outhouses, or rebuilding the old ones, as there is a long account for "nailles," "thetchinge,"† "scaeing;"‡ also for "Boordes," "heaeuings,"§ &c.

It seems probable that a pond was then first made on the property, as there is this entry:—

It. to Richard Wright for the pond	s. d.
It. to Richard Wright for felleinge of the Tember	1 5 0 8

Cheese was then about 2½d. a pound, as appears from the next entry:—

It. to Richard Wright for 12 pounds of cheese	s. d.
	2 9

He held "Holdbrooks" at this time (a farm long after in the family), and he has a memorandum of an offer which he made to the aforesaid Richard of a sum for "felleinge of the Tember in the Howllbruck."

The fondness which persons in the country exhibit for introducing the idea of sex in inanimate objects is exemplified by the next heading: "The accountes of the Barne in the Howllebrucke which I have Desporst|| conserninge him."

Will. Weller was his ordinary serving man for a long period, and we constantly find entries of work done by, and money owing to, him.

September the 29th, 1649.

Oeaining to will. weeller for moeing	£ s. d.
	1 10 0

Thomas Dandey was another in constant employment.

October the 9th.

	£ s. d.
for moeing of Oeates, 17 ackrs¶	0 16 4
for moeing of Brookes,** 3 dayes	0 4 0
for carings of Brookes, 1 day	0 1 0
for caringe of Doing,†† 4 dayes	0 5 0
For a dayes of waterseruing‡‡	0 2 8

* Wood-cutting. † Thatching. ‡ Sawing.

§ Perhaps eaves is here meant.

¶ Acres. ** Brooks or Holdbrooks. †† Dung.

‡‡ I am at a loss for the meaning of this word; it often occurs throughout the accounts. Probably serving of water.

"The accountes of The Pease which I have sould in the year 1648."

Then follow the names of persons and the number of bushels sold to each.

	£ s. d.
Suma is	8 6 9

"The accountes of the Oeates which I have scoulde* in the year 1648."

The total number seems to have been 129 bushels, and the price varied from 21d. and 23d. to 2s. a bushel. This is followed by "the accountes of The Wheate which I have scoulde sunce the 208th (sic) day of September, 1648."

	£ s. d.
Imprimus Matthew Lee for a bushell of wheate.	
It. Will. Terrey for a bushell of wheate	0 7 6
It. Rich. Lee for a Halfe bushell of wheate	0 3 6
It. Rich. Wrighte for a bushell of wheate	0 6 8
&c. &c.	

From the long list from which the above four lines are taken, it appears that he must have had large dealings in that commodity. We next come upon a singular entry:—"The accountes of the dencher† in the Rowlls and the monys which I have desporst to the workmen."

The following is interesting as reminding us of the stirring times in which he lived, and that events which now have the romance and interest of history were then occurring daily. It will be remembered that on the 30th of January in this year (1649) King Charles was beheaded at Whitehall, and the tax was no doubt levied with a view of clearing off the arrears of pay due to the soldiers.

The accountes of The Taxes which I have payed
scence Sept. the 29th, 1649.

	£ s. d.
It. payed to Allen Wallis for the 3 Monthes pay for the Lord Fairfax (sic)† his army from ye first of September to the last of Desember	2 12 6

* Sold.

† "Dencer," vide "Diary of Richard Stapley, Gent., of Hickstead Place, near Twineham, from 1682-1724," by Rev. Edward Turner, in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 122, where the same word occurs. This term used to be applied to the act of paring off the turf from land and burning it. The residuum was used as manure. The word is supposed to be a corruption of "Devonshireing." The practice is, I am informed, now discontinued.

‡ Fairfax.

	£	s.	d.
It. payed to Tho. Henton at the same time			
for my Land in Charlwood	0	17	3
It. for the Rowles	0	13	0
It. for Rilles Land	0	1	8
It. payed to Simmons and fuller from the			
last of Desember to the last of May	2	2	6

Hedging and ditching is regarded, I believe, at the present time as expensive work. Our friend Richard tells us what it cost him in 1649:

	£	s.	d.
It. for making of 103* Rodes of hedge and			
detch in the Rowles	1	14	4
It. for 2,040† fadgates‡	0	4	0
It. for 18 Rodes and a halfe of hedge in the			
Rowles	0	3	0
It. for cotinge of 1 stack of wood in the			
Rowles	0	1	0
It. for cotinge of 0607 fadgates	0	6	8
It. for 4 dayes worke	0	4	0
It. for 3 dayes worke with my horse	0	3	0
It. for going to mell§ and market	0	1	0
It. for two bushell of Oeates	0	10	0

From the "accountes of The Oeates which I have scoulde from September the 29th the year 1649," the price seems to have varied from 1s. 3d. the lowest, to 2s. 9d. the highest, per bushel.

In the next year (1650) he paid "for moeing of 15 ackars and a qu. of grasse at 1s. 4d. an ackeyr," for saying (sawing) one day, 1s. 6d., "for wenieing" (winnowing) 1s. 6d. for "Two dayes a moinge of Oeates, 4s."

The accountes of the Reckneinge Betweene
Will. Poulsden and my selfe—

	£	s.	d.
It. Received of him for a mare	7	0	0
It. for 6 sheep	2	14	0
February the 4th, 1651.			
will wheller for a peare of shues	0	4	0

The accountes of Thomas Dandey, March 1,
1651—

It. for Threshinge of 2 qu. of Teeres (tares) at 1s. 8d.			
---	--	--	--

He notes at this time that John Dussell and Will Wheeller were his servants, and on February the 4th, 1651, "Will Hill did coome to mee to dwell." He received of Mr. Budgen "for my part of the cattell on John Walleses farm," £45. Richard Wallis received "for going to darking fowre times, 2s.," "for going to plowe one day, 6d.," "for

* 103 = 13; 10 + 3. † Perhaps 240.
‡ Faggots. § Mill.

harrouing 4 dayes," 2s., "for Emptinge the Kell and Rowling," 1s. He sold "a Kalfe" at this date for 10s., and "29 Lames" at 8s. 6d. a lame."

The accountes of the monney which Mr. Budgen has Received for Catell from the first of June—

	£	s.	d.
It. Rec. of John Wickenden	10	12	6
It. for the Red Kind* at Hossum†	3	7	0
It. Ed. Gilles for the pide‡ heffer	3	10	0
It. Steuen Richman for a sheepp	0	11	0
It. Ed. Gilles for the black hefer	3	10	0
It. at Charlwood faire			
It. Gilles black coot	3	6	8
It. Peekes the Redskin—Budgen	4	3	0
It. poore the whit flank	3	13	4
It. Spencer the black whit haft	3	6	0
It. Hills had the white hefer	3	0	0
It. Gilles had the bredred hefer—Budgen	3	6	8
It. Gilles had the Rede hefer—Wallton	3	13	4
It. John Gardner for a hide	0	8	0
It. Tho. Dandey for a bullocke	2	15	0
It. for hupps§ Jo Keed of darking	5	6	0
It. Mr. Budgen Rec. for Rent of John			
Wardes the 15th of Aprill 1653-4	9	4	0
It. for 4 oxen at Smethfield	38	10	0

From note-books like the present we often get the local names of plots of land, the memory of which has probably long passed away. Few, if any, could now identify "the Coppiss," "the Marl-field," "the soutters," "the Rowles," "Youcrofts," "Gosvens," "Bockenden," "Letell Meade," "Charlwood Croft," "Rowles-garne," "Cowleas," "Sheepowles," "Colenes," &c., &c. yet they were well known at that time, and are in several instances mentioned repeatedly in the accounts.

He pay§ the following to Will Wheeller:—

June the 27th, 1653.

	£	s.	d.
It. for wreppinge¶ 1 day his Booy	0	2	6
It. for 3 dayes and a halfe aploweinge	0	3	6
It. for asslaing of the Bullock	0	0	4
Nicklas Smallpeac:—			
It. for a short cloth	0	7	0

* Kine. † Horsham. ‡ Pied. § Hops.

¶ Query, Pockenden. There are many farms and closes in the adjoining county of Sussex which owe their names to their having been the reputed haunts of fairies, such as Pookryde, Pookbourne, Pook-hole. The sharpened end of the seed-vessel of the wild geranium, called by the common people Pook-needle, probably originally meant the fairy's needle. Editor's note, "Journal of Timothy Burrell, Esq., of Ockenden House, Cuckfield, 1683-1714," by Robert Willis Blencowe, Esq., *Sussex Arch. Coll.*

¶ Reaping.

for whose? 0 4 2
for a smocke cloth. 0 3 2
for shues. 0 3 4

As a man of enterprise he went to various markets to purchase stock wherever he was likely to obtain the best cattle.

May the 25th, 1653.—The accountes of the money which I have layed out for cattell in to (*sic*) John Wallis, his farne—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis for fflowre Beese* at Chersey	9	4	4
It. for two Beese at Wilton upon Temes†	3	18	4
It. for two Beese at Darking‡ market	4	0	0
It. Layed out at Leigh for Beese	7	6	8
It. at Eouell§ fayre Three beese	7	18	6
It. payed to Willkens for keeping the cowe	0	1	0

"The accountes of the fadgats in Codworth."¶ They were disposed of to Richard Tayller and William Dennes. Then we have—

The accountes of The money which I have Desporst to The Carryers—

	£	s.	d.
It. to Anthoney Rowley, senr.	1	9	0
It. to Thomas Chas-mowre	2	0	0
It. to Anthoney Rowley, junr.	1	10	0
&c. &c.			

Altogether he [spent £29 9s. at this time for "carrying."

October the 30, 1655.

	£	s.	d.
It. for Rackings of Oeats 4 Ackyers	0	6	0
It. by the day 4 dayes, and for	0	6	0
Richard¶ 4 dayes	0	6	0
It. for my wife one day	0	0	10

But before this last extract there is a suggestive entry:—

Thomas Smallpeece de Nudigate in the (*sic*) Thomas Bax.

Of course the words which were intended to be added were "County of Surrey." Does not the use of the Norman prefix "de" indicate the possession of a class of knowledge beyond what an intelligent yeoman in those days would be likely to possess? As the handwriting is somewhat different from that in all other entries in the book, and the colour of the ink much darker (although the court hand is still retained), may it not be

* Beasts. † Walton-upon-Thames.

‡ Dorking, often spelt Darking in early times.

§ Ewell.

¶ Cudworth, a moated farm romantically situated in an out-of-the-way part of the parish of Newdigate, about 2 miles from Capel.

¶ Who was this Richard?

that of Thomas Smallpeece himself? It is known that the Smallpeece family were related to the Baxes.*

He paid for "A lanthorne at lundon" at this date, 8*d.*; for "driving of Lames" (lambs) to Sutton, 5*s.*

In 1654 paid to Henry Wright for felling the great tree, 1*s.* 6*d.*

He had probably by this time obtained the reputation of being a thoroughly substantial man, to whom it was perfectly safe to make a loan, as there is quite a formidable list of persons to whom he was indebted, with the sums due to each.

Veal was then 1*d.* a lb.

	£	s.	d.
A True and Perfect Account of the mony laid out by me for the Broucke at Pockruddon	0	10	0
Imprimis laid out for the Haruest—			
It. paid to the workmen for felling and for flailing (<i>sic</i>) of 39 yeards of Tann	0	7	6
It. paid to Richard Tayller 1 lod and 32 yeards of Tann	0	16	10
1656.			

October 23. It. payed to Jo. Democke for Burning of lime 2 0 0

The next entry is of considerable interest. It is the record of payment for education for son or nephew; the amounts have unfortunately not been filled in in the earlier instances, but we get them afterwards; the names written at the side are probably those of the schoolmasters to whose care they were committed. It should be remembered that £20 a year was considered at this time, and even in 1717, a handsome sum to defray a son's expenses at the University.†

Resbey:—

Payed for all Thomas his scowlinge till the 24 of december, 1656

* Richard Bax m. Ann Smallpeece, of Newdigate, co. Surrey, 25 Feb. 1666; Thomas Bax, jun., m. Ann Smallpeece, 15 April, 1681. There have been at least two matches between the Chasemores and the Baxes; one before 1622, when Joan Chasemore married Thomas Bax, and one in 1766, when Susannah, daughter of Richard Bax, of Newdigate, married Philip Chasemore, of Horsham. The Chasemores became very wealthy through dealing in cattle. Mr. Henry Chasemore, of Croydon, miller and banker, is the present head of the family.

† Vide *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, John Everenden, gentleman, paid (*circa* 1620) £1 a year for the schooling of his daughter Elizabeth, and £2 a year for his son Walter's education. Vide "Account Books of the Frewen and Everenden Families," by W. D. Cooper, *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. iv., p. 22.

fforman :—
 Payed for All Thomas his Boord, till the
 31st of January, 1656
 Paid for Thomas his scouling till the 24th
 June, 1657
 Paid for Thomas his scouling till the
 24th of December, 1658
 Jo. Daves. The 20th of September, 1655,
 did come to me to dwell.
 It. paid to Richard all his wadges for the
 last yeare
 It. paid to Nicklas all his wadges for the
 last yeare, 1655
 Richard Batcheller :—
 It. Rec. in 1657, Cralley fayree
 It. Rec. at one Tyme when he went to his
 mother December the 5th, 1657.

Oats in the year 1656 appear to have risen
 in those parts from 1s. to 2s. 6d. a bushel;
 many sales seem to have been effected at
 Dorking on Thursdays, then as now, the
 regular market-day. The following is highly
 amusing from its pompous diction :—

Knowe all men by these presents that wee whose
 names are heere under written doe Exknowledge our
 scellues ffulley scatisfied for the moeing and Racking
 & Binding of The Oeats at Greeces in the yeare
 1656.

will Scemond
 his mark
 Tho. Bull
 his mark.

He paid at this date to "Goody Pardoe
 for 2 dayes A wedinge for Thomas, 1s."; for
 "haiing" of the huckeffield, the Letell
 mead, Charlwood Croft, greate Meade,
 Rowles-garne and the gossvens (?), also for
 "1 day a haiing in the Cowleas, 8s. 8d.," to
 Dandey, for "3 days worke in the florist,
 5s. 6d.," and for "3 dayes at the Pound, 3s."
 On April the 10th, 1658, he gives the
 "Accountes of the money laid out by me for
 the hop-garne in the year 1658," total amounts
 to £26; besides that he "payed to Jo.
 Meiller for plantes, £6 5s., and to Ouleuer
 Neye for hop-poles eight hundred and a
 halfe, 8s. the hundred, £3 4s.

We next come upon further expenses for
 schooling.

It. payed for Thomas his Scouling till the
 24th of June, 1658
 It. payed for Thomas his Boord until the
 31st of Agust, 1658
 It. payed to Thomas fforman, Will his
 Bord from the 6th of January to the
 12th of July, the sum of
 It. payed to Thomas fforman for Thomas his
 Bord from the 31th of January to the
 12th of July the sume of

It. payed to Mr. hount for Will his scowl-
 ing
 It. payed to Mr. Neisbett for Thomas his
 Scowling until the 12th of July

The succeeding extract appears to me one
 of the most interesting in the book; it has
 reference to his expenses in London during
 a week spent there on account of his presence
 being required in connection with the Chan-
 cery suit of a certain Anthony Thorpe.*

March the 14th, 1658. The Accounts of the money
 laid out by me Toward the sute of Anthony
 Thorpe:—

Imprimus paid to Mr. Budgen for 2 nights
 liuing at lundon, & for the order

March the 29th, 1659—

It. payed to Mr. Raworth for his ffee and
 lucking (sic) the writtings

It. payed unto Scergeant Mainard† for his
 ffee

It. for goeing Ouer the water

It. for Draweing the Afe David‡

It. for the Oath

It. for Scerching the Supinaoses§

July the 26th, 1659.—

Ie did go to London for the order of Des-
 mecion for Anthoney Thorpe's sute in
 chanserey.

Mickallmas Terme, 1659:—

Munday, water

at the Einn

Munday, scoper||

Toosday water Tempell

water west to the Tempell

Toosday Denner

Toosday Scoper

Mr. Atkines his ffee

The Attachment against Thorp

water Tempell to west

at the Einn

wenesday Denner

wensday Atkines his ffee

wensday Scoper

Thursday water from Ouris¶ to Tempell

Atkines for p'te of his ffee

Denner a Thursday

* This suit was brought by Thorpe as agent of the
 Lord of the Manor, to prove that a part of Pleystowe
 was copyhold of the manor. In the end Richard Bax
 maintained his right to the whole as freehold.

† Sir John Maynard, an eminent statesman and
 lawyer, prosecutor of Strafford and Laud, afterwards
 an opponent of Cromwell, knighted at the Restora-
 tion, d. 1690.

‡ Affidavit. § Subpoenas. || Supper.

¶ The Church of St. Mary Overy, at the foot of
 London Bridge, a regular landing for boats, was no
 doubt established there. He probably lodged during
 the early part of the week at one of the numerous
 famous inns of Southwark.

	£	s.	d.
water from the Tempell to Ouris	0	0	3
scoper a Thursday	0	0	8
ffriday Denner	0	0	5
for p'at of Mr. Atkines fee	0	5	0
for Eintering the order	0	3	0
water from the Tempell to Ouris	0	0	3
scoper A ffriday	0	0	2
Saturday			
ffor Coping of the order	0	1	0
Dener a Saturday	0	0	6
water from the Tempell to Ouris	0	0	3
To Mr Spenner for the fee	0	3	6
ffor the horses for five nights	0	4	2

He was evidently, from what follows, an Overseer of the Poor in 1659.

The Accountes of the money Layed out by me in the yeare 1659 for the Relifs of the poore.

	£	s.	d.
It. for a warrant for Jo. Mearsh to Apeere before the Justeses at Darking	0	0	6
It. for consernieing the porre Booke	0	0	6
It. for another warrant for Jo. Marsh	0	0	6
It. for Expences at gellford concerning Anthoney Weller	0	1	2
It. paid to James hilles at 3 seuerall Times	0	15	0
It. payed to the widdo Lee at tow? sceuerall Times	0	7	6
It. paide to Edw. Gardyner for worke dun About the Almeshouse	0	2	6
It. payed to Jo. Wonham for 1 dayes worke About the Almeshous	0	1	4
It. paid to the widd. Lee	0	1	0
It. paid to the widd. Lee	0	1	0
It. Tho. Dandey had 1 bu. of wheat	0	7	0
It. mathew mesbrucke had 1 bu. of wheat	0	7	0
It. John Democke had at one Tyme	0	5	0
It. Rec. of Tho. Wonham	1	0	0
It. desporst to James Hill	0	5	0
It. to The widdo Lee	0	5	0
It. Rec. of Tho. Wonham	2	4	10
It. Jo. Wonham douth Oue unto me for Coffein (?) Borde	0	10	0

In the year 1661 "The Accounte Milles and Metchenors Work in the Roles" bears the signature of "Thomas Smallpeec."

Whether the following account at the end of the book, without date, but in the same hand as that at the beginning, has reference to the same Chancery suit already mentioned or not, remains uncertain:—

The accountes of the money which I have Desporst in Mr. Budgen's behalfe and my owne:—

	£	s.	d.
It. laied out for Will Wheller his going to London	0	3	0
It. for the Bayles fleese and the Eterney his fleese	0	8	0
It. for a line of wealle	0	2	0
It. to Mr. Thorp his Mann	0	10	0
It. to Mr. [blank]	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
It. to Will Wheeler	0	2	0
It. to Mr. Morgen	0	9	4
It. to Mr. Beerd	0	5	0
It. to Mr. Melles	0	4	0
It. for the horses	0	1	10
It. for beere to Mr. Aborne	0	0	6
It. to Mr. Aborne	1	0	0
It. going over the water	0	0	6
It. at the Einn	0	0	3
It. at one time alone for going over the water	0	0	3
It. at one time for a horse hier	0	5	0
It. at one time a dennor for Mr. Shockford and Mr. Aborne	0	1	0
It. at the same time for Mr. Thomas Maninges Draft	0	0	4

Anno. Dom. 1662.

The Accountes of the work Dunn in the Rowles as concern^{ing} the Browke.

	£	s.	d.
It. paid to Will. fieild for heuing of 8 lode of Tember			
It. paid to Thomas Whight for Scayinge in the Rowles	1	0	0

This is the last entry. The day and month are not given. It seems fair to conjecture that increasing infirmities compelled him to resign the management of his affairs, and, with them, of his accounts, into the hands of a younger and more vigorous man, perhaps his successor in the property and in the possession of the Account Book. We gather sufficient from entries which have been quoted to conclude that Richard Bax was a very good specimen of a thrifty and industrious yeoman of the seventeenth century, looking well after the prosperity of his farms, the successful disposal of his stock, keeping his accounts with regularity and diligence, and discharging conscientiously his duties as overseer of the poor, and in everything maintaining the principles of a Friend—rigid truthfulness in his dealings with his fellow-men, and a simplicity in manners and dress from which the majority of the nation had at that period of our history so grievously departed.

There can scarcely be a doubt that one of the earliest records of burial in the Pleystowe register of the Society of Friends has reference to the first owner of the Account Book. It is as follows:—"Richard Bax Sen^r of Capel, buried 30. 3. 1665 at Charlwood."



Reviews:

The Visitation of Wiltshire. 1623. Edited by GEORGE W. MARSHALL, LL.D. (London: George Bell & Sons. 1882.) Roy. 8vo, pp. iv.-109.

THERE is no need to enlarge upon the value of the old Heralds' Visitations, because no antiquary would be inclined to doubt it. We ought not to be content so long as any of these remain in MS., and therefore liable to total destruction. There are among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum Visitations of the five western counties, by St. George and Lennard, who acted as deputies to Camden. Cornwall and Devon were visited in 1620, and Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire in 1623. The visitations of Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset have been published by the Harleian Society. Dr. Marshall has undertaken Wiltshire on his own responsibility, and Dorset still requires an editor. A Book of Pedigrees is not easily reviewed, and we can only say that the editor has reproduced the work in a very handsome form, with two plates of arms, and has edited it with the conscientiousness which he is so famous. At the end of the book is a list which proves that the visit of Richmond and Bluemantle to Wiltshire did not give universal satisfaction. This is "a note of all such as have usurped the names and titles of gentlemen without authority, and were disclaimed at Salisbury in the county of Wiltshire in Sept. a^o 1623." This contains fifty-two names described as *ignobiles omnes*.

Studies in Nidderdale: upon Notes and Observations other than Geological made during the Progress of the Government Geological Survey of the District, 1867-1872. By JOSEPH LUCAS. (London: Elliot Stock. No date.) 8vo, pp. xxvi.-292.

If every other member of the Geological Survey had possessed a little of the ability to "make a note of" things found exhibited by Mr. Lucas in this very admirable book, what really national work would have been accomplished! With just a sprinkling of theory throughout the work, Mr. Lucas has contrived to get together some of the most out-of-the-way facts connected with the old ways and doings and sayings of the Nidderdale folk. Every page almost takes us back to a past so remote that it is only by having survived in the present that the historian can learn anything about it. Mr. Lucas has disdained no information, and accordingly some of the very smallest trifles, only to be found in such rare books as this, are eagerly picked up by the student of ancient times. Thus the glimpses into the old houses, the position or absence of the chimneys of the fire-places, the ancient ovens or "bak stones," are precious morsels of the prehistoric home which can only be obtained by actual observation. Then there are facts connected with the old cultivating customs of the primitive village community—the "reins," as they are known at Wardermarske and elsewhere—though on this subject Mr. Lucas seems to have gone a little wild in his obser-

ventions. And finally there are some gathered scraps of old customs and superstitions, and an admirable collection of the dialects and natural history notes of Nidderdale. We do not say one word too much in expressing our unqualified gratitude for such a collection of good notes, and we cordially recommend our readers to make themselves acquainted with this admirable specimen of an antiquary's "Note-book."

The Prophecies of the Brahan Seer. By ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. *With an Appendix on the Superstition of the Highlanders.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER MACGREGOR. (Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie. 1882.) 12mo, pp. iii.-156.

This is the third edition of a well-known little work. Kenneth Mackenzie, better known as Coinneach Odhar, the Brahan Seer, was born in the Island of Lewis about the beginning of the seventeenth century. When he had just entered his teens, he received a magical stone in an extraordinary manner, and thus began his career as a prophet. What he prophesied, and the results of the prophecies, we shall not detail here; but there is undoubtedly a great deal of curious matter in this little book for those who love folk-lore, but we suppose, if the contemporaries of the seer believed in his prophetic powers, we may be excused. We should much like to see some one take up this subject in the same way as Mr. Thoms has taken up longevity. The story of the Seaforth family is the most interesting. But, it is a pity that a book capable of giving so much curious information should be so wretchedly edited. Misprints abound, and, in one place, the pagination is wrong, and the narrative consequently misplaced.

Report of the Proceedings of the Teign Naturalist's Field Club for the Year 1881. (Exeter: William Pollard. 1882.) 8vo, pp. 18.

This is a record of a very carefully and usefully arranged system of excursions to the antiquities of the surrounding neighbourhood, and we cordially give our opinion of the value of such excellent societies. There are Papers on the earthworks on Milber Down, remarks on the landing of the Prince of Orange at Brixham, and on the local names of wild flowers.

Unwritten History and How to Read it: a Lecture to the Working Classes, delivered at the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Southampton, August, 1882. By JOHN EVANS. (London: Virtue & Co. 1882.) 8vo, pp. 23.

No subject could have been better suited for the workmen's lectures at Southampton than this, and Mr. Evans was essentially the right man to deliver it. From the peculiarity of the position of Southampton, it has been occupied from pre-historic times throughout all successive stages of history, and the finds gathered from the neighbourhood, and placed in the Hartley Institute, formed valuable illustrations to Mr. Evans's observations. Mr. Evans placed the facts clearly and succinctly before his audience, and the reprint forms an admirable summary of the subject.

The Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art. Twenty-first Meeting. 1882. Address by J. BROOKING ROWE, President. (Plymouth: W. Brendon & Sons.) 8vo, pp. 88.

This Address mainly deals with the topography of Devonshire, and it admirably points out what has been done, and what there is to do, towards the compilation of a history of Devonshire. The Address is a valuable contribution to local history; and its appendices, giving lists of MSS. relating to Devon, lists of histories of towns, &c., lists of monuments, dedications of churches, are such useful bibliographical information as do not often accompany president's addresses.

Proverbe Romanilor. English Proverbs. Proverbes Français. Deutsche Sprichwörter. (London: Kerby & Endean. Bucuresci. 1882.) 12mo, pp. viii-64.

This little book is a useful addition to the literature of proverbs. The object which the compiler, Mrs. E. B. Mawer, has had in view is to collect a certain number of Roumanian proverbs, and place side by side with these corresponding ones in English, French, and German. This is an undertaking which always repays the trouble spent in carrying it out. Our opinion of the wisdom of a proverb is naturally increased when we find it in several languages. The author proposes to enlarge the book in a future edition, and asks for help in respect to French and German proverbs.

Old Carnarvon: a Historical Account of the Town of Carnarvon, with notices of the Parish Churches of Llanbeblig and Llanfaglan. By W. H. JONES. (Carnarvon: E. Humphreys.) Sm. 8vo, pp. 186.

No one who has ever seen Carnarvon Castle is likely to forget it, and we shall most of us agree with the words of the chronicler, Speed, who wrote, "Great pitie it is that so famous a work should not be perpetual, or ever become a ruin of time." In more ways than one the Castle overshadows the town, but the history of the latter is of very great interest in itself. Mr. Jones has illustrated his little book with a copy of Speed's interesting plan of Carnarvon, 1610, and with illustrations of several of the old buildings. The author has given a very interesting account of the town and its Castle, in which he traces the various vicissitudes both have undergone, and he has added much curious information respecting old customs and old people. There is a street of no particular importance called Hole-in-the-Wall Street, but Mr. Jones has found this spelled in an old assessment of the town taken just a century ago, "Hall-in-the-Wall Street," which points to the situation of the Gild Hall within its precincts, and gives a very probable origin for the name.

Visits to Remarkable Places. By WILLIAM HOWITT.

The illustrations designed and executed by Samuel Williams. New edition. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1882.) Sm. 8vo, pp. xvi.-468.

History is never better studied than on the spots where its incidents have been enacted, and no country

is richer in such remarkable places than our own island. But half the benefit to be obtained from such visits will be lost if we have not an intelligent guide. Mr. Howitt's tastes have taken him to many places of interest, and these are described in such a manner that this book will always form an exceedingly pleasant companion for any one visiting the same places. We start off with Penshurst, for ever associated with the Sidneys, and hence linked with the most delightful memories. Culloden follows, then Stratford-on-Avon, and after visits to a few places in the south, such as Hampton Court, Tintagel, and Winchester, we find most of the other places in the north. In the advertisement prefixed to this edition, we are told "that Mr. Howitt describes these scenes as he saw them forty years ago, and that lapse of time may have affected their aspect, though it has not changed or diminished their historical interest." There are other points which show that this book was written forty years ago; for instance, the estimate of historical characters is not altogether the estimate of to-day; thus we read that Cromwell was a precious hypocrite, and that Algernon Sidney was a model of Roman virtue; but this is merely by the way, for Mr. Howitt is too pleasant a companion and too favourite an author to be criticized after this manner. The book is very prettily got up.

The History and Antiquities of Colchester Castle. (Colchester: Benham & Co. 1882.) 8vo, pp. 148.

This excellent little book does much more than demolish the monstrous theory of the Roman origin of Colchester Castle; it establishes in a clear and forcible manner that it is not Roman, not Saxon, but Norman, and it performs this work by going thoroughly into the history of the place from original documents. The most interesting chapter in the book, so far as its express purpose as a guide is concerned, is that devoted to a description of the Castle, which goes into the matter so minutely and graphically, and yet so pleasantly, that it cannot but remain the standard guide for all time. The author gives his readers, too, a glimpse outside the bare walls of the Castle, the chapters devoted to views from the Castle, the descent and demesnes of the Castle, being full of unusually instructive information. We may note that Lammas lands exist at Colchester.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

British Archæological Association.—Aug. 21-28.—Plymouth.—The proceedings commenced with a reception, held in the Guildhall, by the Mayor of Plymouth. The regalia, consisting of maces, silver-gilt, of the time of Queen Anne, and other articles, were then inspected and commented upon

by Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., who described the peculiarities of the workmanship. A silver-gilt cup of artistic design and old date, out of which Drake and many other of Plymouth's worthies must have drunk, was greatly admired. The archives of the Corporation were then described by Mr. R. N. Worth. The old cucking-stool, of wrought iron, was produced for the inspection of the party, who then proceeded to the parish church of St. Andrew, formerly a dependency upon the priory of Plympton. An ancient building at the south-east corner of the churchyard, known popularly as the "Abbey," but which has no written record, was most probably the clergy house. It is said to be attached to the church by a subterranean passage into a fifteenth-century crypt beneath the chancel. The old Custom House, dated 1637, was then inspected, a curious example of the lingering of an earlier style in the west of England, the four centred doorways, of granite, being similar to several in the neighbouring buildings fully 200 years older. The church of Charles was also visited. A halt was made at the church of Buckland Monachorum, a fine specimen of enriched Perpendicular work, executed in granite, the columns in the interior of the building being worked each out of a single stone. There is a fine tower, with pinnacles of the usual Devonshire type, at the west end; but within many of the ordinary features of the local buildings give place to more ornate work than is generally met with, the window tracery being extremely good. Sir James A. Picton traced the connection between the family of the Drakes with the Heathfields, and pointed out the beautiful monument in the chapel in memory of Lord Heathfield, the brave defender of Gibraltar. The party then proceeded to Prince's Town, to examine the pre-historic remains which abound in the district. The evening of the 22nd was devoted to the reading of Papers, the Athenæum having been placed at the disposal of the Association for the purpose by the Plymouth Institution. A Paper was read by Sir J. A. Picton on "The Municipal Records of England, illustrated by those of Liverpool." Another Paper, on various incidents of Sir Francis Drake's voyage round the world, was read by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szymma. The small size of Drake's ships was particularly emphasized, the largest being about the average size of a modern collier. This was followed by a third Paper, by Dr. Drake, on "The Antiquity of the Armorial Bearings of the Family," and various differences were passed in review. Wednesday was devoted to visits to Dartmouth and Totnes. The church of St. Saviour was examined, and described by Mr. Loftus Brock, in the unavoidable absence of the Rev. E. C. Brittan. It is a cruciform church, with aisles to both nave and chancel, and a plain western tower, the main portion of the fabric having been erected in the fourteenth century, and consecrated October 13, 1372. Colonel Bramble explained the costume of the very fine Hawley brass in the chancel (1408). The ancient houses in the Butter Walk were then inspected, while some of the party paid a visit to Dartmouth Castle and the ancient church of St. Petrock. On the return journey, a lengthy visit was paid to Totnes Church, a building of considerable size and much artistic beauty.

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Here Mr. Windeatt supplied many interesting items of information from local documents, &c., among which were references to the building of the tower about 1432. The magnificent stone rood screen was erected by the corporation in the thirty-eighth year of Henry VI. Passing into the old Gildhall of the town, the party was received by the mayor, Mr. Harris. The building is a quaint structure, dating from the time of Edward VI. Within it a great number of deeds and documents were laid out and described by Mr. Windeatt at length, many notices of important historical events being rendered. Mr. C. H. Compton described the ancient charters, which were passed in review with the originals, and Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., discoursed upon the two silver-gilt maces and the loving cup of the corporation. The visit was brought to a close by the inspection of the ruins of the castle. This is a circular shell keep on a conical mound, artificially shaped, the masonry being pronounced by Mr. Brock to be no earlier than the thirteenth century, although the earthworks may be of very great antiquity. The ruins belong to the Duke of Somerset, and have been planted with trees and laid out as a recreation ground. On Thursday the archaeologists proceeded to Lidford. The church of Lidford is a small building, but possessing points of much interest. Part of the north side of the nave is of remote antiquity, and the plain cylindrical font dates probably from Saxon times. The building is dedicated to St. Petrock. The stairs to the rood-loft alone remain, and there is the peculiarity of a hagioscope cut through the lower steps. Mr. R. N. Worth rendered an interesting description of the now decayed town of Lidford, which was of extent and importance in Saxon times, having a mint, and apparently a large population. The castle adjoins the churchyard, and there the party inspected a square keep of no great elevation, erected on a bold circular conical mound of earth. The arches are round-headed and segmental pointed. Mr. Worth narrated his interesting discovery of a series of important and extensive earthworks which entirely surround the town. They consist of a massive rampart and an outer ditch, and their appearance fully justifies the belief that they are the remains of a British fortified town. Passing close to Brent Tor and its ancient church dedicated to St. Michael, the party proceeded to Tavistock. Here the church of St. Eustacius was inspected. Mr. Loftus Brock referred to the fact that the building was mentioned as being dedicated to this saint so early as 1184, and that it was until then separate from the great abbey of Tavistock close to it. A perambulation was then made of the site of the celebrated abbey, aided by notes and a plan prepared by Mr. Rundle, of Tavistock. The church, which was of great size, stood almost in the centre of the present Bedford Road; the office is on the site of the chapter-house, and the sites of the other conventual buildings were fairly well made out. This visit was brought to a close by the inspection of the well-known Romano-British inscribed stones in the vicarage gardens, which were found to be in fairly good state, although standing in the open air. In the evening the following papers were read:—1. "On the Finding of an Early Statue at Abbotskerswell Church," by Mr. J. Phillips. It had been found embedded in the wall of the building during restora-

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tion. 2. "The Early History of Plymouth," by Mr. R. N. Worth, in which attention was drawn to recent discoveries, showing that an early British race must have occupied the site. 3. "Robert Blake, Colonel and General at Sea, 1657," by Mr. E. G. Bennett, in which many of the exploits of the gallant sailor were passed in review. 4. "The Exeter Book," by Mr. D. Slater, in which the claims of a new translation of this important Saxon work were advocated. On Friday a large party proceeded to Dartington Hall. The style of the work tallies with the recorded history, the mansion having been erected in the reign of Richard II., whose badge appears on the vaulted roof of the entrance porch. It has consisted of an outer quadrangle, a fine central hall, dividing it from an outer court, the principal apartments having been in the latter, but only a few traces of walling remain here and there. The hall is unroofed and mantled with ivy, but its fair proportions can be traced, and the position of the dais, minstrel's gallery, passage way to kitchen, &c., made out. A wide open fireplace exists at the end of the hall, while in the rear, on the opposite side, is the kitchen. The outer quadrangle still retains many of its buildings, including the retainers' hall, near to the site of the original entrance, and it is still covered by its open timber roof. The next halt was made at Berry Pomeroy Church, a fine and characteristic specimen of a Devonshire church, with a capital porch having a vaulted roof and a room over it, a good western tower built "battering," and an unusually good oak screen, coloured and gilt, extending from wall to wall across the chancel. Proceeding onwards Berry Pomeroy Castle was reached. It consists of a mass of late Tudor buildings, grouped around an inner court, and surrounded by an escarped bank of great height, there being but one approach. This is a gateway with spaces for two portcullises and two flanking towers. Mr. C. Lynam related the history of the building within the inner court, and the party then perambulated the remains, which are very extensive and imposing. The next halt was made at Compton Castle, a building partly in ruins, of early fifteenth-century date, of a very different plan, more resembling Dartington Hall, since it had a quadrangular court enclosed by walls in front of the principal block of buildings which divide it from a second court in the rear. The buildings consist of the remains of the chapel, some of the best rooms, and nearly the whole of those for domestic purposes. Mr. C. H. Compton read a Paper on the families connected with the castle and described it. The only other Paper read was "Notes on the Cornish Language and its Survival in the Cornish Dialect," by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma. On Saturday the first place visited was Slade Hall, the seat of Mr. J. D. Spode, who described the building. The hall has an open timber roof of the early part of the seventeenth century, very similar in design, however, to one seen at Plymouth Priory of the fifteenth century, affording evidence of the continuance of old designs in the locality. Passing on to Cornwood Church, the building was examined and commented upon by Mr. Brock. It is a double-aisled building, the aisles, north and south, having transepts. The tower at the west end is a portion of an older church, doubtless of smaller size, the

growth of the building to its present proportions being pointed out stage by stage. The next halt was made at Fardell, an ancient manor-house, mainly of fifteenth-century date, now used as a farmhouse. On the return to Plymouth the closing meeting was held at the Gildhall. Papers were read: by Mr. W. H. Cope, "On Old Plymouth China;" another, "On a Ruined Holy Well, dedicated to St. Julian at Rome," by Mr. J. Hine; and a third, by Mr. C. H. Compton, "On the Gilberts and Comptons of Compton Castle." The extra day's proceedings, Monday, the 28th, were under the guidance of Mr. F. Brent. A visit was paid to the old citadel of Plymouth, the last of the seventeenth-century fortifications still intact in England, on the site of ramparts of the thirteenth century, and that of the old Chapel of St. Catherine. Besides these, the site was probably that of a prehistoric settlement. The remains of the ancient Castle gateways in Cambhay Street were then inspected, probably not too soon for the preservation of a record of their existence, since they will soon be swept away for the purposes of public improvement. Mount Batten was reached. Mr. Brent called attention to the fact that the spot was in all probability the seat of an early Celtic race, since large numbers of flint flakes have been found from time to time, while the continuance of the settlement to a later period appears to be proved by the numbers of British coins, in silver, gold, and copper, which have been found.

Bucks Archaeological Society.—August 3.—After an interval of two years the members of this Society had an excursion. On reaching Wycombe they set out for the site of the ancient camp called Desborough Castle. The camp consists of a double entrenchment, with a deep fosse on the outside, the inner slope of the ditch being so raised as to form a high bank towards the interior. Of Desborough Castle nothing remains but the name, but in the centre of the position is a considerable mound which evidently formed a stronghold in some primitive warfare. On this the company assembled to hear a description by Mr. R. S. Downs, of Wycombe. Mr. Downs explained that the origin of the camp was altogether conjectural, but there was clear evidence of a British village having existed in the immediate vicinity. The position of the mound rendered it highly probable that it was originally formed for religious purposes by the early Celts; but there was good reason to believe that it was afterwards used in warfare for the purpose of resisting an attack from invaders passing along the road beneath. The place was described in Domesday Book as "Dusten-burg." Mr. John Parker inclined to the view that the camp was British, and was used by the Saxons after their triumph in the district. The Mayor of Wycombe stated that British coins had been found in the neighbourhood. Leaving the camp the party repaired to a field in the vicinity, in which they found a large, circular, cup-shaped excavation, about 20ft. in depth, called "The Roman Well," but occupying a position which precludes the probability of its having been employed for the purpose of drawing water. Like the former relic, its history is veiled in an obscurity which no antiquarian labours can satisfactorily fathom. They drove through the town of Wycombe,

till the Grammar School was reached. Here the remains of the old St. John's Hospital, which exist in the midst of the school-building, were inspected. An interesting description was given by Mr. John Parker. The hall, it was stated, was supposed to have been erected in 1175, and the institution was an asylum for poor persons, who lived in the one apartment day and night. Like many similar institutions on the Continent, it was under the rule of St. Austin. The theory that the hospital was connected with the Knights Templars was shown to be an error; it was not an ecclesiastical building. It was explained that the hospital got into private hands in the time of Edward VI., but that Elizabeth re-granted the building to the town for a grammar school, to which purpose it was afterwards devoted. Passing through the modern structure which has been built on to the remains, the visitors were favoured with the view of four remarkably fine pillars, alternately round and octagonal, supporting semicircular arches 13ft. in diameter, which formed part of the old fabric. Such handsome relics of Norman architecture would rarely be met with in a non-ecclesiastical building. The porch was shown to contain four transitional Norman pillars, and the oven anciently used by the inmates—which was discovered some years ago—was found fixed in one of the walls. The next visit was paid to Penn Church, a plastered building, of the Perpendicular style, dating from the fifteenth century. Over this they were conducted by the Vicar of Penn, the Rev. J. Grainger, who pointed out its principal features, including a large sarcophagus, five fine old brasses, of the sixteenth century, and some tablets of interest. One of the brasses depicts a lady in a shroud, who by the inscription below is made not only to pray for the salvation of her own soul, but asks "unto the souls of all true believers departed remission of their sins"—a form of words which, the Vicar observed, indicated the state of transition of the popular mind at the period with reference to prayers for the dead, being shortly after the passing of the Six Articles. The connection of the family of Pen—as it is spelt on the monumental tablets—was referred to, and it was stated that six grandchildren of William Penn, of Pennsylvania, were interred in the church. After a visit to the exceedingly handsome little church of Tyler's Green, with its ornate chancel and reredos, the travellers took a drive to Hughenden. The Vicar, the Rev. H. Blagden, favoured the company with an interesting description of the stone effigies of members of the De Montfort family of four centuries—from the Crusading period to the reign of Henry VI.—interred beneath the church, among them being a son of the famous Simon de Montfort. Mr. R. S. Downs had prepared a Paper on "The Danes in Bucks."

Record Society.—Annual Meeting, August 22. —Mr. James Crossley in the chair. The report for the year 1881-82 stated that two volumes had been delivered to the members since the last annual meeting—namely, the Parish Registers of Prestbury, Cheshire, edited by Mr. James Croston, F.S.A., and a volume of Lancashire and Cheshire Funeral Certificates, 1600 to 1678, edited by Mr. J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A. Volumes vii. and viii. of the Society's publications are printed, and only require to be indexed

and bound, so that they will be in the hands of the members before the end of the year. In them will be found a very comprehensive account of the various classes of records relating to Lancashire and Cheshire to be found in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, illustrated by numerous examples of many of the documents referred to, and by valuable lists of names both of persons and places belonging to the two counties. These books have been edited by Mr. Walford D. Selby, of the Public Record Office, who has divided his materials into two parts. Volume vii. deals with (1) the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster, with special reference to the Lancashire and Cheshire manors belonging to it; (2) the Records of the Palatinate of Lancashire; and (3) those of the Superior and Abolished Courts, as far as they relate to the two counties, the value of each class of records being as far as possible shown by examples of the various and important documents they contain. Volume viii. deals with the various indices to the Records which have from time to time been compiled, together with such special classes of documents as Special Commissions, Licences and Pardons, and Royalist Composition Papers, all of which throw much new light on the past history of the two counties, and indicate the best sources of information to be consulted by those working at either local or family history. Volume ix., the concluding volume for the year 1882-3, will contain verbatim transcripts of the Gild Rolls of Preston, beginning with the earliest now preserved, that of 1397 down to 1682. This volume, which will be edited by Mr. W. A. Abram, is now in the printer's hands. Volume x. will be the Index to the North Lancashire Wills, proved at Richmond, county York, announced in the last report. It will contain the list of these wills down to the year 1690, and will be edited by Lieutenant-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A., and this volume will be followed in due course by another, which will bring down the list of wills to the year 1743. Mr. J. A. C. Vincent's report on the Lancashire Subsidy Rolls has been delayed, owing to the discovery of several hitherto uncalendared documents, which bring up the number of Lancashire lay subsidies to about 400. It is hoped that this volume may appear at an early date. The Council are endeavouring to arrange for a volume of Miscellanies, and it is also hoped that the Early Marriage Licences at Chester, beginning in 1606, will shortly be printed by the Society.

Royal Archaeological Institute.—Aug 5.—The members visited Hexham. The party walked to the Royal Grammar School, founded by charter of Queen Elizabeth in the year 1599, but now left desolate by the removal of the school to a more modern structure at the west end of the town. Mr. C. C. Hodges gave a short historical sketch of the building, which has few architectural features of special interest except the position of the *fleur de lis* over the doorway. Passing beneath the archway of the Moot Hall, the party crossed the Market-place to the vacant plot of ground on the west side of the south transept of the Abbey Church, originally the cloister garden, in the centre of the Priory. Here Mr. Hodges gave a *résumé* of the principal historical events connected with the monastic buildings, explaining as he went along the features of interest in the adjacent ruins.

With regard to the antiquity of the site, he said it could be traced back with tolerable certainty to the period of the Roman occupation. About 674 St. Wilfrid obtained from Etheldrida, wife of King Egfrid, King of Northumbria, and daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles, her marriage dowry, consisting of lands in the neighbourhood, and with this endowment he founded a Saxon Cathedral, which was destroyed by the Danes in 875, and the only traces of which were an ancient crypt below the present church. The bishopric of Hexham terminated in 822. A second church was founded on the site of St. Wilfrid's by Thomas II., Archbishop of York, for Canons Regular of St. Austin, early in the 12th century. Passing round to the site of the nave, now known locally as the Campy Hill, Mr. Hodges pointed out a base of one of the pillars, which, he said, was unique as to the section of its moulding, so far as he knew, in this country. The nave does not appear to have been built before 1296. Mr. Hodges is of opinion that while the work was commenced about that time it was never actually completed. At all events, there are no traces of stones having been thrown down; there are no stone chippings to be found; and there was only one moulded stone found. The church enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary, the boundaries of the sanctuary being indicated by four crosses erected on the south, north, east, and west sides of the town. On the north side the cross stood in the river, and at the present time there is, about two miles from Hexham, on the Cross Bank, a piece of a sanctuary cross. The cross on the south side probably stood on the Gallows Bank. The spot where it stood on the east side is definitely known, and a portion of the cross is to be seen in Hexham Workhouse. On the west side of the town there is a place called "Maiden Cross," where the fourth cross is supposed to have stood. On gaining the sanctuary an offender was protected until such time as he was able to make an expiation of his offence, which the state of the law then required. The party then left the site of the nave and entered the church by the door of the south transept. Passing along to the north transept, Mr. Hodges described, by means of a ground plan, the general outline of the buildings. Entering the choir, he pointed out on the north side of where the high altar had stood the Frid or Frithstool—a stone chair in which offenders flying from justice sought refuge. Returning to the transepts, Mr. Hodges pointed out and described a large Roman slab, which was recently found in the Slype, when excavations were being made with the object of discovering a crypt which was supposed to exist under that portion of the church. Mr. Tucker (*Somerset Herald*) made some remarks on the paintings that adorn the vestry screen, and the Baron de Cosson, pointing to an old and battered sallet, suspended from a bracket on the north side of the choir, said it clearly dated from the end of the fifteenth century, probably 1480. He pointed out that it had no very remarkable features except a "reinforcing piece" over the forehead. Mr. Hodges said there was a tradition that the helmet was that of Sir John de Fenwick, who was killed at the battle of Marston Moor, in 1644. His skull was preserved, and in it was an aperture which corresponded with

the hole in the helmet. The visitors subsequently inspected the Moot Hall. Mr. Hodges said the Moot Hall had been built about the year 1400, but by whom or for what purpose there were no records to show. At a meeting of a mixed section held at night in the Museum, Carlisle, the Rev. G. Rome-Hall offered some observations connected with remains of archaeological interest examined by him during excursions in the secluded valley of the river Gelt, which is well known to antiquaries in its lower reaches, through the famous written rock. Mr. Hall first dealt with some "culture terraces" between the How Gill or Tarnmouth Burn, an affluent of the Gelt, which are considered to have been used by the early inhabitants of Britain for their limited cereal cultivation. These terraces, he said, are about twenty or twenty-five feet high, and eighty yards in length, and were formed to prevent both soil and seed from being washed down the declivities of valley basins, where the rainfall would in ancient times be much more considerable than at present. After giving a list of these embankments to be found in the district, Mr. Hall pointed out that on an outlying spur of Castle Carrock, part of the Cross Fell Range, there remained many traces of some of the peculiar pit dwellings which are found in Yorkshire and Wiltshire, and which are considered to be the habitations of the ancient Britons of a type anterior to those of the more usual "hut circles," with their surrounding defensive ditches and ramparts commonly called camps. Some of these were placed close to Garth Foot House, and others at Cardunock or Cardunmeth Pike. Descending into the plains many traces of early habitations were also found—an ancient earthwork existing near the village of Hayton—while about seven miles eastwards from Carlisle a hamlet called the How, and the adjoining corn-mill and railway station, derived their name from the great earthwork under whose pine-clad circular slopes the village rests. Mr. Hall also mentioned the discovery of many ancient implements and weapons, which gave glimpses of the habits and customs of our ancient British ancestors. The rev. gentleman also read a Paper on "Romano-British Towns."

Somersetshire Archaeological Society.—Annual Meeting at Chard.—August 15-19.—Through the efforts of the local committee a splendid museum of objects of natural history and of archaeological interest was open at the Town Hall. The most remarkable collection was that of Mr. C. J. Elton, of Churchstaunton, who sent a quantity of palæolithic and neolithic implements, twenty-four of the former being from the drift in the valley of the Axe, and the latter being from a lacustrine deposit at Zurich, and a greenstone or neophite weapon from New Caledonia. Amongst some Greek curiosities sent by Mr. Elton were terra-cotta heads from figures found at Cyrene, about 300 years B.C. A few interesting specimens of ancient Chinese enamels and other curiosities, samples of early printed books and bindings, &c., including Solomon and Marculf, Juvenal, Aristænetus, Voyage de Balaruc, &c., from the Hamilton and Sunderland collections, Scandinavian silver used by the peasantry, consisting of silver porridge-spoons, a peg tankard, small bowls, &c.; Zulu and Kafir war weapons, assegais, battle-axes,

and other savage implements of war were sent by the same gentleman. Sir Edward Strachey, of Ashwick Grove, sent a collection of fourteen little gods; two swords, with enamelled scabbards; a dagger, with a handle from which diamonds had been extracted; and a variety of other articles from India; some illustrated books from Persia, and some specimens of Persian poetry; the hair of a Fiji woman, who had been scalped; a chalice and part of a stone coffin that were in the palace at Wells. Two pieces of Etruscan pottery, three Roman coins, and three pieces of vitrified material for tessellated pavement were contributed by Mr. E. Rodd. Two curiosities were supplied by Mr. Evans, one a deed of grant from the Bishop of Exeter to the Abbot of Forde, of four pounds per annum, payable out of the vicarage of Thorncombe, dated 1229; and a deed relating to Forde Abbey of the time of Charles the First. The borough charter was sent by the Corporation; and a toast-and-ale jug, bearing date 1631, and a caricature of the landing of Sir John Bull and his family at Boulogne-sur-Mer, were exhibited by Mr. Toms. Mr. Powlesland sent an exceedingly rare and valuable collection, which consisted of some palæolithic implements, discovered in the valley of the Axe; neolithic implements, principally from the midland counties, and a variety of implements of the Bronze Period, discovered in Notts, Lincoln, and Somerset, amongst the latter being a few amber beads, British spears, &c.—The President, Mr. J. Elton, delivered an address. He desired to speak about the history of man in this part of the world; and in those hills that history went back to a very vast antiquity indeed. The wild hunter tribes chased the wild horse and ox, or fought with the hyæna, the lion, or the bear. Geologists had made it certain that Somersetshire and the hills that bounded it were certainly 100 fathoms higher than they were now, and it was supposed that there were vast grassy plains where now the Bristol Channel is, where the wild beasts lived; and they knew their dens in Wookey Hill and the Mendips, where large troops of hyænas and bears lived and dragged their prey up to their rocky fastnesses. Banwell Cave was full of the débris of the ruminants which those carnivora had gathered together. He once, some years ago, took an interest in that part of the subject, and in the first dawning of history and organized life of man in the island, and searched about in the caves, and on the other side of the Channel there was a limestone cave which, he understood, had never been broken up. He organized a little party and broke up the floor. In the inner cave, under a mass of stalactite, they found the remains of an enormous bear, as large as a modern horse. They took away half the bear and presented the remains to the University College at Oxford, and he read a Paper on the subject to the Ashmolean Society, and there the matter rested. The question he put to himself was, What did they know of the great hunters of those remote times? They knew of them chiefly by drawings, which gave them some clue as to what these hunters were like. He had seen in France the picture of a man standing by a mammoth, and another picture of a man hunting a wild bull. The man was tall, Roman-nosed, and

extremely hairy. He seemed to be of enormous strength and of low intellectual capacities. But they knew nothing more about these men; the ice came down from the North Pole and glaciers covered the country, and man shrunk away to more Southern climates, and that history closed, and they had no clue that they were connected with those hunters. They came next to men who were the pioneers from Asia, and came creeping up the valleys and estuaries, and they crossed England from the Yorkshire Wolds to the Blackdown Hills, and on to Cornwall, and no doubt into Ireland. Those were the people who made the long barrows of which they had many examples in Somersetshire. Of them they knew a little more; they were slight, dark, with long heads, which had caused the proverb "Long barrows and long heads; round barrows and round heads." The women's heads and bones were in an extraordinary degree smaller than those of the men, which showed they had not much to eat; and that the men took what there was and left the women very little. Mr. Barnes, of Dorsetshire, had described in an admirable way the life of those pastoral tribes of the West, and he had told them where in the oaken wood and in a smiling valley a little group of beehive huts could be seen, where the women were washing flannel or putting linen on a string. Above their huts was the line of hills, which was a guard in time of war. These barrows were the chief things neolithic tribes left them. In the barrows they found some slight details which would help them to realize their mode of life. There were pottery, wrought lines drawn upon it, their scrapers of flint that they dressed the hides with, and many other bone and stone implements, which showed what kind of savages they were. They also found some amber ornaments; a gold stud on a breastplate was the highest effort of their art. They now came to a much more important time. Some time before the Romans came here commerce began. A tribe of men, whom they called the Bronze Age men, coming from the Baltic shore, struck on our island at several points and introduced bronze. They had weapons and instruments of all kinds, and probably became extremely civilized. When they came to a couple of hundred years before Christ, the Greek travellers began to have intercourse with the island, and one who came to Cornwall said the inhabitants were extremely fond of strangers, and that they were as civilized as any people he had ever met. Their trade did not remain at the point at which it began. They bartered with the Continental people. An extensive trade began with Brittany, on the opposite coast. One of the reasons why the Romans made war was that the English helped the Continental people against the Romans. The President then went on to speak of the Greeks, and said that in digging for antiquities of the Ptolemy kind it was quite clear that the Levantine sailors, for a couple of centuries before Christ, and a couple of centuries after, had intercourse with Britain. There was no doubt that they had ports at Plymouth, Exeter, and other places. These Bronze Age Britons lived on the hills, for at that time the plains were lakes and the valleys marshes. There was probably hardly a part of Somerset that was not covered with the sea. On the hills were found their tools of different kinds, and the

barrows in which they buried their dead. They burned the rich, put their ashes in a pot in the centre of the barrow, and there were generally other bodies thrown along anyhow. The President remarked that the Bronze Age of civilization brought them to a well-known period. When the Romans came they found the people in that stage—only, of course, improving as they always had been. In Sussex and Gloucestershire they found some iron, and it was very probable that they also found some there. At Combe St. Nicholas and Whitestaunton they had a large quantity of "slag," of which he had a sample. A hundred years after the time of Julius Caesar came the Roman legions to the west. It was known that they came to the Mendips from the inscription found at Wookey. Then Somersetshire began to have an existence. They commenced embanking the rivers to keep out the sea, and they made roads. They made a road from Exeter to Bath, which was a most important city, and was probably held for the purposes of trade, with a small garrison to keep the people in awe and collect the taxes. They also made a road from Seaton to join that road. He described the construction of the Roman villas, which he said were generally found near a river, owing to their fondness for bathing. This brought them to the British period, when King Ina came into Somerset, and when the Gauls set to work embanking the rivers. The exact process of the conquest was not known, but it was probably the conquest of very small districts, or what they would call two or three parishes. Looking down upon the vale of Somerset, over the top of which they were standing, they looked down upon one of those little districts, a district where the people retained the ancient laws of their own. The custom that the wife should inherit from the husband, the husband from the wife, and the younger brother before the elder, was unique. Besides having a code of laws of their own, they appeared to have a tribe or division of their own, which still remained. The five Hundreds of Taunton Deane were not Hundreds in the sense in which the term was now used. They were the little Hundreds of Taunton Deane.

[The remainder of our report will appear next month.]

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—August 30.—The Rev. E. H. Adamson in the chair.—Dr. Bruce said the members would no doubt have noticed as they entered the hall that night the old horsing stone standing at the door. It had stood for many years in front of the Golden Lion Inn, Bigg Market, and had now been presented to the Society by Mr. Pape, of Collingwood Street. He thought it was an antiquity, and that the Society should thank Mr. Pape for his kindness. While on the subject he might mention that the old stone which Hutton spoke of in his book, and which had a bagpiper sculptured on it, had been formed into a horsing stone; and was now in one of the inn yards at Carlisle.—Mr. Hodges said he believed the Society had a committee formed to preserve as far as possible the old buildings in Newcastle, but it required a committee also, he thought, to preserve engravings of them. Within the past few weeks two of the oldest houses in the city had disappeared from the Bigg Market. The houses would be, he thought, of the time of Henry VIII.

Mr. Holmes said there had been a drawing made of the houses before they were destroyed. After further remarks, it was proposed by Mr. Hodges, seconded by Mr. Holmes, and carried:—"That a sub-committee of the Society be appointed to photograph, sketch, and otherwise delineate all buildings and remains of buildings of interest in Newcastle and Gateshead erected previously to the year 1700, and that Messrs. Johnson, Brown, Blair, Holmes, and Hodges form such sub-committee."

Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association.—August 30.—The Sixteenth Annual Excursion, Mount Grace Priory, near Northallerton, being the place visited.—Mr. William Brown read a Paper giving a history of the priory. He said that it was situate in the parish of East Harlsey, about eight miles east-north-east of Northallerton. The position of the ruins, at the foot of a steep hill covered with oak woods, was very beautiful, and the grey stone tower of the church, standing out against the dark green of the woods, exhibited a very pleasing landscape. Before the foundation of the priory, at the end of the fourteenth century, Mount Grace was known by the names of Bordlebi, Bordelbia, or Bordelby. At the time of Domesday it was included in the King's land, and was held of him by Malgrin, who was also lord of the neighbouring manors of West Harlsey, Morton, Ingleby, and Arncliffe. Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, conducted the party over the ruins, and explained in detail the peculiarities of a Carthusian convent. The rules of the Carthusians were very severe. Such rules required special arrangements, and in no place in England could they be seen except at Mount Grace. One peculiarity was that each monk, of whom there were about twenty, had a house, each with its garden, to himself. These houses formed three sides of a large enclosure, the fourth side being formed by the church and prior's residence. The cells, which were two stories high, are in fair preservation, and the curious hatch through which food was given to the monks was plainly seen. There was a very small church and large cloister. Each monk had a living-room, with bed-room and store-room or pantry. A narrow staircase in the corner—only 2ft. wide—led to another little room, the use of which no one clearly knew. Some supposed it to have been a workshop.

Cambrian Archaeological Society.—July 31—August 5.—Visit to Llanrwst.—The Annual Meeting was held on July 31, at the Grammar School. The retiring President, Professor Babington, M.A., F.R.S., briefly opened the proceedings, and gave place to his successor, Mr. H. R. Sandbach, of Hafodunos.—The Rev. Trevor Owen, M.A., the Secretary for North Wales, then read the report. The report alluded to the churches of Wales still unrestored, and the care that ought to be taken that nothing should be introduced that was not in accordance with local style and arrangement. Instances were given where the work carried out had not been in accordance with this rule.—The Tyn-y-coed Cromlech, just beyond Capel Garmon, was the first object of attraction to be visited. Colonel Wynne Finch, to whom the property belongs, has carefully preserved it with a stone wall. A further drive brought the party to Pentrevoelas. Most of the party visited the

Levelinu Stone, situated in a coppice behind the old mansion of Voelas, placed on a small tumulus called The Voel. The inscription on it is obscure, and is supposed to refer to Llewelyn ap Sitsyllt (slain 1021), and to mean "John of the House of Dyleu, Gwydhelen, &c., on the road to Ambrose Wood, erected this monument to the memory of the excellent Prince Llewelyn." At Plas Iolyn, the next halt, a long building (now used as a barn) with the remains of a strong tower, evidently erected for defensive purposes, was duly inspected, and then a move was made for Gilar, the arched gateway to the house proving attractive. On the front of this gateway, and over the fireplace of a room above, there are the initials "T.R.W.," and the date "1623." A further drive brought the party to Ysptyt Ivan, the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, a most interesting village with a "restored" church, in which one of the ancient monuments has been placed upside down. The last object of interest on Tuesday was the Brochmael Stone now preserved in Voelas Hall, a stone engraved and described by Professor Westwood. There was an evening meeting, at which Mr. Howel W. Lloyd read a Paper on the Life and Times of Llewelyn ap Sitsyllt. On the motion of Mr. Barnwell, the President was commissioned to call the attention of Mr. Pierce Wynne Yorke, the owner of the property, to the fact that the roots of the trees at Maesygarneidd were in danger of disturbing the foundations of the Tynycoed Cromlech, and to solicit his good offices in the matter. The excursion of Wednesday was to Gwytherin, a village seven miles south-west of Llanrwst, in the churchyard of which are some of the finest yew trees in Wales. On the north side of the church are four upright stones, and on one of which is inscribed VINNEMAGLI FIL SENEMAGLI. Gwytherin was once a place of ecclesiastical note, for here St. Winefred retreated; and Canon Thomas thinks the course she was directed to follow from Bodfari through Henllan may supply a clue to the long lost line of the old Roman road from the former place to Caerhŷn. In taking down the old church of Gwytherin two floriated crosses were discovered near the altar—one bearing a sword, and the other a chalice—denoting a knight and a priest's grave. One of these, we believe, finds an insecure resting-place near the porch of the church. Two or three objects of interest were found inside the church; notably a bell, which it was stated had been used by a former village "crier," but which, by some of the party, was pronounced to be a (not very ancient) scaring bell. The next move was to Llansannan. There is in the parish of Llansannan, in the side of a strong hill, "a place wher ther be 24 holes or places in a roundel, for men to sit in, but som lesse and som bigge, cutte out of the mayne rok by mannes hand; and there children and yong men cumming to seke ther cattle used to sitte and play. Sum caulle it the Rounde Table." Scarcely a trace of what it is described to have been remains. At the foot of the hill there is a cottage called Plas Issa; let into the wall of which, over the doorway, is the lid of an ancient coffin, having a cross fleury with a sword by its side, sculptured on it, in a good state of preservation. At Llangerniew the church was open, and its objects of curiosity, especially the Holy Water Stoup and Pillar

Alms Box were pointed out. Llanrwst possesses several objects of interest. The choicest one in the church is, doubtless, the rood screen, said to have been brought there from Maenan Abbey. On the walls are several mounted brasses and tablets, but none possessing the interest of those in the Gwydir Chapel adjoining. Bettws-y-Coed was soon reached, and the old church of that place visited. The only object of interest there is the effigy in memory of Gruffydd, son of David Goch, natural son of Davyd, brother to Llewelyn last Prince of Wales, and grandfather of Howel Coetmore, whose effigy had previously been seen in Gwydir Chapel. From Bettws way was made to Penmachno, in the newly-built church of which parish certain stones are preserved that have attracted the attention of archaeologists. One of these bears the inscription, ORIA IC IACIT; the name Oria is said to be very unusual. Next there was one with the inscription CARAUSIUS HIC JACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM. Above the inscription is the Labarum monogram of the name of Christ, said to be a very unusual occurrence in the stones of this country. Lastly, there was a stone with two inscriptions, thus:—CANTIORIC HIC JACIT | VENEDOTIS CIVE FUIT | CONSOBRINO; and on the other side, MA.....FILI | MAGISTRATI. This inscription, Mr. Westwood says, is quite unique, both as indicating the deceased as a citizen of Venedotia and as introducing the word *magistrati*, the precise meaning of which in a Welsh inscription of the sixth or seventh century, is open to inquiry. The day's excursion also included Dolwyddelan Church and Castle. At the evening meeting, Mr. Palmer of Wrexham, read a Paper on Field Names. The excursion of Friday commenced with a visit to Gwydir House. From Gwydir the party drove to Talycain, for the purpose of visiting what remains of Maenan. In the old hall bearing the name there is much that is antique. In one of the chambers over the fireplace is carved a coat of arms, on which is a chevron between three pheons, with the letters M. and K. [Morris Kyffin?] on either side. Above is the date, 1582. The high road regained, the party was met by Mr. Pochin, who piloted the visitors to a Cromlech on the side of the hill overhanging the Conway river. Here, again, it was found that the relic of the past was in danger of destruction, and at the evening meeting it was resolved to appeal (through Mr. Pochin) to the owner to get it properly fenced. This Cromlech is known by the name of Allor Moloch, and a local guide-book refers to a tradition which connects it with Edred, duke of Mercia, and Anarawd, prince of Wales, who fought a bloody battle in the district in 880. "As soon as Edred, the Saxon chieftain, was taken, a fire was kindled under the altar, and between the two upright stones, or arms of the God Moloch as some call them, until all the stones became intensely hot, when Edred was placed there by means of tongs or pincers specially prepared for the purpose; the heat being so great that his body was turned into ashes and scattered to the winds." Pennant further informs us that "Anarawd styled the battle Dŷal Rodri, or the Revenge of Roderic, for his father, Roderic the Great, had the year before been slain by the Saxons." The visitors were conveyed across the ferry, for the purpose of inspecting the traces of Caerhŷn and the

hall. In the latter was seen the Roman shield, sometime back stated to have been presented to Mr. Gladstone. Some of the more vigorous of the party explored the old road at Y Ro, and others went to Llanbedr Church.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Site of Roman Potteries on the Banks of the Medway.—“My researches on the site of Roman potteries, on the south bank of the Medway, have extended over many years; and are yet in progress; for the district is very extensive, and only accessible at low water. I was introduced to them by Mr. Harrison, who, at the same time, brought me acquainted with the Rev. John Woodruff, of Upchurch, who had collected a large number of specimens of the fictile vessels fabricated in the potteries in the low land to the north of Upchurch, now called the Upchurch Marshes. With him I was ever on most friendly terms up to the time of his death. One of his latest acts of kindness was the entertainment of a party of the more enthusiastic members of the Congress of the Archaeological Institute at Rochester, whom I conducted to the marshes; and then to inspect his collections, now inherited, together with his antiquarian taste, by his son, Mr. Cumberland Henry Woodruff, F.S.A. Having thus made good my footing in this out-of-the-way district, I paid many visits, from time to time, on foot, from Otterham Creek, beyond Lower Rainham, to Lower Halstowe, and to the marshes leading to Sheerness, which enabled me to judge of the wide extent to which the land had been worked by the Roman potters; and, also, to discover traces of what I conclude were some of their habitations. At the same time, Mr. James Hulkes, through Mr. Humphrey Wickham, placed his yacht at the service of myself and friends. It was under the command of Mr. Henry Coulter, whose acquaintance I renewed when I came to reside near Strood, finding in him a warm-hearted and generous friend, whose loss to me cannot be replaced. His death was accelerated by one of the periodical overflowings of the Medway, on which I have much to say. By means of the well-provisioned yacht, armed with probing rods and light spades, and mud boots, we never failed to extricate from the creeks large quantities of pottery, which for some flaw or imperfection had been thrown aside by the makers. Of almost infinite variety in shape, dimension, and pattern, the pottery has generally such a marked character in colour and ornamentation, that it has acquired the name of “Upchurch Pottery,” although it is not to be supposed that it was made nowhere else; yet, such was the extent of the manufactures, that it must have been sent to various parts of the province—the situation being well adapted for conveyance by water.* Like modern pottery, the

manufactures of the ancients can often be recognized by certain distinctive peculiarities, as, for example, those in the district of the New Forest, at Ewell, and at Castor; each has a very marked character, and all are different from the Upchurch fabric. These marshes are an interesting study for the geologist as well as the antiquary. When the Romans inhabited and worked the land it lay high and dry, and the Medway must have been confined within comparatively narrow limits. It was probably some time after the Romans had left before the sea began to make inroads and submerge hundreds of acres. There was time enough for the earth to accumulate two or three feet over the *debris* of the kilns, ere the creeks formed and washed the remains into their beds where we now find them. As wide tracts of good land have been lost within the memory of man, it is probable that the serious change did not take place before the Middle Ages; and it is too certain that in modern times the inundations are rapidly increasing. The Romans understood embanking, as their noble works on various parts of the sea coast demonstrate; and they regarded the public health and safety, the *salus populi*. On the western bank of the Medway, where the land is yearly submerged, Roman funereal interments are found; and the same at Strood. Here we have clear evidence that in the Saxon times the floods which are yearly allowed to carry with them desolation, disease, and death, were then unknown. The Saxon Cemetery adjoined the Roman, and both were secure from any apprehension of deluges. History and science warn in vain. A rich corporation in a cathedral town, with a large population, year after year placidly permits a ruinous watery devastation which common engineering skill could stop for ever in a very short time. With land, houses, and streets periodically standing three and four feet in salt water, impregnated with pestilential matter, it is the height of irony and mockery to hear talked about, as being actually in existence, a Medway Conservancy Board and a Corporation.”—From “RETROSPECTIONS, SOCIAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL,” vol. I., by C. Roach Smith.

[We understand that the clay of the marshes adjoining is capable of being utilized for making excellent pottery; and that it is contemplated applying a large tract, the property of Humphrey Wickham, Esq., to that purpose.—ED.]

Dates and Styles of Churches.

<i>Ripon Cathedral.</i> (Communicated by Thomas Powell.)	
West Front . . .	Early English, fine specimen, 103' 0" high and 43' 0" wide, with two tiers of Lancet Lights occupying its whole width.
West Towers . . .	Early English.
Central Tower . . .	1454.
Nave . . .	Perpendicular.
Transept . . .	Early English.
Organ Screen . . .	Perpendicular. 1460.

* I have printed in the sixth volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua* an elaborate account of the site, to-

gether with engravings of the leading types of the pottery.

- Choir . . . Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular, all of which meet in the third bay from the east end on the South Side. 1460.
- Bays on North Side . . . Norman, also west end of choir is Norman.
- Eastern Window . . . Early Decorated. (Fine example.)
- Chapter House . . . Norman Early. (Roof Early English). 1181.
- Stone Pulpit . . . Early Perpendicular.
- Lady Loft . . . 1482 (Query 1330)
For was not this the Lady Chapel of the old Minster.
- Vestry . . . Norman, Decorated-Perpendicular. 1160-1460.
- Crypt (St. Wilfrid's Needle) 11' 3" long. × 7' 9" wide, 9' 4" high. Constructed in the seventh century, belonging to the church which was built upon this site either by Wilfrid or his immediate successor.

Markenfield Chapel and Mallorie Chapel.—1154 to 1181.

List of Antiquities in the Barony of Corkaquin, Ireland:—

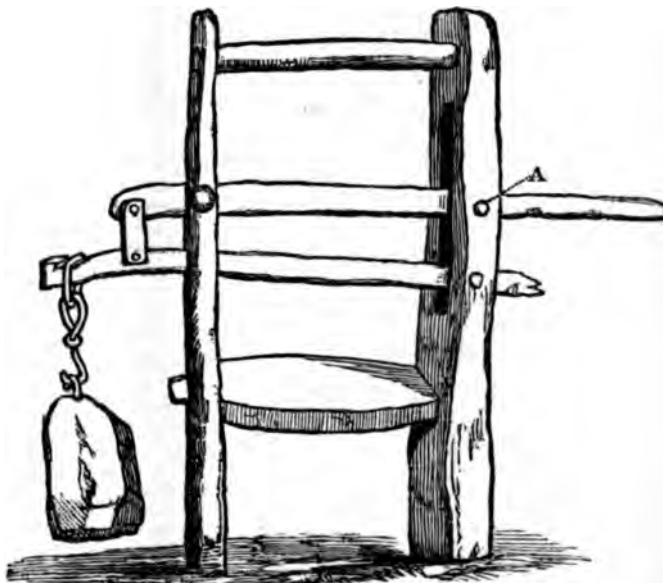
- Eleven stone cahers.
- Three cairns.
- Forty calluraghs, or obsolete burial-grounds, where unbaptized children only are interred.
- Ten castles.
- Eighteen artificial caves.
- Twenty-one churches in ruins and nine church sites.
- Two hundred and eighteen cloghauns, or beehive stone houses.
- Sixteen cromleacs.
- Twelve large stone crosses.
- Three hundred and seventy-six earthen forts, or raths.
- One hundred and thirteen gal-launes, or immense rude standing stones.
- Fifty-four monumental pillars, most of them bearing Ogham inscriptions.
- Fifteen oratories.
- Nine penitential stations.
- Sixty-six wells, many of them bearing the name of some saint.
- Twenty-nine miscellaneous remains.

Kilkenny Archaeological Society Transactions, vol. ii. pp. 136-137.

Boundaries of Land in Cyprus.—It is curious to note that the old mode of defining the boundaries of land by natural objects, as shown by the great collection of documents in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*,

is still extant in Cyprus. In the Report of H.M. High Commissioner for the year 1879, p. 39 (Commons' Papers, No. 2543, 1880), it is stated:—"The titles by which land was, and is, held in Cyprus are exceedingly vague in the definition of the boundaries, and although the number of *scalas* and *denums* is invariably mentioned, yet this latter particular is never held to be binding. The words 'bounded by a hill' allows an extension to a mile in that direction; the words 'bounded by uncultivated land' allows extension to within a yard of the nearest neighbour."

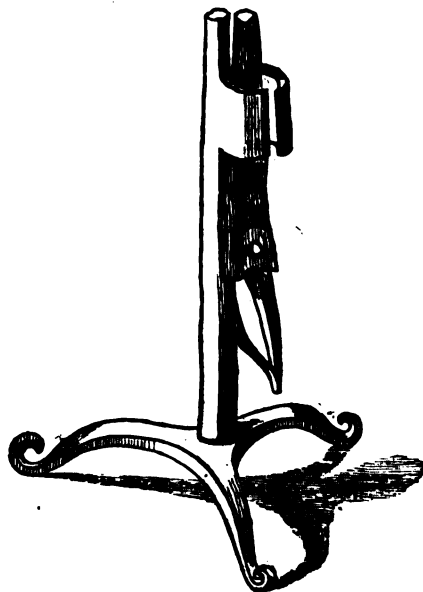
Primitive Cheese Press.—"A cheese press is still used in the upper part of the dale, which consists of two uprights fixed in the ground, and joined at the top by a cross-bar. One-third of the way up is a shelf on which the cheese to be pressed is placed. Above this there is an arrangement of handles for raising a heavy stone, or lowering the same, so as to press the cheese, as shown in the figure. A is a wooden peg for holding down the handle, so as to raise the stone weight, when the cheese is being put in or taken out."—*Studies in Nidderdale*, by Joseph Lucas, p. 29.



PRIMITIVE CHEESE PRESS.

Ancient Rush Stand.—"There was formerly in use in Nidderdale a Rush Stand, originally made by splitting a stick, and in fact this sort of rush-stand was in use down to the time when the farmers gave up making their own candles. An important kind was made of iron, with a spring to compress the holder upon the candle. Of this kind I give a sketch, which I made of one belonging to Mrs. Ryder, of Middlesmoor. The seaves were gathered at certain places on the

moors by parties of gatherers, who went out to get them in the autumn, or late in the summer. They chose the largest and strongest, from which they stripped off the outer skin, so as to enable the tissues to imbibe the melted fat into which they were dipped. (The gipsies strip off two opposite sides, leaving the alternate ones to support the pith.) As the same places were visited year after year, they were known by names such as 'Fleet Seaves,' 'Seavy Hill,' 'Seavy Whan,' 'Seaves,' &c."—*Studies in Nidderdale*, by Joseph Lucas, pp. 27-28.



ANCIENT RUSH STAND.

Antiquarian News.

On casually examining the earth excavated from the foundation for the new Wesleyan Chapel at Clevedon, Mr. Geo. A. Hobson, Government Surveyor, found a quantity of broken Roman pottery. There are several types, including the common dark clay, the common red, blue-black or Durobrivian, and a few pieces of Samian. He also found a number of pieces of bones and teeth (animal) which had been in the fire, and a small copper coin, seemingly of Constantine or Vespasian. The above came from a stratum of earth full of unctuous animal matter, about three feet from the surface and resting on the bed rock. Mr. Hobson gives it as his opinion that the ridge adjacent, Highdale Hill, and the eminence on which Christ Church stands, had been in the occupation of the early Roman settlers, and that this accumulation of matter mixed with animal bones, Roman pottery, &c., had been the debris from the camp thrown over the low outer Vallum.

Messrs. Frederic S. Nichols & Co. announce that they have made arrangements with Mr. Percy Thomas to etch the White Hart Inn, Southwark. The Inn dates back for some five centuries; is often mentioned by Shakespeare; was the headquarters, in 1450, of the Kentish rebel, Jack Cade; and in our own times has been inimitably described by Charles Dickens as a scene in the elopement of Alfred Jingle with Rachel Wardle, and the meeting place of Mr. Pickwick with Sam Weller.

It is proposed to publish by subscription, "Bramshill: its History and Architecture," by Sir William H. Cope, Bart. The history will be traced from the eleventh century down to recent times, with notices of its successive owners and occupants; the architecture, external and internal, of the present mansion, and some account of a more ancient edifice which preceded it; the traditions and legends of the place; notices of the venerable trees which stand in the park; and of the tapestries, pictures, &c. The work will be illustrated by photographic views, plans, and architectural details.

The re-opening, after thorough internal restoration, of the ancient church of Gillamoor, near Kirbymoorside, took place recently. The old church stands on an eminence commanding an extensive and lovely prospect over the wide moorlands. The foundation is very ancient, as betokened by the fine old Norman font and the inscription on the two bells, which are dedicated to the Virgin and St. John. The church was last restored in 1802, when some very commonplace windows were inserted. The present restoration has been carried out under the superintendence of Mr. Temple Moore. The chief features of the work done comprise the removal of the old and unsightly square pews and the re-seating of the church; the panelling and decorating of the ceiling and body of the church; restoration of the chancel screen, and the replacing of the dangerous old tower by a new and handsome spire of oak, covered with lead. The windows inserted 80 years ago have also been considerably improved by the introduction of stone mullions.

One of the buildings destroyed at Alexandria was, says a writer in the *Architect*, the castle of the Pharos, which was practically the only specimen of Arab mediæval architecture in the city. It stood on the site of the celebrated lighthouse, by the ancient name of which it was still commonly known. Mr. H. G. Kay says that being at Alexandria in the spring of last year, he visited the building. Mr. Kay's inspection was necessarily a very superficial one, but as far as it could go it confirmed him in the belief that some indications of an old foundation are to be detected, and he noticed a spot, near one of the corners of the building, where the wall could be perceived to run in a direction not widely but distinctly different from that of the presumably original foundation, with which it formed a gradually divergent angle. The Pharos was still in existence in A.D. 1326. It became a complete ruin between that date and A.D. 1349. The present building was erected by the Egyptian Sultan Kait-Bay, who reigned from A.D. 1468 to 1496. It may readily be presumed that, according to the uniform practice of the East, the ground continued until that time encumbered with the ruins of

its predecessor. The name and titles of Kait-Bay were imperfectly but unmistakably legible on one of two much-decayed limestone tablets over the entrance-gate. The latter was roughly formed by three massive blocks of granite, two of which, standing erect, served as jambs on either side, with the third forming a lintel across the top, the whole presenting a peculiarly Egyptian appearance. A wide passage, turning at an abrupt right-angle to the left, gave access to a small mosque, consisting of a hypæthral court, with four arched recesses, one of which contained the kiblah and pulpit. The slight deviation of the walls of the castle from the lines of the ancient foundations may possibly have been made for the express purpose of placing the mosque in the true line of direction towards Mecca. The mosque composed but a very small portion of the building. The remainder, rising one storey above the other, was occupied by innumerable rooms of various sizes opening out of long and narrow passages, all empty, and for many years apparently disused. Mr. Kay was informed that it was capable of lodging 5,000 men—a statement which was probably not exaggerated. The quarters intended for the commander and other superior officers were easily distinguishable by their superior look, and by some scanty remains of decoration and of ancient mosaic flooring of coloured marbles.

Mr. M. S. Valentine has sent to the Anthropological Institute of London, for exhibition, a collection of very curious articles fashioned in soapstone and clay, which were found lately between the ranges of the Blue and Alleghany Mountains near Mount Pisgah, North Carolina. The objects are said to be of a type absolutely unique, consisting partly of human, partly of animal figures, either in the round or in various degrees of relief. Some are household utensils. They appear to have been sculptured by metal instruments, so perfect is their workmanship. The human type is alike in the various objects, but is not Indian. All are fully clothed in tight fitting garments. Some are seated in arm-chairs, others on all sorts of animals—bears, prairie dogs, birds, and other shapes belonging to North America. But some also represent types of the Old World, such as the two-humped camel, rhinoceros, hippopotamus. Some of the specimens were obviously made since the advent of the whites, and these are fresher-looking and of ruder workmanship. The inference is that the articles were made by an earlier and more civilized race, subjugated and partially destroyed by the Indians found in Virginia on the arrival of white men.

A short time since an excavation at Pompeii yielded a beautiful inlaid marble table, with reclining bed ornamented with paintings; a bronze vessel with revolving handle; two Egyptian statues, covered with a patina of green glass, which is very rarely found; a tortoise and frog in marble; a Bacchus in terra-cotta; two marble busts; and a skeleton with bronze hairpins beside it. There was also discovered a cavity in the lapilli, which, when filled with plaster, will it is hoped produce a figure.

The nave, tower, aisles, vestry, and porch of All Saints' Church, Houghton, near Stockbridge, are being restored. The chancel was restored in the year 1876, at considerable expense. The church is, in an

ecclesiological point of view, one of much interest; parts of it date from the beginning of the twelfth century. It has two hagioscopes (*vulgo* "squints"), and no less than three piscinas.

The following, says the *Athenæum*, are among the results of the investigations made by the learned Director of the National Portrait Gallery into the history of the very important group of likenesses of English and Spanish statesmen he lately bought at the Hamilton Palace sale, which was, from some unascertained time till lately, ascribed to Pantoja de la Cruz. Mr. Scharf thinks the picture may with probability be assigned to Marc Gheeraerdt, who arrived in England from Bruges in 1580, and was much employed at Court. A portrait of Elizabeth signed with his initials, a sprig of olive being in her hand and a sword at her feet, belongs to the Duke of Portland, and is now on loan in the South Kensington Museum. His "Camden," in the Bodleian, bears the painter's name in full. Other inscribed works of his are at Penshurst, Barrow Green, and Woburn Abbey. The subject of the picture in question is undoubtedly the ratification of the treaty for peace and commerce between England and Spain, at an assembly of plenipotentiaries held at Somerset House, August 18, 1604, English, Spanish, and Austrian representatives being present. Stow's *Annals*, 1631, under the date 1604, p. 846, describes the conference, and quotes the articles of the treaty. The portraits include those of Thomas (Sacville), Earl of Dorset; Charles (Howard), Earl of Nottingham, who defeated the Spanish Armada; Charles (Courtney), Earl of Devonshire; Henry (Howard), Earl of Northampton; and Robert (Cecil), Viscount Cranborne. John de Velasco, Constable of Castille and Leon, appeared, with the following, for the foreign powers: John Baptista, de Tassis, Count of Villa Mediana; Alexander Rovidius, professor and senator of Milan; Charles, Prince and Count of Aremberg; John Richardot, Knight; and Ludovic Verreiken, Knight. The scene is the interior of a chamber facing a window looking upon an inner court, and partly screened by a plant of the rose tribe. The tablets on the tapestries are dated 1560; the floor is strewn with rushes. The scarcity of writing materials on the table may imply that the meeting was for the purpose of signing the instrument already agreed upon. No hats are introduced. The date "1594" borne by the picture must be wrong; there was no historical conference in that year, and the English titles inscribed with this date and the name of De la Cruz were not conferred till some time after that period. Mr. Scharf thinks that possibly, in his endeavour to conciliate the Spanish king, James I. sent the picture to Spain as a present. The names of the diplomatists are written in Spanish, and the attribution of the picture to Pantoja is also probably Spanish.

The fine old monastic church of Wolston is undergoing a thorough course of decoration. The church bears traces of the twelfth and fourteenth century architecture. On visiting the church a short time since, a well-known ecclesiastical antiquary discovered that the historical tomb of Sir W. Wigston had been taken away—no one knows where. No doubt steps will be taken to ascertain the whereabouts of the tomb. On inspecting the fine old oak roof, which is

to be newly decorated, the date 1760 was found in the east end, this being, no doubt, the date of its erection.

An important painting has been found at Pompeii, and placed in the Naples Museum among the Pompeian frescoes. It represents the judgment of Solomon, and is the first picture on a sacred subject, the first fragment either of Judaism or Christianity, that has been discovered in the buried cities. The picture is five and a half feet long, and nineteen inches in height, and is surrounded by a black line about an inch in width. The scene is laid upon a terrace in front of a house adorned with creeping plants, and shaded with a white awning. On a dais (represented as being about four feet high) sits the king, holding a sceptre, and robed in white. On each side of him sits a councillor, and behind them six soldiers under arms. The king is represented as leaning over the front of the dais towards a woman in a green robe, who kneels before him with dishevelled hair and outstretched hands. In the centre of the court is a three-legged table, like a butcher's block, upon which lies an infant, who is held in a recumbent position, in spite of his struggles, by a woman wearing a turban. A soldier in armour, and wearing a helmet with a long red plume, holds the legs of the infant, and is about to cleave it in two with his falchion. A group of spectators completes the picture, which contains in all nineteen figures. The drawing is poor, but the colours are particularly bright, and the preservation is excellent. As a work of art, it is below the average Pompeian standard, but it is full of spirit and drawn with great freedom. The bodies of the figures are dwarfed, and their heads (out of all proportion) large, which gives colour to the assertion that it was intended for a caricature directed against the Jews and their religion. There is nothing of the caricature about it in other respects—the agony of the kneeling mother, the attention of the listening king, and the triumph of the second woman, who gloats over the division of the child, are all manifest, and altogether there does not appear to be any attempt, intentionally, to burlesque the incident.

Messrs. Reeves and Turner have published a second edition of Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt's *Proverbs*. The new edition is unfortunately arranged in precisely the same manner as the first, but it contains many additional proverbs derived principally from Mr. Hazlitt's extensive reading among old plays and other literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The discovery of an egg in the decayed vegetation on the border of the great Roman bath at Bath has led to some curious investigation. Mr. Charles E. Davies took it to the British Museum, to consult the best authorities now in town, who confirmed him in his opinion that it is the egg of a teal, if it is not that of an eared grebe, a bird now almost, if not quite, extinct in the British Isles. Unfortunately, or rather in an antiquarian point of view fortunately, the egg did not arrive at its destination quite perfect, a portion at one end being broken. The egg was partly full of a colourless liquid, not the least resembling albumen, but is apparently water, which it was the opinion of those consulted had gradually percolated through the shell of the egg during the many years it had been subjected to pressure. The fracture exposed

to view a very curious mass of translucent crystal, filling one end of the egg, and which proved beyond a doubt its antiquity, as being the petrified yolk. In the British Museum is a Greek Kylix, from Rhodes, dating 200 B.C., containing five hens' eggs. They are much fractured, and with a sandy deposit form a solid mass. The egg now found, says Mr. Davies, in a letter to the *Bath Herald*, is the property of the Corporation, and is most valuable and unique. It is now being mounted, and secured with glass at the British Museum, when it will be returned to the Grand Pump Room.

The wife of Dr. Schlieman has just described in a letter, addressed in Greek, to the Athens journal, *Hestia*, some of the results of that explorer's latest excavations on the site of ancient Troy. The writer says, "Close to the spot which we consider to be the site of Troy there are the remains of two buildings, which, in the opinion of our two architects, Dr. Dörpfeld and Herr Osler, represent two temples. The appearance of the two buildings is so different that they cannot be said to resemble any of the well-known ancient temples with the exception of that of Hera at Olympia. This, according to Pausanias, was erected probably about 1100 B.C. The first of our two temples at Troy is 30 mètres in length and 13 mètres in width, while the walls are 1'4 mètres in thickness. The other temple is 20 mètres long and 7 mètres broad, the walls being 1'2 mètres in thickness. It is noticeable that the walls are built in a different manner. In the first there are no joinings of clay, but in the second there are large commissures filled with clay, which is also slightly burnt. The inference is that the two temples were built at different periods, and that that first described is older than the second. It is scarcely credible that the roof of the first temple could be solid and without any supports, though of the latter, at any rate, there is nothing now to be found. Throughout the entire *Iliad* of Homer we find no mention of such supports; while in the *Odyssey* where they are spoken of they are described as being of wood. Assuming now that there had been wooden supports in the first temple, they could not have stood on a floor of clay. There must have been a stone foundation beneath them; yet nothing of the kind is now to be discovered on the spot. The internal arrangements of these temples is very interesting. They both have a forecourt on the south-west side. In the first temple this is 13 mètres long and 10 mètres wide. It is separated from the sacred part by two high walls, forming a majestic entrance. In the middle of this sanctuary there is a circular layer of clay 4 mètres in diameter and 0'6 in thickness, upon which, probably, a seated image was placed. Close to the two temples, in the north-east, there is a third temple which, so far as concerns the style of its construction, is like the two others. It has a forecourt, and it seems was surrounded by a corridor. Our two well-informed architects think that these three buildings were temples; but my husband thinks, since they present great similarity to the houses mentioned in the *Iliad* (VI. 316), that they really were only houses, and that they were perhaps built, by command of Paris, by the best architects of the Troas. In this city, destroyed by

fire, we see Pergamos with its splendid edifices, that being, according to Homer's description, the same as sacred Ilios. Of gold articles we have here found but few, among them being a very thin diadem and a set of earrings, which are of the same sort as those we dug up some years ago. The nails we have here met with appear to be of quite a different description. They cannot possibly be taken for keys. We have also found some vertebrae, bolts, and spindles, as well as vessels with owls' heads. None of these objects, however, have any great value. The most valuable of all our discoveries is to be found in the three temples or houses themselves, which are quite novel in their style of construction. It is perfectly established that the Troas of Homer was situated at the spot now called Hissarlik, as my husband contended some years ago. Through the kind intercession of the German embassy, at Constantinople, we also received permission to conduct a series of excavations at Bunabarsi, which some philologists still think was the site of the Homeric Ilios. This place is three hours' walk from the Hellespont. At that place, too, we found bolts and Greek vessels as in Hissarlik. We believe that that place was the site of the ancient Gergi, which at one time is said to have had 2000 inhabitants."

Important excavations are now proceeding at Lewes Priory. The Priory of St. Pancras, founded by William de Warrene and Gundrada, is one of the most ancient specimens of Norman architecture in this kingdom. The church is, moreover, of special interest as having belonged to the Cluniac Order, whose great church in Burgundy was not only one of the largest in Europe, but was built on an unusual plan, with eastern as well as central transepts, and a great porch at the west end, beyond the actual front of the church. At Lewes, the same plan of double transepts has evidently been followed, and it remains to be seen whether the western porch also existed. The foundations of the eastern portion of the great church, and also part of the chapter-house, were laid bare in the year 1847, at the time of the construction of the Brighton and Hastings Railway. The bones of the noble founders were also discovered. It is, however, sufficiently evident, from an examination of the remains, and a comparison with others of a somewhat similar nature, that beneath the surface must lie a large portion of the nave and choir of the church, together with the bases of the western towers; also the substructures of the dormitory and refectory. The investigation has been already commenced, under the direction of Mr. Somers Clarke and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. Mr. Hope writes to Mr. John Willis Clark:—"We have already investigated all that the railway spared of the refectory, and are now hard at work on the substructure of the dormitory. We have uncovered some fine walls five feet thick; also two portions of the great watercourse, with a sluice gate. Our researches are as yet too young to enable me to say more; but a few days will make all the difference." When the conventual buildings are finished they will attack the church. Meanwhile it is desirable to make an appeal for funds, without which the work cannot proceed. Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. Somers Clarke, 15, Dean's Yard, Westminster.

Correspondence,

DATES AND STYLES OF CHURCHES.

May I protest against the meagre information given with regard to the list of parish churches published in your last issue. Not only are dates omitted in the examples there enumerated, but the information as to style is vague in the extreme. In a list of this kind it seems to me, as doubtless to many others, that the information should be as exact, and at the same time as concise, as possible. When the date is known, it should be distinctly stated; when not known, the approximate date might be given, which would perhaps afford one a better idea of the church in question as regards style than the ordinary description in the received nomenclature of the mediæval periods; for, from a careful examination, the date can usually be set down with tolerable accuracy—say within twenty or thirty years at the furthest.

All will agree that the information with regard to the registers is most valuable and handy for reference. But there is one source of information that seems to me wanting, and which has never, as far as I know, received serious attention, but which, in a complete list of English churches, would be of the greatest interest—the names of the builders, architects, or founders, for the exact functions of these, as we all know, have ever been confused. Not only would such a list be valuable solely as information in itself, but the comparison of the different works that might be collected under the name of the same architect, for we must suppose each architect to have stamped his work with some amount of individuality, would at least give some basis for the theories as to whom the merit of the design of our mediæval churches is due, whether to freemasons or ecclesiastics. I am well aware that your space is too valuable to be taken up with superfluous notices, especially in such a well-worn subject as this; but a complete list of churches, correctly and carefully dated, with the founder's or builder's name, as the case may be, attached; and, if built under the auspices of religious foundations, the head of that foundation at the date given might be noted. This, with the list of registers, would form a most valuable and unique catalogue of our English ecclesiastical works, and a catalogue moreover that, as it appeared from time to time in your columns, would ever be subject to the strictest criticism. My letter may have extended to a greater length than your pages can admit, but I believe there are many to whom information such as I have suggested would be very acceptable, and in such exact and concise accounts as this under consideration.

CHARLES L. BELL.

Chesterton Road, Cambridge.

[We quite agree with our correspondent, and one of our objects in instituting the present lists was to elicit and get together the scattered information he speaks of, but we must begin at the beginning.—ED.]

THE TRENCHARD FAMILY.

(vi. 38.)

The name of Trenchard is one of the most ancient in the Isle of Wight, and is chiefly associated with the parish of Shalfleet, where the name of Walleran

Trenchard is still preserved in the farm of Walleran. A copse near Wootton Creek is called Trenchard's in the old maps of Worsley's and Albin's history, and the name of Trenchard may still be seen on sign-boards in the island. In the fine old church of Shalfleet—one of those mentioned in Domesday Book—two ancient monumental slabs have been dug up, which are supposed to have marked the graves of members of the family. One is broken in two, and the other is much defaced, but both bear a shield and spear crosswise in stone, and appear to belong to the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th.

Waldingwell—a manor in the parish of Shalfleet, remarkable as being the first park in England—was owned by Henry Trenchard, who also held Shalfleet and Chessel in demesne under Countess Isabella de Fortibus, in the reign of King Edward I., and the Walleran Trenchard, after whom the farm was named, was the younger son of Sir Henry, and received the farm as a gift from his elder brother.

The names of Robert and Henerie Trenchard appear amongst the signatures of witnesses to the charter granted to Newport by Henry II., and in many other ancient rolls and deeds relating to the island history.

Sir Richard Worsley makes frequent mention of the family in the rare and valuable work published by him in 1781, but he is unable to fix the date of their coming into the island. He is of opinion, however, that they first appeared there as landowners during the lordship of Richard de Redvers, in the time of Henry I., as the oldest accounts relate that Earl Richard gave Pagan Trenchard the manor of Hordhall, near Lymington, and in the oldest pipe-roll (*ann.* 6 Stephen) another Pagan is charged with the levy of Danegeld, in the Isle of Wight. This ancient family chiefly resided at Hordhall, and a license may be found in the diocesan register granting leave to Richard Trenchard to have Mass celebrated for himself and his family in his house at Hordhall. In the reign of Edward II., Sir Henry Trenchard joined the barons who plotted against the king, and was declared an outlaw in consequence. The constable of Carisbrooke Castle overlooked this outlawry, and permitted Trenchard to retain his estates, to the displeasure of the island gentlemen, who petitioned Parliament through Ralph Gorges (head of another ancient family) against this contempt of law.

Like many other ancient island families the Trenchards became extinct in the male line, and their possessions passed through the families of Dupsdon, Brutnell, Waller, Worsley, Serl, Goodenough, and Barrington, to the Simeons.

MARY DAMANT.

Cowes, I.W.

MOULDS FOR FABRICATING ROMAN COINS.

(vi. 68.)

In an interesting paper, under the title of "Antiquarian Discoveries in Germany," there occurs the following passage:—"An interesting contribution" (apparently to the *Annals of the Rhenish Antiquarian Society*) "is the description by Herr Hettner of a number of false moulds for coins of dates ranging from about A.D. 193 to 235. The learned numismatist

explains in detail his reasons for considering these *matrices* to have been intended for the manufacture of base coin" (p. 68). From the date assigned to the coins, the moulds in question would appear to be of just the same period as those "clay moulds for fabricating Roman coins" which have been found at Taunton, at Edington, near Bridgwater, in this county, and in other parts of England.

As a point of much interest, it would be very desirable that some further light should be thrown on the moulds recently discovered in Germany as regards their character, and also the place where they were found, so as to afford a comparison with those which have been found in this locality, some of which are now to be seen in our County Museum in this town. Perhaps the writer of the article will kindly favour us with some fuller information respecting the moulds described by Herr Hettner?

JAMES H. PRING.

Elmfield, Taunton.

THE GREAT CASE OF THE IMPOSITIONS.

(vi. 61.)

I have come across accidentally, since my last letter, upon a piece of evidence, which seems additionally to vindicate the statements of Stubbs and Maddox on the rate of prizeage. According to Mr. Hall—

"Professor Stubbs has followed Maddox in error. The above statement of the latter writer is made on the authority of the Chamberlain's accounts for London and Sandwich, under Henry VII. . . . The fact is that neither London nor the Cinque Ports were liable to prizeage (Hale, iii. 133), but they were liable to 'frectagium,' which Maddox and Stubbs perhaps have mistaken for prizeage" (p. 65).

Now, among the patents of Henry VIII. we find, in April, 1519—

"Sir Anthony Poyntz and Joan Guldeford his wife. Grant during the life of the said Joan of a tun of Gascon wine annually, free of all duties, out of the prizes of wines in the ports of London, Bristol, and Southampton, by the hands of the chief Butler of England."

It would seem, therefore, that, in asserting that the port of London was not liable to the prizeage of wines, Mr. Hall "has followed" Hale "in error."

I may add that, from the obscurity of the passage in *THE ANTIQUARY* (vi. 64-5), it seems doubtful if Mr. Hall has rightly understood Professor Stubbs' definition of the prizeage of wines:—"The royal right of taking from each wine-ship when it landed, one cask for every ten which the vessel contained, at the price of twenty shillings the cask" (ii. 522.) Mr. Hall seems to imply that this alludes to "a due of 20s. on the cask of wine" (p. 65), payable by the merchants, but it was something quite different from this—viz., the price at which the Crown was entitled to purchase the prizeable cask. This is clear from the Irish charter which I quoted in my last letter, and which is fully confirmed by a re-grant of the Butlerage to James, son of Edmond Butler, in 1227:—

"Pro Buticulariis Hiberniæ de Feodo consueto.

"Unum dolum vini ante malum et unum aliud

retro pro quadraginta solidis mercatoribus quorum vina illa fuerunt solvendis."—Rymer's *Fœdera*, iv. 169.

J. H. ROUND.

[We have in hand a letter from Mr. Hubert Hall concerning Mr. Round's former communication.]



TRADITIONS ABOUT OLD BUILDINGS.

Allow me, with reference to Mr. Round's letter in your June number, to direct the attention of your readers to a legend of the same character as the Roumanian one mentioned by him, among the modern Greek Pastoralia (p. 390, No. 512) in Posson's most interesting collection. It is called "The Bridge of the Arta," over which river the workmen engaged in erecting a bridge could not succeed in their work till they had immersed the master-mason's wife. The story is very prettily told, especially at the conclusion, which tells how the palpitation of her heart, and the lifting up of her head, cause the tremor of the bridge, &c.

J. M. RODWELL.

S. Ethelberga, London.



EXCAVATIONS AT ROME.

Letters which I have received from Rome tell me that enormous excavations are still being carried on there of great importance for the antiquary. Any English people who have been in Rome will remember the great bank of earth with a road upon it, which leads from the Arch of Septimius Severus, in the Forum Romanum, by a winding course up to the Piazza del Capitolio, on the upper part of that hill, burying in its course some of the most interesting parts of the Forum itself. For the last twenty years, or more, it has been given out that the municipality were going to remove this bank, but nobody could say when. This bank is on the southern side of the hill. Ten years ago they made a new zigzag road on the northern side, up to the same point, at considerable expense. It was given out that this was done to enable them to do away with the aforesaid sloping bank and road on the southern side; but still nothing was done until the present time, when the new Minister of Public Instruction, a man of great energy, good sense, and decision of character, has, with considerable difficulty, obtained the consent of the municipality to this being done; and, fearing they might change their mind and revoke their consent, he has set to work to do it at once, employing a large number of men, in order that no time may be lost, well knowing that when once done it cannot be undone. For this he is entitled to the cordial thanks of every antiquary and every well-informed person in Europe; but he is roundly abused for it by the Roman newspapers of a low class, which call attention to the temporary inconvenience to certain carts and waggons, being obliged to make considerable *détour* going from one low part of Rome to another. Every real antiquary should raise his voice loudly in praise of the Minister and of the Italian Government. Nothing more attractive to strangers for the next season could well have been contrived than this enormous excavation.

The Minister also proposes to pull down the wall of the Farnesi Gardens, on the eastern side of the Via Sacra, and throw all that ground open to the same original level.

JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B.

Oxford.



THE HOLY GHOST CHAPEL.

(v. 239.)

Since writing the article on the Holy Ghost Chapel and Marie Cufaude, the author has ascertained that the quaint inscription to the memory of Simeon Cufaude of "exemplar virtue and patience in grievous crosses" is absolutely correct in asserting that Sir R. Pole was cousin german to Henry VII.—that is, first cousin—for Fuller, in his *Worthies*, speaks of him as Frater consobrinus to the King—i.e., male cousin; either son of father's brother or son of father's sister. This is conclusive. We know Sir Richard Pole was not the son of the king's uncle Jasper, as he had no children. Sir Owen Tudor must, therefore, have had a daughter who must have married a Pole.

The nearness of the relationship accounts for Henry's marrying him to the Countess of Salisbury, and bestowing so much wealth upon him. Moreover, they were brought up together at Brittany, under the protection of the Duke of Provence, by their uncle, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, who took refuge there with the boys soon after the accession of Edward IV. The inscription of Simeon was either written by or under the directions of his father, Alexander, who survived him some years. He was Marie's son, and must have received the account of the Poles from her lips.

F. C. L.

[It may be as well to refer our readers to an article on the Cufaude family in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1787, p. 1153, and 1788, p. 574.]



THE KENTISH GARLAND.

Many years ago I played upon the guitar, and my attention was caught by the position of that instrument in the "Woodcut of a lady ballad singer" on page 258, vol. v. of *THE ANTIQUARY*, which is not that used in playing at the present time. The strings are now pressed by the *left* hand against the frets on the neck of the instrument (which are not marked in the woodcut), and are struck by the *right* hand. Probably the position in the woodcut is caused by the drawing not being reversed, and is not evidence of the guitar having been formerly played in a manner different to that now in use.

Since my childhood I have known a reading of the verse on the death of General Wolfe which differs from that on the same page as the woodcut. It is as follows:—

"General Wolfe was a very great man,
Uncommon brave—particular;
He clambered up rough rugged rocks,
Almost perpendicular."

This is all I ever knew of the ditty; where I became acquainted with it I know not.

G. W. O.

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boards (250 only printed), 7s. 6d.—183, Care of the Manager.

Johnson's Dictionary, 2 vols., folio, 1784, excellent condition, 27s. 6d.; Encyclopædia Britannica, complete in 24 vols., ended 1824, cost £37 18s., will take 50s.; Statutes at Large, 8 vols., folio, very nice condition, £5.—F. Hinde, Times Office, Retford.

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Gosse's A Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica.—Gosse, Care of Manager.

Early volumes wanted of Sussex Archaeological Society's Collections. Good price given.—Farncombe & Co., Lewes.

Smith's Large Dictionaries, Works of Trench, Stanley, Farrar, Froude, Dickens, Macaulay, Lecky, Jesse, Ruskin, Rogers, Carlyle, and other good authors. Cheap—cash.—Clericus, 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.



The Antiquary.



NOVEMBER, 1882.

Martinmas.*

IN these days of material progress and secular ideas, it requires a considerable effort of imagination to throw oneself back into the state of mind of our mediæval ancestors, so as to realize fully the depth and intensity of that religious feeling which led them to associate every action of their daily lives with the hopes of eternity, under the direct teaching and guidance of the Church. In business as well as in pleasure, in the market as well as in the house, in public as well as in private, they looked in all their doings for the guiding and protecting influence of one or other of the numerous saints—either deceased martyrs, or other holy members of the church, or angelic beings—who, according to their conceptions of the universe, stood between them and God.

This feeling was strongly manifested in the specific appropriation of certain saints' days, or other festivals of the Church, to particular transactions of civil life. This particular form or mode of its manifestation does not carry us back to primitive society. It was essentially Christian, and mediæval. It may have been similar in spirit to the feelings which actuated men in earlier times, but the development was its own. The philosopher who sacrificed a cock to Æsculapius may have been the forerunner of the devotee who gave his offering at the altar or the shrine of his

* We have edited this article from the materials collected by the distinguished scholar who had engaged to write it. Just before the time when we should have received the MSS., a severe family bereavement, for which we cannot but express our sincere sympathy, prevented him from finishing the article.

—[ED.]

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patron saint, but the methods were certainly different, though the principle may possibly have been the same. The mediæval method was neither a survival nor a revival of specific forms, but a new growth, or at least a new manifestation in form, if not in substance.

Of the eight established quarter-days, including the four main quarter-days and the four so-called cross quarter-days, five are designated by the word *mas*. These are, in fact, the last five in the order of succession, reckoning Lady Day as the commencement of the year; but this may be accidental. The names stand thus :—

Lady Day (Easter) :
Whitsuntide.
Mid-summer :
Lammas.
Michaelmas :
Martinmas.
Christmas :
Candlemas.

The natural associations of Midsummer have maintained their ground, and the name of Saint John the Baptist has not superseded the designation of Midsummer-day, although the name of Christmas has superseded that of Midwinter.

The word *mas* in Lam-mas, Michael-mas, Martin-mas, Christ-mas, and Candle-mas, means a feast or festival, though it is not now used as a separate word in that sense. Whether this word has any connection with *mass*, meaning the Host or Eucharistic service in the Roman Catholic Church, and if so, what are the nature and extent of the connection, are interesting but difficult problems. If the two words are connected, we are naturally led to inquire whether a "mass-day," in the sense of a feast day, holy day, holiday, was so called because it was commemorated by the celebration of the "mass;" or whether the mass was so called because it was a commemoration of the last feast or supper of Christ and his disciples. The laws of Alfred use the word in the law (c. 43) which provides for the "mass-days," *i.e.*, holidays, to be allowed to freemen. The full text of this law, in Thorpe's translation, (*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, vol. i. p. 93) is as follows :

Of the celebration of Mass-Days.

43. To all freemen let these days be given, but not to 'theow'-men and 'esne'-workmen: xii days at Yule, and the day on which Christ overcame the devil, and the commemoration day of Saint Gregory, and vii days before Easter and vii days after, and one day at Saint Peter's tide and Saint Paul's, and in harvest the whole week before Saint Mary-mass, and one day at the celebration of All Hallows and the iv Wednesdays in the iv Ember weeks. To all 'theow'-men be given, to those to whom it may be most desirable to give, whatever any man shall give them in God's name, or that at any of their moments may deserve.

It may be worth while to note, however, that a very different, or rather an exactly opposite, view of the origin and meaning of the expression, was entertained in the eighteenth century by some English lexicographers. Thus, Fenning's *Dictionary*, 1741, gives the following curious explanation of the word "mass:"—"In Divinity, this word originally implied only a festival, and was in this sense used in the word *Christmas*, long before the introduction of the sacrament of the mass, but at length it was used to signify the Eucharist, and is at present appropriated to the office or public prayers, used by the Romish Church in the celebration of the Eucharist." This explanation is repeated in Rider's *Dictionary* (1759), and in Barlow's *Dictionary* (1772).

Into the question of the association of St. Martin with the popular customs of the times we do not propose to enter. This subject opens up a much broader issue than the limits of an article devoted to one particular festival; because the history of the absorption of pagan customs into Christian ritual and observances has yet to be written. Many writers have touched upon the subject, and there are ample materials for its elucidation, but it is a complicated and extensive study, which will afford a rich mine of investigation to the author who succeeds in working it out satisfactorily. It appears to us, however, that the matter may be put generally in this manner. Under the early rule of Christianity, the people did not so much give up their pagan customs and beliefs as they crystallized them, so to speak, round some celebrated holy day of the church. Thus St. Martin's Day is essentially a feast day. Sir Henry Ellis gathered together in his edition of Brand the evidences of this. It was the time when

the people slaughtered their cattle, and stored it for winter use. Under the extending influences of commerce we cannot quite understand how this should have been sufficiently important a custom to have become so significantly impressed upon the folklore of our land. But just step back into the past a little. Imagine every village of England a self-supporting community—its own arable lands, its own grazing lands. Contemplate the approach of winter to this isolated community, and we can contemplate the festivities which would usher in the season for preparing the food store for the coming months of cold and snow. This appears to be the general association of Martinmas with the circumstances of a very ancient past. But the general association can be intensified into some more definite identification with early village life than this. Almost every act of the primitive villager is more or less connected with a very extensive and honoured house-religion. The homestead of early man was protected not so much by a village police as by the house-religion. Every house was a temple of its own—the house-father was the priest, the house-mother, her children, and the servants and family adherents the worshippers. Thus much we know of primitive society from very many survivals of this pre-historic culture which have been gathered together by the student of primitive man. And Martinmas has preserved a custom which enables us to take it back to a similar pre-historic past. It is not sufficient, then, that the fact of a general time for the killing of cattle and storing of food should fall upon the student of folklore with some special significance—this must be connected with the old house-religion to make the chain of evidence sufficiently strong to carry back the customs of Martinmas to a remote past. How it is so connected will be very clearly shown by an Irish custom. Mr. Dyer quotes, from Mason's *Statistical Account of Ireland* (1819, vol. iii. p. 75), the following important description of the custom at St. Peter's, Athlone, which took place on St. Martin's Day:—

Every family of a village kills an animal of some kind or other; those who are rich kill a cow or sheep, others a goose or turkey; while those who are poor and cannot procure an animal of great value, kill a hen or cock, and sprinkle the threshold with the

blood, and do the same in the four corners of the house, and this ceremonious performance is done to exclude every kind of evil spirit from the dwelling when this sacrifice is made till the return of the same day the following year.*

This very curious custom at once gives us the clue to a very long history of the connection of cattle-rearing with the old house-religion. The household gods of the primitive Aryan encroached into the domain of the gods of agriculture. The lines along which that encroachment gradually worked are very clearly traceable in the science of comparative folklore, but even without going into this wide field, we have seen that the customs congregated round the festival of Martinmas tell us a similar tale. Before the food slaughtered and collected could be eaten, the ceremony of sacrificing to the house-god must be gone through. This ceremony is most curiously preserved in the Athlone Martinmas custom. Folklore presents other items of evidence in the same line. Thus, when the young calves cannot be reared, Mr. Henderson tells us that in Durham they take the leg and thigh of one of the dead calves and hang it in the chimney.† In Ireland the custom survives, though in not so complete a form—the portion of the dead calf not being placed in the chimney but simply brought into the house. Essentially the pasture-festival, as distinguished from the grain-festival, Martinmas, whatever its *motif* in mediæval days, has preserved relics of pre-historic times.

There is one other record we must note in these rough jottings of festival lore. A very important relic of the early village life is preserved in the custom of holding the village assemblies on an eminence in the open air. Martinmas, the cattle-festival, has preserved a curious relic of this, in which cattle again play a not unimportant part. Dugdale, in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, gives an account of the meeting of the Knightlow Hundred moot, but Mr. Gomme preserves, in his *Primitive Folkmoors*, a more detailed account, sent to him from personal observation by Mr. W. G. Fretton, F.S.A. It is as follows:—

Five and a half miles north-east of Coventry, on the old coach road from Birmingham to London, just

within the parish boundary of Ryton-on-Dunsmore, and on the ridge of elevated flat land at the top of Knightlow Hill, stands what remains of an old wayside cross. It rests upon a mound of artificially raised earth, or tumulus, to the left on ascending the road, and from this mound the hill is said to derive its name. A new piece of road here was made in the early coaching days to give easier ascent and descent to the hill, so that now the site is hid from view when one is upon the road. From this high and elevated spot a good view is seen of the surrounding country, with the spires of Coventry in the distance. Here at this stone is annually collected for the Duke of Buccleuch, by his steward, on Martinmas Eve, at sun rising (November 11), what is called wroth (or ward) money, from various parishes in the Hundred of Knightlow. The tumulus upon which the cross rested is about thirty or thirty-five feet square, with sides running parallel to the road, having a large fir tree growing at each angle, of which the people round about say that the four trees represent four knights who were killed and buried there. The portion remaining of the cross is thirty inches square at the top, with a hole in the centre to receive the shaft, and the whole structure would correspond with those at present in existence at Meriden and Dunchurch. Its date was probably the time of Edward III. There is a mason's mark on one side in the shape of a cross, six inches long, which shows it was set up by a master mason of his trade guild. The wroth money has been collected from time immemorial, excepting for a few years about the beginning of this present century, but the Scott family subsequently revived it, or kept up "the charter," as it is locally called. On the eve of St. Martin, November 11, 1879, the annual custom was gone through at 6.45 in the morning, when the wroth money was collected. There were thirty-four persons present to witness the ceremony. The steward, having invited the party to stand round the stone (the original custom was to walk three times round it), proceeded to read the "Charter of Assembly," which opens thus:—"Wroth silver collected annually at Knightlow Cross by the Duke of Buccleuch, as Lord of the Manor of the Hundred of Knightlow." The next proceeding was the calling over of the names of the parishes liable to the fee, and the amount due from each, when the parish, by their representatives present, cast the required sum into the hollow of the stone. The amounts collected were—

	s.	d.
Astley, Arley, Burberry, Shilton, Little Walton, Barnacle, and Wolfcote (one penny each parish)	0	7
Whitley, Radford Semele, Bourton, Napton, Bramecote, and Draycote (three halfpence each)	0	9
Princethorpe, Stretton-on-Dunsmore, Bubbenhall, Ladbrook, Churchover, Waverley, and Weston (twopence each)	1	2
Wolston, Hillmorton, Hopsford, and Marton (fourpence each)	1	4
Leamington Hastings (twelve pence)	1	0
Long Ichington (two shillings and twopence)	2	2
Arbury	2	3½
	9	3½
	0	2

* Dyer's *British Popular Customs*, p. 420.

† *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, p. 167.

Ryton pays nothing, although the stone is in the parish. The fine for non-payment was in olden time one pound for every penny not forthcoming, or else the forfeiture of a white bull with a red nose and ears of the same colour. The fine has not been paid within man's memory. No one seems to know (not even the steward of the Duke himself) why or for what purpose the money was originally collected, or why one parish should pay more than another.

The perambulation of the stone, and the forfeiture of the white bull with the red nose and ears, connect this meeting at Martinmas with what we have already described as the characteristics of the Festival.

Pass we now, in conclusion, from this view of Martinmas and its customs to that other pleasing view to which Shakespeare alludes when Joan of Arc tells the men of France to—

Expect Saint Martin's summer, halcyon days.

First Part of King Henry VI. act i. sc. ii.

St. Martin's "little summer," as the proverb has it,* breaks in upon us just as the autumn is giving way to winter, and so regular is it in its coming that nearly all Europe has a proverb on this season. The few days of bright autumn weather of this year in our own land have done much to make us think of the wisdom of the people in embodying such weather-facts in familiar sayings; and if we may compare the few rays of light thrown upon the customs of past days which this article is intended to reflect, to the satisfying brightness of St. Martin's little summer, our object will not have been vainly attempted.



Yorkshire Parish Registers.

IT is not our intention to discuss the propriety or otherwise of the removal of Parish Registers to London. Much may be said on both sides of the question; but the fear that they may have to part with what are now looked upon almost as their "household gods," has caused no little excitement in many of the country parishes in Yorkshire; and unless transcripts are provided for local

use (and why should they not?) the parishioners will have some substantial ground for complaint, if these documents are removed to the Record Office.

The incumbents tell you that they are constantly appealed to by members of their flock for information from the "Church Books," either of private or local interest, and as in many instances they are Registers, not only of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, but also of notable events occurring in the district, it is no wonder that there should be a growing disinclination to part with them. Where the Registers themselves are not of special interest, we often find that the Churchwardens' Accounts form a very complete history of the habits and customs of the people.

In one parish, where the accounts have been well preserved, and date some 300 years back, the churchwardens most faithfully recorded against themselves the sums they spent, out of the rates, on their own festivities. They had their regular dinner at the expense of the parish when assuming and retiring from office, and on such days as they partook of Holy Communion; the latter an abuse one vicar, good man, thought to put down by providing the dinner out of his own pocket; but the churchwardens, either considering that the vicar's dinner did not quite come up to the mark, or thinking it derogatory to the parish that the old custom should not be kept up, were quite equal to the occasion, and took their dinner quietly at the vicar's expense on the Sunday, supplementing it by another, on the following day, at the expense of the parish. And here things came to such a pass that, during Easter, they dined on Good Friday and Easter Sunday at the vicar's expense, and had their dinner out of the rates on Easter Eve and Easter Monday. The present vicar (if we mistake not) informed us that at this season they were in the habit of dining together on five consecutive days, but we have forgotten how he accounted for the fifth. These festivities went on until comparatively recent times, for during one year, early in the present century, the accounts show that more than half the rates were expended in this way. It is also recorded that, on the occasion of bells being provided for the church, the money collected

* Swainson's *Weatherlore*, p. 143.

was more than sufficient to cover the expenses, and that the churchwardens, wise in their generation, quietly pocketed the surplus for their trouble.

At Stavely, near Borobridge, are preserved the subscription lists, and rates levied during the seventeenth century when any great calamity occurred requiring the general help of the nation. These form a very interesting collection, since they give not only the names, but also the capabilities of the principal inhabitants. There is also given, in detail, the names of those parishioners who were required to give their aid in the renewal or repairing of the fence round the churchyard, and the exact portion of work, measured off for each, is carefully described, so that there could be no mistake where one was to leave off and another to begin.

At Kildwick the rate-books are of very early date, and in excellent preservation. Here [what would the foxhunter of the present day say if such were now the custom?] the parish was in the habit of paying one shilling for the head of every fox killed within its boundaries, the same amount for the head of an "otter," while that either of a "fulmer" (polecat) or an "urchin" (hedgehog) was valued only at twopence. The name of the recipient is, in every case, given, and the individuals, if we may judge by their names, were often gentlemen of importance and position in the parish. The sum of 2s. 6d. was the fee paid to any strange clergyman who was invited to preach, but it is not stated whether this amount was intended to cover his personal expenses, or was the value the parish placed upon his sermon. Sums of money appear to have been frequently levied for the support of sick or lame soldiers left at York, Leeds, and elsewhere.

At Aldbrough, where the Registers commence in 1538 and were transcribed from the originals in 1612, the following appears on the first page:—

Ano. Dom. 1612. A Trew Register of all the Christenings, burials and mariages within the p^{ish} of Aldburgh according to the Antiente Register in Paper, from y^e yere of o^r Lorde God 1538 and from the 30 yere of the Reigne of o^r Souvraign L. King Henrie y^e Eighte, until this p^{es}ente yere of o^r Lord God 1612, newlie written in parchmente at the com-

mande of the Dean and Chapter of Yorke—By me John Dobson, Curate of Aldburgh.

Edward Simpson	} Churchwardens of Aldburgh p ^{ish} 1612.
Thomas Buckle	
Arthur Buckle	

Received of the said Churchwardens for writing the s ^d Register the 30 daye October in the yere of o ^r Lord God 1612, By me John Dobson, Curate of the p ^{ish} of Aldburgh 1612.	} 26s. 8d.

Surely this was a labour of love, for the Registers are beautifully written, and at, apparently, the expense of considerable time and trouble. Even taking into consideration the difference in the value of money, 26s. 8d. is a small pittance to offer a man of education for copying Registers, extending over seventy years, in a large and populous parish.

On a fly-leaf at the end of one volume is a memorandum to the effect that in 1634, by order of Dr. Easdale, Michael Gilbert, the vicar, excommunicated about fifty persons; and again, in 1663, he excommunicated about thirty more by the order of Dr. Burwell. In both instances the names are given in full. Then comes the following:—

Mr. Gilbert. If any recusant being excommunicated shal be buried in any place but in Church or Churchyard, his executors shall forfeit thirtie Pounds by Statute, therefore I conceive you ought to burie him, but let it be according to the forme of the Church of England, these directions were sent under Dr. Burwell's own hand, Aug. 18, 1643, when Sir Thomas Tanckred was to be buried. Thomas Burwell.

There are also entries of several briefs, but the collections were generally made for persons connected with or living in the parish, and are of no special interest.

In one Register there is a memorandum as early as the time of James I., which shows that organs were then in use in this church. The following is a copy:—

Mem^d that the xxist day of August, Anno Dom. 1617, it was agreed between the Churchwardens and Inhabitants of the p^{ish} of Aldbrough on their p^{ar}t and George Brownlace of the cittye of Yorke, that the said George Brownlace should mend and repayre the organs at Aldbrough, fro' time to time, when and as often as shall require. And shall have for his paynes 6^s yearly upon May daye, and also be p^{ro}vided of a horse att the chardge of the p^{ish} fro' Yorke and home againe. And alsoe be furnished att the chardge of the p^{ish} with all things needfull for the mendinge and repayre of them, as also wth meate, drinke, and lodging during the work.

As York is distant nearly sixteen miles from Aldburgh, Mr Brownlace can scarcely be said to have been overpaid for his work.

Mention is made among the burials of a "great plague at Burrowbge" in 1604 (Borobridge was in the parish of Aldburgh) "wherein died 80 at ye leaste." The total number of burials registered in that year is not nearly so great; it is a question, therefore, whether the mortality has not been exaggerated, or whether some other spot was used for the reception of the bodies of those who did not find their home in the churchyard. There is no record of any other ground being used in the neighbourhood for this purpose.

In one Register (a transcript) the following entry is made relative to marriages that took place during the time of the Commonwealth:—

Marriages from the year 1653 to 1658 which were made by Cromwell's Justices of Peace (y^t impious Arch Rebell appointed out of the basist Hypocrites and dissemblers with God & man), the manner of whose certificates that they may appear after ages, I do here register one from Thos. Dickinson, whom Cromwel made believe he had Knighted, viz: According to A certificate written, attested by the parish Register with others, The s^d Wm Dove and Elz: Clemetshaw both of the Towne & Parish of Aldburgh came this day before me Mr. Sir Thomas Dickinson Esquire One of the Justices of Peace within the West Riding of the County of York, and declared their desire and consents, to proceeded (?) in marriage according to the Act in that behalf provided. Whereupon the said W^m Dove did take for his wife the said Elz: Clemetshaw, and the said Elzab. Clemetshaw did take for her wedded husband the said Wm Dove with consent of Parents, before me and in the presence of W^m Burnand, Tho. Catton, Edw^d Thompson, Nicholas Smithson, these witnesses, on the seventh day of Feb: in the year 1653.

Note y^t many would not be so married and such, for the most part, as were so married were also married in their own parish churches by their minister.

The marriages for the year 1658 wind up with the following entry:—

Transcribed out of an imperfect Register taken in the times of Oliver Cromwel's impious Rebellion by the Register appointed (to the Church) by one of his wise Justices, on the 1st April Anno Dom. 1704 by me Edw. Morris, Vic. ibid.

There are many other facts of interest in these Registers, and among them the following 1676:—"Given by Mr. Michael Gilbert late vicar of Aldb. to y^e Vicaridge, y^e chamber over y^e house for y^e use of the succeeding

incumbents for ever." There is also a list, probably copied from Torr's Manuscripts, of the vicars of the parish from the earliest date.

At Knaresborough, where the Registers commence during the year 1561, there are a few entries of interest to be found. In the year 1642, July 5th, we find that "Roger Atey was peaceably inducted into the vicaridge of Knaresbrough by the presentation of Sir Henry Slingsby, Anno Ætat 45^o." This reads as if in those "troubulous times" some opposition might have been expected. Later the induction of Leonard Ash is mentioned in these terms—

Leonard Ash vic. inductus fuit vicessimo sexto die Augusti Anno Domini 1692. Wee wh^m names are under written did heare Leonard Ash Viccar of Knaresbrough, after his reading divine service in the said parish Church upon the eleventh day of September 1692, reade the thirty nine Articles in the aforesaid parish Church and declare his ful and free assent to the same

Witness our hands

Tho Buckley
Waltr Burdett
Jo. Inman

On a fly-leaf at the end of vol. iii. is the following receipt for the amount paid by the vicar, to N. Brooke for that volume:—

Rece^d Feb. y^e 19, 1668
Of Mr. Richard Rhodes the sum of n }
pound 4 shillings for this Register Booke } *£. s. d.*
of Parchment which contains 20 od } *01. 04. 00.*
skins of parchment and Bound for the }
Best Vellum and Claspt By me,
Nathaniell Brooke.

There is also an appeal to the benevolent from one Richard Coates, which is couched in the following terms:—

The bearer Richard Coates a taylor by his trade, but being overcharged by a great many children was forced to take up another method to get his Bread. Which is so publickly known it needs no further Demonstration. In which way, for Ease and Readiness of going to the adjoin^d markets, he kept a little Horse which was stol'n from him about — months ago and not finding him, by all enquiry he can make, has brought the Justice of Peace to give him Leave to begg the Charitable Constitution of this neighbourhood only to help to gett another. And if you please to grant this Favour he, as in duty bound, shall hold himself under great obligation, &c.

We could not help feeling somewhat puzzled how to account for the following application to the Commissioners of H.M. Revenue being recorded in the Registers:—

To the Honbl^e Com^{rs} & Gov^{rs} of his Ma^{ty} Re-
venues of Excise of Beer & Malt &c.

These are to certifie that Joseph Leeming in the
p^l of Knaresburgh in the County of York, is a likely
man to make a good officer, is a Brisk healthy man,
not incumbered with debts, a young man, unmarried,
about one-and-twenty years of age, of a good family,
sober life and conversation, well affected to the pres^{nt}
Goven^t, of the Communion of y^e Church of England
& bred a grocer. Proposeth for his securities M^r
James Collins and M^r W^m Broadbelt of Knar. afor^s.
He desires to be instructed by Bernard Calvert, officer
of Knaresbrough.

These are to certifie whom it may concern that
Joseph, son of Joseph Leeming, was Baptized at Knar.
in Yorkshire y^e 11 day of June 1686.

L. Ash Vicar of Knar.

Bernard Calvert off. ibid.

In the Rate Books at Hampsthwaite, in
the Forest of Knaresborough, there is a
notice, published by the vicar in 1686, for
the information of his parishioners, of the
services he purposes to render during Easter-
tide. It runs as follows:—

I give notice to all the Parishioners within y^e p^l of
Hampsthwaite that I intend (God willing) to ad-
minister y^e Blessed Com. on those days following,
viz. Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Even, Easter
day in the [Church], and here will be Sermons and
homelys on Good Friday & Easter Even by myselfe
or some other, and I pray do not drive all till last
day. On Tuesday in Passion Week at Thornthwaite
Chappell. On Monday morning after Palme Sunday
to y^e sick & lame p^{rs} of Holme Sinder Hills.

On Tuesday morning, before I begin at Chappell,
to the sick and Lame people of Thornthwaite & Pad-
side.

On Wednesday morning to y^e Sick of y^e Hamblett
of Birstwth & felicliffe, and on Thursday morning to
y^e Hamb^l of Hamp: Y^e Church wardens are to give
notice y^e night before to attend in y^e Hambletts.

I desire all y^e p^lioners of this p^l to take notice,
& others not of y^e p^l y^e are concerned, that they
come & reckone and pay y^e Comps betwixt [now]
and Easter day to me or some other I shall appoint.
The reck will be taken in y^e Church.

I shall be at home or in the Church every day after
now until Easter, except Monday & Tuesday in
Passion Week, when I am to be at Lawrence Buck's
to reteine y^e reck & Comps of all persons that live
within the compasse of Sinder Hills.

I desire the church wardens will take notice, as
much as in them lyes, of those persons that do willfully
absent y^{ms}elves from Sacrament, y^e are above 16 years
of age—I give notice I will take no recks: nor any
for me, on Sunday Morn: nor on Good Friday Morning
nor on Saturday Morning.

The Churchwardens are to provide bread & wine
ag^t those days I have appointed, at y^e charge of
y^e p^l. If any persons be able to go or ride to
church or chappell let them not expect me at their
houses.

A great Sickness I fear this ensuing year. I pray
Gods Blessing from plag: & pestilissis—L^d grant
me health amongst my wife and children, I fear sad
things will befall this land this year.

There is nothing in the books to show why
the vicar should feel the anxiety expressed in
the last sentence. Had it anything to do
with the state of the country during the reign
of James II., or was he at all doubtful about
the payment of the Easter reckonings which
form a somewhat prominent feature in the
notice?

There are many interesting entries in the
Registers at Skipton, and among them the
following notice of the presentation of a bell
to the church:—"This year 1628 the Right
honorab^{le} Francis Earle of Cumberland
gave the litle Bell to p^l of Skipton wth all the
wood belonging to the frame where it now
hings."

The death of one of the parishioners is
recorded in the following manner:—"Burials
Feb. 7, 1684. John King of Skibdon was
found pinyand and hanged in Haw Park."

On a fly-leaf we observed these entries:—

Gyven to the scholars when Thom Tomlinson dyed
xij^d, to 6 Ringers xvj^d iii^d (? 162^d) in bread and ale
and their din^r vj^d a man.

In June 1610 weare the leades of South Alley of
the Church cast anew and the south side of the high
Rouffe, and the Steeple Lead & the Vestry also by
Robert Streete and Anthony Preston, Plumbers. The
20th January 1610 bee the yong Ashe Speris [trees]
set in the Church yearde by John Moorehouse of
Skipton.]

Ingram Jenkinson	} Churchwardens.
Thomas Browne	
W ^m Swyre	

In 1627, the Parish Clarke makes the
following entry:—

Memorandum, that I Thomas Preston to be
clarke of Skipton and begun upon Sunday the 29 of
April 1627, and tooke possession of the Skoole upon
Monday the 30th April 1627, in the presence of the
right worshipfull Mr. Lowdon & Mr. Nues, Mr.
Sutton, Vicar, and Mr. Barker, Skoole master, with the
Churchwardens.

At Spofforth, the inhabitants had become
so ungodly during the Commonwealth that
a meeting was convened, and the rector,
churchwardens, and some of the principal
inhabitants drew up a code of laws, which we
give below, for the better observance of the
Lord's day. It unfortunately happens that,
owing to damp, some of the words are

illegible. The heading and the last of the orders are completely so.

Spofforth, 14 May 1654.

Whereas the [observance] of y^e Lord's day commanded by the Laws of God and enjoyned by sev'all Lawes of this nation hath been of late very much abused and neglected, and apar^t [sever] all abuses and misdemeanors have been comited and doone, in and about the Church and Church Yard of the towne of Spofforth, to prevent the growing evils and the sadd consequences wh^{ch} may ensue thereupon, it is ordered and agreed by us, whose names are under written, in manner and forme following.

I. Concerninge y^e observation of y^e Lord's day.

1 it is ordered and agreed that every man shall aper himselfe to sanctifie the Lord's day in pietie and true Religeon both in Publique and private.

2 it is ordered and agreed if any butcher w^{thin} this p^{ar}ish shall, by himselfe or any other, kill any beast or sell any victualls on the Lords day, he shall pay vj^s viij^d for every such offence.

3 if any p^{er}son shall exercise or be p^{re}sented at any wrastlings, bowlings, frechings, ringerings or any whatever the like, if he be [over] fifteen years he shall pay for every such offence, and [if he be under] that age his maister or his parents shall pay twelve pence.

4 if any p^{er}son shall be on the Lords day in any Inn alehouse or dwellinge house, except for Lodgeinge or for some other ocasion allowed by the Justice, or if he shall be found drinkeinge or p^{ro}phaining by swearing or Railering in any of these houses he shall pay 10^s and they y^e him shall pay 10^s.

5 if any man shall grind or cause to be ground any corne in the mill upon the Lords day except in case of nessessitie, shall pay 10^s for every such offence.

Item that all head officers and inferior officers make diligent search to find out and punish the sev'all offenders against the several acts made for the observation of the Lords day.

II Concern abuses.

1 it is ordered and agreed that all p^{er}sons shall demean themselves decently and Reverently in the Church.

2 it is ordered and agreed that if any p^{er}son shall abuse or a dead corps in the Church or Church yard issuing after the interment, for the same he shall be ordered at the next sessions following and shall suffer punishment according to Law.

3 it is ordered and agreed that if any shall Ringe bells, for pleasure, on the Lords day he shall sufer according to Law.

4 if any man shall Ringe the bells upon ordinarie daies without the consent of y^e Minister or Churchwardeners he shall be indicted for the offence at the next sessions following.

5 it is ordered and agreed that if any man shall send for stronge drinke to tipple in the Church or take to he shall be complaned and sufer punishment for that misdemeanor.

6 Illegible.

This is the last, then follow the signatures

of the Rector, Churchwardeners, and twenty-five of the parishioners.

We might have lengthened our Paper had we been able to copy a greater number of the quaint entries of births, marriages, and burials, but our time was so limited that we were unable to accomplish more than half our proposed task. We cannot, however, bring our work to a close without expressing our most sincere thanks to the clergy of the parishes we visited for the very kind and courteous reception they gave us, and for the trouble they took in showing us all that is interesting in their Churches and Registers, and in giving us much curious information of the parishes and neighbourhood in which they dwell.



Limington, Somersetshire.

By HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

[For much of the information and most of the references in this article I am indebted to my friend the Rev. H. W. Reynolds, of Soho.—H. H.]



THE history of the church of Limington, Somerset, forms a thread on which many interesting memories are strung. Let us first glance at its external shell. It consists of nave, chancel, tower with four bells, and chantry. A church here is said to have been first erected in the twelfth century by the Barons Beauchamp of Hatch, the lordship of the manor being held of them by the Fitz Bernards, and afterwards by the Gyverneys and Bonvilles, of Devon and Cornwall. Earlier still, Roger de Curcelle possessed it, "for which his father gave five hides in exchange to the monks of Glastonbury," and even earlier than this "Saulf held it in the time of King Edward (the Confessor), and gelded for seven hides" (*Norman Survey*¹). Between Gyverneys and Bonvilles the names of Power and Shares-hull come in as lords of Limington, having obtained the estate by marriage.

Of the Gyverneys the memory is strongly represented in the monuments. In 1329,

¹ Taken from Collinson's *History of Somersetshire*, ed. 1791, vol. iii. p. 218.

Sir Richard Gyverney endowed a chantry for masses to benefit his own soul and those of his nearest of kin upwards and downwards, which approximately fixes the date of the pretty little chantry chapel, projecting on the north side of the church in the decorated style, with a steeply pitched roof and diagonally placed buttresses of two stages at its outer angles. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, describes the monuments of this family thus:—

One Juverney² (*sic*) was owner of this towne and lordship. He lyith richely buried yn a faire chapelle on the northe side of the parochie church of Limington. Ther lyith at the feete of Juverney a woman vaylid, in a low tombe with an image of stone. Ther lyith also in the south arche of the same chapelle a gentelman and his wife, I think also of the Juverneys. There is a cantuarie in the chapelle.

Shortly after his endowment of the chantry, Sir R. Gyverney deceased. The monuments at the "northe side" of the "faire chapelle" may, therefore, be dated in 1330, or soon afterwards. Two of them represent Sir Richard and his wife, the latter being the "woman vaylid in a low tombe with an image of stone" (Leland as above). She has also a chin-cloth, and joins her hands in prayer. The lower part of the drapery and feet are broken away. The knight has his right hand on the pommel of his sword. He is in full armour of the period, with hood and gorget of mail, but with no bassenet. His legs are crossed, and the scallops on his shield, a pilgrim device, suggest the Crusades as their origin. The other two effigies are those of Sir Gilbert Gyverney and lady, *temp.* Edw. III. He is in weeds of peace, wearing merely his sword. Both knight and lady here lift their hands in prayer, and are recumbent side by side, and the lady is, as not unfrequently, figured as tall as the knight.

Of the Bonvilles, Sir John Maclean gives a pedigree as follows, in his *History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 394.

² The name spelt thus, and Gyverney and Gower-nay, has lapsed into the modern Gurney. A record of the family was compiled and privately published by Daniel Gurney, Esq., F.S.A., in 1848, together with a supplement in 2 vols. 4to, very fully illustrated. The two were priced lately at £24 10s.

Sir William Bonville, K.G., born at Shute,³ = Margaret, dau.
28th Sept. 1393, sum. to Parl.⁴ 28 Hen.VI.; and heir of
died 19 Feb. 1460-1; Inq. p. m., 1 Edw.IV. Meriet.
No. 37.

William Bonville,⁵ Harrington, = Elizabeth, dau. and heir of
Senr., improperly called Lord William, Lord Harrington.
Bonville, died v. f.

William Bonville,⁶ Lord Haring- = Catherine, dau. of Richard
ton, *jure matris*; died v. avi. Neville, Earl of Salisbury.
sister of Warwick the
"Kingmaker."

Thomas Grey, Marquis = Cecily Bonville, dau. and heir, born
of Dorset, 1st husband; 1461; marr. secondly Henry Staf-
died 17 Hen. VII. ford, Earl of Wiltshire.

Thomas Grey, and Marquis = Margaret, dau. of Sir Robert
of Dorset; died 1530. Wotton, of Bracton; 2nd wife.

Henry Grey, tr. Duke = Frances, eldest dau. and co-heir of
of Suffolk, 1551, and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk,
K.G.; beheaded by Mary, Queen Dowager of France,
1554. sister of Hen. VIII.; 2nd wife.

LADY JANE GREY.

The first name in this pedigree was son to a Sir William Bonville of Chewton' or Chuton, who was grandson and heir to an earlier Sir William de Bonville, who, till his death in 1407, held this manor of Lord Beauchamp. In token of dying in charity with all men, he left by his will⁷ forty pounds for masses to be said for himself and all Christian souls, with other bequests to the religious houses of White Hall,⁸ Ilchester, and Glastonbury Abbey, 100 marks in aid of the bridges and roads in Somerset and Devon, and 20 marks with 20 quarters of corn to his tenants at Limington. White Hall, it appears, was at first a hospital for the relief and succour of poor pilgrims, founded 1217-20; and between 1270 and

³ Shute was one of the Dorsetshire seats of the family. It had come into their possession by the marriage of Nicholas Bonville (died 1295) with the heiress.

⁴ As Lord Bonville of Chuton, 1449. He had done good service in the French wars of Henry V. and Henry VI. He was beheaded after the second battle of St. Albans.

⁵ Killed in battle at Wakefield, 1461.

⁶ See above.

⁷ Known also as Chewton Mendip.

⁸ *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 1865-6, contributed by the late Rev. T. Hugo.

⁹ For White Hall, see *Ivelcester Almshouse Deeds*, pp. 169-7, by the Rev. W. Buckler, M.A. Yeovil, 1866.

1280 was remodelled as an Augustinian nunnery. At Shute, near Axminster (see note 3), this Sir W. Bonville appears to have lived and died.¹⁰ The last half of the fifteenth century found the family staunch Yorkists.

Of the first name in Maclean's pedigree, Banks' *Extinct and Dormant Baronage* cites Leland, vol. iii., p. 127, as saying "Bonville Lord Bonville [*i.e.*, of Chuton] had many bastards, among whom he left some land to one whose issue male yet remaineth." Thus we have in Gwillim (1st ed., see the last note) an Edmund Bonvill, son of Humfrey Bonvill, of Ivybridge, in the same county, son of John of Comralighe [Combe Rawleigh] in the same, son of another John, who was base-born son of William, Baron Bonvill of Chewton. This Edmund would be Leland's own contemporary. Readers curious about the further annals of the Bonville family, may be referred to the Devonshire volume of Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.

The third William Bonville in the pedigree, entitled "Lord Harington," has left his memorial in Limington Church in a carved armorial shield, combining quarterly the arms of Bonville and Harington, the sable and mullets argent of the former being borne in the first and fourth, the sable and fret argent of the latter in the second and third, together with the initials W. C. carved below for William and Catherine. This, and another similar one, containing the roses of York and

¹⁰ Gwillim's *Heraldry*, 8vo ed., vol. ii., gives "Diamond six mullets pearl," as the arms of Sir William Bonville, Knight, Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, 5th Ric. II., 1383, and of Devon, 10th Ric. II., 1388, or, as Fuller gives it, 13th Ric. II., 1391. His son and heir was a Sir John, who held, in right of Elizabeth his wife, the manor and hundred of Chewton Mendip of the King in chief by military service, but died before his father 20th Ric. II. His son and heir was the Sir William summoned to Parl. as Lord Bonville of Chuton in 1449 (see the pedigree above). This takes the ancestry two degrees further back than Sir John Maclean's record of it there given. The same Gwillim's *Heraldry* ("The Banner Displayed"), fol. ed., 1724, p. 100, gives "Sable six mullets three two and one argent pierced gules," as "the coat of Edmund Bonvill of Little Modbury in the Co. of Devon, Esquire." Papworth, *Dict. of Coats of Arms*, p. 998, gives the Bonvill arms as "Sa. six mullets pierced arg. three two and one;" and Fuller, *Worthies of England*, as "Sab. 6 mullets pierced g."

Lancaster, and therefore later than 1485, are on the panels of two ancient pews, but probably once decorated a screen. The Harington arms were quartered by this Lord Harington in right of his mother the heiress of that house, which, by successive intermarriages with heiresses in failure of heirs male, represented the northern barony of the Le Flemings of Aldingham, in North-west Lancashire, and owned Gleaston Castle, referred to already in *THE ANTIQUARY*, vol. v. pp. 102-4, and erected, as was there suggested, by an earlier Harington. This shield, with the coats united quarterly, and the initials, forms No. 5 of the plate illustrating the monuments of Limington Church.¹¹ Thus we have Somerset and Devon in south-west England united with the great houses of the north-west, and, in the person of the Lady Catherine Neville, with that still loftier house of the Midlands. The same house after the deaths of its two successive heads, the Bonvilles, father and son, and, a few months afterwards, of their father and grandfather, in civil broil, intermarried with the still higher family of the Greys on the very steps of the throne of England; and found a higher exaltation yet in the union of its heir Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, with Henry VIII.'s niece—only to find in the scaffold of her cousin Mary Tudor the highest exaltation of all. The aspirations of all these lines of noble lineage were gathered to a head in his person, and had (as the Roman tyrant wished his Senate could have) "only one neck," thus saving the headsmen trouble.¹²

To pass on to clerical names, the last chantry priest was a Thomas Raphlyn, who, in 1553, received an annual pension of £3 12s. A defective list of the incumbents from the year 1329 is given in the *Somersetshire Archaeological Proceedings*, above referred to in note 8. The only name of note which it contains is that of Thomas

¹¹ See *Church of England Magazine*, Dec. 3, 1864.

¹² A Paper by Mr. Taswell Langmead in the *Church of England Magazine*, Dec. 3, 1864, may be referred to. It is chiefly valuable for the connection (therein traced, dating from the seventeenth century) of his own family with Limington, and for the illustrative engravings, already referred to. See *Miscellanea Genealogica* for July, 1872, for the pedigree of this family.

Wolsey, 1500; by whom Mr. Langmead, referred to in note 12, suggests that the font may have been given, but offers no evidence to support the suggestion. From its style I should be inclined to place it later in the same century. Among the many gaps in the list one might be filled by Dr. Walter Raleigh, Dean of Wells (whose name bespeaks his Devonshire extraction), sequestered for his "delinquency" in the Great Rebellion. Part of his temporalities were the impropriated parsonages of Limington, South Barrow, and Barton. All were seized, and his person imprisoned in several successive gaols—the plague breaking out in one—until death brought him release; he being removed to his own residential house at Wells, and there murdered in cold blood by the Puritan constable, one David Barrett, who had him in charge. He was, however, buried with the funeral office of his Church, and the clergyman who read the service was then for that offence clapped in prison in his turn as a malignant likewise. The relations of Dean Raleigh spared no effort to bring his murderer to justice; but justice was not to be had, and the villain escaped unpunished. See in the same Society's Proceedings, for the year 1853, *Somersetshire Sequestrations*, by John Batten, jun.

A predecessor, certainly near, perhaps immediate, of this Dean Raleigh at Limington, was one John Conant, who (*temp.* Jac. I. Car. I.) was fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and rector of that parish. Of him nothing remarkable is recorded; but he educated a nephew of his of the same name at his own College, who became also fellow thereof, took deacon's orders, and served the Church at Limington for a considerable time. He imbibed Puritan principles, and received the higher grade from Presbyterian ordination. In 1643 we find him member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and in 1649, owing of course to the Parliamentary Visitation in the previous year, rector of his College, and during the Cromwellian period, Vice-Chancellor of the University when Protector Oliver was himself the Chancellor. In 1661 he was ejected from the rectorship of Exeter, no doubt through the re-establishment of the Statutes, &c., of Oxford in 1660; but in 1670 he was ordained priest

by Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, who had himself also been sometime a Presbyterian, and whose daughter he had married, and was also, like Reynolds, present at the Savoy Conference. We find him next vicar of All Saints', Northampton, in 1676 Archdeacon of Norwich, and in 1681 Canon of Worcester. He was probably one of the more learned, moderate, and respectable of the Puritan Oxford party, converted by the events of the Civil War from a minority into a majority; but through the prominent positions which he had filled, and the formal and explicit nature of the pledges (*e.g.*, to the Solemn League and Covenant) which he had taken, was compelled to bear the brunt of defeat and the shock of deprivation; just as the recoil of an overcharged gun tells most formidably on the artillerist who is nearest to it. Thus he lay awhile under a cloud; but soon emerged from it, and died in 1693, at the age of eighty-five, having lived through a cycle of changes unparalleled in any portion of English history. It is a curious question whether he knew, and if he knew, whether he at all cared, for the cruel persecution of Dean Raleigh. He must have been an influential man at the time it was going forward. Probably he had cut the tie of local connection with Limington and Somersetshire, and was entirely absorbed in Oxford polemics. Men so concentrated on party strife might live in a non-conducting medium in those days as regards intelligence from without.¹⁸



Richard de Bury's "Philobiblon."

By the Rev. M. G. WATKINS, M.A.



AMONG the varied treasures of Early English literature, few books are more curious, both for style and allusions, than the *Philobiblon* of Richard Aungerville, of Bury. It may be

¹⁸ A sketch of his life is given in the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. pp. 1433-9, ed. 1800. See also Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, where his uncle is erroneously described as rector of Lymington, Hants. There are also references to him in the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*.

doubted, however, whether his little book is known to many save professed bibliophiles, although Hallam says of him, "I am not aware that he had any equal in England during the century."* Yet the scholar and the divine may find much that is noteworthy in the writings of one who was himself a representative scholar of his time, Bishop of Durham, and Lord Chancellor of England. Perhaps Richard de Bury still more falls in with the predominant taste of the day by having been among the first, if not the very first, of that amiable race, the bookmaniacs. He would buy, beg, borrow, receive with a view to grant a subsequent favour, and even, it may be feared, condescend like many another bibliophile, both ancient and modern, to steal books, if they were not to be obtained in a simpler and more honest fashion. It was with him *quocunque modo, rem*, books by hook or by crook. "Books are vessels of wisdom, transcending all human estimation; and so, as Gregory says of the kingdom of heaven, 'their value is whatever you possess.'"[†] De Bury seems to have had a very small tincture of Greek, as was only natural considering when he lived, but a great enthusiasm for books, and a curious store of anecdotes of great men picked up from Latin books, or perhaps, oftener still, from translations. Many of his utterances about books are very beautiful, and show an eagerness both in the acquisition and possession of books such as might be termed singular for a man in his episcopal office, which, in ancient or in modern times, specially demands a practical man, did not the name of the prelate who so worthily fills the throne of Durham at present offer a suitable parallel. His allusions are frequently too far-fetched to command any sympathy. His scriptural quotations are applied in a manner which to us appears little short of ludicrous. Often his style degenerates into rhetoric run mad. Still there is a residuum, which can be contemplated over and over again with advantage by the book-lover, and specially by the students of the fifteenth century. The crabbed, euphuistic character of his writings is well worth studying, as a help for understanding the literature of his age, and espe-

cially that of the succeeding one, both of which were deeply tinged with this fashionable craze.

The life of Richard de Bury resembled that of many Middle Age bishops, such as Lanfranc and Becket. It was made up of attendance at Court and embassies abroad. Like William of Wykeham, his paternal name is scarcely known. It may be Awngeville, Aungerville, Almgerville, or Muiegerville, the prevailing laxity on etymology having mainly to answer for these variations. His father was a knight of Norman descent, who, dying early, left his son to be brought up by the Willoughbys, the lad's uncles on his mother's side. The date of Richard's birth is given as 1287. After a sojourn at Oxford, he was chosen to be tutor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III. Espousing the side of his mother Isabella, he narrowly escaped the wrath of Edward II.'s lieutenant in Gascony by concealing himself in the belfry of the Franciscans at Paris. On the accession of Edward III. it was but natural that Richard de Bury's star should again be in the ascendant. He was sent as ambassador to Rome in 1329, being at that time Steward of the Palace, Treasurer of the Wardrobe, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1332 the Bishop of Durham died. Robert de Graystones was selected as his successor by the chapter, and actually consecrated by the Archbishop of York. Richard de Bury, however, strong in the king's favour, ousted him after some trouble, and was himself installed at Durham, on June 5, 1334. About the same time he was appointed Lord Chancellor. In 1335 we find him travelling, again on his master's service, in Flanders, Hainault, and Germany. It is pleasant to dwell upon his researches for books in these countries; then, as now, offering so fine a hunting-ground to the book-lover. Many a convent library did he doubtless ransack, to admire if he might not purchase or beg; and the heart of many a devoted copyist must have been gladdened with his bounty. Scottish affairs, complicated by the invasion of Bruce, next demanded his care, and in 1337 he was again ambassador in France. Before his death, in 1345, he enjoyed the rest which so active a life demanded, and seems to have employed it in the com-

* *Lit. of Europe*, vol. i. chap. i.

† *Philobiblon*, end of chap. iii.

position of the *Philobiblon*, and the company of his beloved books. He prepared a catalogue of his library, which however has been lost, and left the books to Trinity College, Oxford. In the reign of Henry VIII. they were removed to Balliol to be added to the collections of Duke Humphrey and George Owen. The friend of Petrarch and of all the English scholars of his time, Richard de Bury, if of a somewhat imperious temperament, fulfilled the various public duties which he was called upon to discharge with faithfulness. Of a wise and politic nature, he managed to make few enemies, while himself occupying an exalted station. But posterity is most interested in him for his love of books. Here he was before his age, and his bibliomania would have done credit to Heber or Dibdin himself. What stores of Horæ and MSS. blazing with the most brilliant hues of the *scriptorium* must not his library have contained! A modern bibliomaniac's mouth waters at the bare contemplation of them. In ornaments, seals, and other objects of *virtu*, he also possessed a nice taste and had acquired a large collection, the list of which is yet extant in one of the volumes of the Surtees Society. Richard de Bury was thus very much more than a typical man of his time.*

For the bibliography of the *Philobiblon* we must refer the reader to an able and exhaustive chapter in the American edition. It will suffice here to state that several of our great libraries contain manuscripts of it, and there are no less than three—one a folio, bound in red morocco, and bearing the arms of Colbert—in the Imperial Library at Paris. The first edition is dated 1473, and is a priceless bibliographic treasure. There are two copies of it also in the Imperial Library. Until late years the book was best known in England by the Oxford edition of 1599. A fair translation was published in 1832 by Mr. J. B. Inglis; but an exact and more scholar-like transcript into our tongue is still to be desired.

Literature as such was little known to the people, even to many of the kings and great men, of the fourteenth century. Scho-

* See Introduction to the American Edition of the *Philobiblon*, by S. Hand (Albany, 1861, 8vo).

lars indeed dwelt upon the Greek and Latin authors with delight, and made numerous translations of favourite parts of the classics; but scholars were few. If there was such a thing as a popular book at that time, it was the "Romance of the Rose." That a treatise on the love of books should have been written in that age, and by a man so busy and occupied in the highest cares of State as Richard de Bury, is very noteworthy. It shows that his own ardent words respecting the friendship of books were written from the heart, and that he was, as are all great men, in a certain sense before his time. Every word of his little book proves that the old Bishop of Durham possessed the amiable weaknesses and kindly traits of the book-lover in every age. The tenth commandment, it may be feared, was habitually broken when his thoughts ran on books; and offences against the eighth one, when book-stealing was in question, were most likely condoned by his conscience with singular ease. He frankly tells us that any one could win his good word by quartos rather than by money; and when raised to high estate, and able to help small and great, instead of friendly gifts, presents and jewels, there flowed in upon him a stream of mouldy quartos and ragged folios.* In a word, abbeys, monasteries, and religious houses of all kinds, opened their stores, when it was once understood that the gift of a few books would win the Bishop's good word, so that the scholarly recluses of the *scriptoria* must have been well pleased to see their literary friend together with his retinue disappear. The good Bishop warms as he recounts his different devices for obtaining the books which he most coveted, and breaks out—"Quis inter tot argutissimos venatores lepusculus delitesceret? quis pisciculus istorum nunc hamos, nunc retia, nunc sagenas evaderet?"

We have termed Richard de Bury's style euphuistic because no other word so exactly denotes its florid rhetorical verbiage, abhorrent to a lover of Ciceronian Latin. He delights in new-fangled expressions, reminding us of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*,

§ Affluerunt loco xeniorum (al' enceniorum) et munerum, locoque donorum et jocalium, coenulenti quaterni ac decrepiti codices (*Philob.* 8).

like *geologia, synderesis, theriaca, ambassialibus*, and the like. His periods are turgid and rhetorical, obscured by frequent recondite allusions; "the Helle-flight of Euclid," "the prolific mother Phronesis," "the perfumed panther," are some of these. Ideas are amplified, and synonymous, or almost synonymous, expressions heaped one on another with bewildering frequency; so that the *Philobiblon* is neither pleasant to read, if the peruser be a classical scholar, nor easy to translate, save to the man who is fond of the barbarous ecclesiastical Latinity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus, after speaking of his love for books, and the constant search he made after them in his travels, the Bishop adds, in words which do not easily flow into English, though their sense is sufficiently evident:—

Hæc enim peregrinationum absinthia quasi quadam pigmenta (al pigmentaria potio) dulcoravit. Hæc post perplexas intricaciones et scrupulosas (query, os?) causarum aufractus et vix egressibiles reipublice labyrinthos ad respirandum parumper temperiem auræ levis aperiant (8).

The "ecstatic love of books" spoken of by the Bishop, impelled him to write in order to show that he was not carrying his love to excess, but that his accumulation of books was fraught with benefits to his fellow-men. His treatise is divided into twenty chapters. They touch on divers matters, as will be shown, but the burden of all is the fitness of books for teaching men. He breaks out in the beginning into words which strongly remind us of Cicero's encomium on the liberal arts in defending Archias—

These are the masters who instruct us without birch-rods or cane, without chiding and anger, without clothes and money being needed. If you approach, they sleep not; if you ask of them inquiringly, they do not withdraw themselves, do not murmur at you if you make mistakes; do not laugh, if you are a dunce.

No words are too strong for him to clothe his admiration for books:—

Ye are the Tree of Life (he addresses them, drawing upon Biblical imagery), the four-part river of Paradise by which the mind of man is fed, thirsty intellect moistened and watered. Ye are the Ark of Noah and the ladder of Jacob, and the troughs by which the offspring of those who behold them is coloured; ye are the stones of the Covenant and the pitchers which held the lamps of Gideon, the wallet of David from which are taken the most polished pebbles by which some Goliath is slain.

Much more is added in the same strain compendiously summed up in the remark, "optima quæque scripturæ libris adaptare poterimus, si loqui libeat figurate" (cap. i.). The last year or two have produced two books which would have been intensely grateful to this fourteenth-century Bishop, Mr. Lang's charming tractate, *The Library*, and Mr. Blades's *Enemies of Books*. Indeed, the latter author scarcely exceeds the Bishop in his abhorrence that any of the fair sex should come near or be lightly trusted with books. In truth, any owner of a library may well distrust his womankind. How many a book-lover's most precious tomes meet with the terrible fate which the Laureate has so well depicted in the case of his needy Squire!—

Heäps an' heäps o' boöoks, I ha' see'd 'em, be-
long'd to the Squire;
But the lasses ed teärd out leaves i' the middle to
kindle the fire;
Sa moät on 'is owd big boöoks fetch'd nigh to nowt
at the säile.*

Hear now the torrent of abuse which Richard de Bury pours out on women for their despicable treatment of books. Inglis must translate the Bishop's nervous Latin; we scarcely dare hope to do justice to its vehemence—

Our places [books are represented as complain-
ing] are occupied sometimes by a biped beast, woman to wit, whose cohabitation was formerly shunned by the clergy from whom we have even taught our pupils to fly more than from the asp and the basilisk; wherefore this beast, ever jealous of our studies, and at all times implacable, spying us at last in a corner protected only by the web of some long-deceased spider, drawing her forehead into wrinkles, laughs us to scorn, abuses us in virulent speeches, points us out as the only superfluous furniture lodged in the whole house; complains that we are useless for any purpose of domestic economy whatever, and recommends our being bartered away forthwith for costly head-dresses, cambric, silk, twice-dipped purple garments, woollen, linen, and furs; and indeed with reason, if she could see the interior of our hearts, or be present at our secret councils.†

* Ballads, *The Village Wife*, p. 80.

† We subjoin the Latin as it is a fair specimen of the Bishop's heroic vein:—"Occupat enim loca nostra bestia bipedalis, scilicet mulier, cujus habitatio vitabatur a clericis, a qua semper super aspidem et basiliscum alumnos nostros docuimus fugiendum; quamobrem ista bestia nostris studiis semper æmula, nullo die placanda, finaliter nos conspectos in angulo jam defunctæ arenæ (? araneæ) sola tela protectos, in

Books, the author goes on to say, should be bought at any price, unless the dealer is evidently cheating, or unless a better opportunity of purchasing is expected. The fourth chapter shows how ungratefully the corrupt clergy of the time behaved to books, and incidentally gives some curious particulars of clerical life. Hounds and hawks occupy too often the inner chamber in the clergy houses, where books had of right their peaceful cells. These continue to make their moan; how their garments are torn off them, and, to use the Psalmist's words, "Their belly is agglutinated to the earth, and their glory reduced to dust." Damp, smoke, and dust induce various diseases:—

Our stomachs are destroyed by the severe griping of our bowels, which greedy worms never cease to gnaw. We are thrown into dark corners, ragged, shivering and weeping, or with holy Job seated on a dunghill or (what appears too indecent to be told), we are buried in the abysses of a common sewer. Again, we are sold like slaves and female captives, or left as pledges in taverns without redemption. (Ingliš.)

Another curious passage shows that the custom of goldsmiths keeping their gold-leaf between the pages of books prevailed as early as the fourteenth century. The monks come in for no small share of blame—"Grege et valera, porri et olera, potus et patera, lectiones sunt hodie et studia monachorum, exceptis quibusdam paucis electis, in quibus patrum precedentium non imago, sed vestigium remanet aliquale." There is no mention of fishing among their amusements, and yet it must have been popular in certain localities. Only twenty-three years were to intervene before Dame Juliana Berners, herself the head, as saith the legend, of a religious house at Sopwell, was to put forth by the types of Wynkyn de Worde the first English treatise on that excellent recreation. The Bishop was familiar, however, with its implements, if he did not learn them from his books.

The reverence of the age for Aristotle is

rugam fronte collecta, virulentis sermonibus detrahit et subsannat. Ac nos in tota domus supellectili semper vacuos hospitari demonstrat, et ad unumquodque economiæ servitium queritur otiosos, et mox in capitegia preciosa, syndonem et sericum, et coccum bis tinctum, vestes et varias farraturas lanam et linum consulit commutandos. Et quidem merito, si videret intrinseca cordis nostri, si nostris privatis interfuisset consiliis" (cap. iv.).

amusingly exemplified in the terms of exaggerated respect which the Bishop uses of him—

Even Aristotle, although of gigantic mind, in whom it pleased Nature to try how great a portion of reason she could admit into mortality, and whom the Most High made but little inferior to the angels, who sucked those wonderful volumes out of his own fingers (ex digitis suis suxit), which the whole world scarcely comprehends, would not have flourished if he had not, with the penetrating eyes of a lynx, looked through the sacred books of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Persians and Medes (cap. x.).

The singular expression—"sucking from his fingers"—is a curious parallel to Lord Bacon's language in the *Novum Organon*, who speaks of men spinning philosophical theories, like spiders, from their own brains.

Passing now to the more immediate purpose of the *Philobiblon*, it is easy to imagine the author, like Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenforde—

For him was lever han at his beddes hed
Twenty bokes clothed in blake or red
Of Aristotle and his philosophie
Than robes riche or fidel or sautrie,

Accordingly, no bibliomaniac or bibliophile of modern days can excel his devotion to the library. Does a book-hunter at present require a rare volume, or merely wish to search for any treasure which fortune may throw in his way? He goes to Paris, and tries the second-hand booksellers on the different *quais*. The Bishop waxes eloquent also on the charms of Paris, the garden of the world, as far as books are concerned:—

Oh, blessed God of gods in Sion! what a gush of the river of pleasure gladdened our heart as often as we found leisure to visit Paris, the paradise of the world. There are delightful libraries over cells, redolent of spices; there a flourishing garden of all kinds of books, there academic meadows trembling at the motion of the earth, the abodes of Athenian Peripatetics, promontories of Parnassus, and porticoes of the Stoics (cap. viii.).

Poetry is dear to his soul, but the exact sciences, especially Euclid, were distasteful enough. Of the latter, he writes that many scholars have been repelled as by a crag that could not be scaled.*

Turning to the practical side of book-loving,

* Such seems the meaning of the very crabbed passage (cap. xiii.)—"Quot Euclidis discipulos reject Ellefuga, quasi scopulus eminens et abruptus, qui nullo scholarium suffragio scandi posset."

never had books more loving and careful guardian than Richard de Bury:—

There was always about us in our halls (he writes) no small assemblage of antiquaries, scribes, book-binders, correctors, illuminators, and generally of all such persons as were qualified to labour advantageously in the service of books (cap. viii.).

No modern book-lover could anathematize the "plough" of the binder more than the Bishop reprobates the analogous evil practices of his time:—

There are also certain thieves who infamously dismember books by cutting off the side margins for letter-paper, leaving only the letters or text, or the fly-leaves put in for the preservation of the book, which they take away for various uses and abuses; which sort of sacrilege ought to be prohibited under a threat of anathema.

He makes a marked distinction between clergy and laics, the former, as was only natural, being regarded as the suitable people to possess and use books aright.

Truly next to the vestments and vessels dedicated to the Body of the Lord, holy books deserve to be most decorously handled by the clergy, upon which injury is inflicted as often as they presume to touch them with a dirty hand (cap. xvii.). On the other hand, laymen, to whom it matters not whether they look at a book turned wrong side upwards or spread before them in its natural order, are altogether unworthy of any communion with books.*

The 17th chapter is written with much force, and inculcates the handling of books in a cleanly manner and keeping them in order. Boys he reprehends sternly, and the book-lover of to-day must own sadly that they have not improved in this point since De Bury's time. A very amusing paragraph sums up the ordinary misuse of books by them. They refrain from using pocket-handkerchiefs while reading, if they happen to have a cold, and the book is injured. Their fingers are dirty. They stick straws in at different places for marks. They eat fruit and cheese over books, "and because they have no alms-bag at hand, leave the rest of the fragments in the books." They fall asleep over and wrinkle the pages, or turn them down with their elbows, and so form dogs' ears of them. When spring comes, they fill their volumes with firstling violets, roses, and quadrifolios; being "neglecters

* *Ibid.* cnf. end of cap. xiv. "Omne genus hominum qui tonsura vel nomine clericali præfulgent libris tenentur veneratione perpetua famulari."

rather than inspectors" of books. Worse still, when they find an unoccupied margin, they "become incongruous annotators," and "furnish it with a monstrous alphabet, or their unchastened pen immediately presumes to draw any other frivolous thing whatever that occurs to their imagination." In a word, boys are the chief enemies of all books (next, perhaps, to laics); although Mr. Blades, in our own day, has altogether forgotten to enumerate them among the foes of books in his amusing volume on the subject. The care of books is esteemed a sacred duty by the worthy Bishop, and he is at no loss for scriptural arguments to prove his position:—

The most meek Moses instructs us about making cases for books in the neatest manner, whereby they may be safely preserved from all damage. "Take this book," says he, "and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God" (Deut. xxi.). But our Saviour also, by His own example precludes all unseemly negligence in the treatment of books, as may be read in Luke iv. For when He had read over the Scriptural prophecy written about Himself in a book delivered to Him, He did not return it to the minister till He had first closed it with His most holy hands; by which act students are most clearly taught that they ought not in the smallest degree whatever to be negligent about the custody of books.

As for the literary Epicureanism which would prescribe the daintiest of shelves and surroundings for the Bishop's favourites, the following paragraph on the point may be appended. It is an apt illustration, moreover, of his rhetorical vein:—

Mox tabulata cedrina cum lignis et trabibus lævigatis aptissime complænantur auro et ebore, epigrammata designantur camerulis, quibus ipsa volumina reverenter illata suavissime collocantur, sic ut nullum alternis ingressum impediatur vel propinquitate vero nimia fratrem suum lædat.*

Richard de Bury left his books, as has been said, to the University of Oxford. In chap. xviii. he declares his will herein in words which remind us of Sir T. Bodley's intentions some three centuries later, as expounded by Prince, in his *Worthies of Devon*, towards the same University. "This

* Or (to improve upon Inglis's translation)—"Soon cedar frames with supporters and shelves neatly planed are most becomingly overlaid with gold and ivory, inscriptions are placed over the partitions, in which the volumes themselves are brought and most delicately placed in order, so that none should hinder the entrance of another, or by being packed too close injure its brother" (cap. vii.).

honourable person," says Prince, "taking into consideration the ruinous confused condition the old library there (said to be founded by Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester, and other worthy Mecænases) then lay in, to the great hindrance and decay of learning, resolves to undertake the reformation thereof at his own cost and charges." And the worthy chronicler continues: "Sir Thomas in two years brought his work to some perfection, and then bestows abundance of choice books upon it, which, with great cost and care, himself had collected in foreign countries to the value of about £10,000, as Dr. Willet tells us." Having therefore announced his disposition of the books which he loved so well, our author in the concluding chapter exhorts his readers to pray for him, and at the same time teaches them how to pray. Thus the book ends religiously, as it begun. The colophon runs: "Thus endeth the Philobiblon, or Book upon the Love of Books. Printed at Cologne in the year of our Lord M.CCCC.LXXIII."

In spite of the interest of its "contents," nothing can make up to the classical scholar for the inflated, and highly rhetorical style of the *Philobiblon*. The author frequently piles an Ossa of metaphor upon a Pelion of turgid verbosity until his meaning and the reader's patience alike disappear. Christianity is jostled by the heathen deities. Aristotle becomes a more weighty authority than St. John in one page; in another, an utterance of one of the minor prophets transcends all the garnered wisdom of the profane world. It is this verbosity and want of proportion which disturbs that lucid critic, Hallam. Richard de Bury's "erudition," he says, "appears crude and uncritical, his style indifferent, and his thoughts superficial." And again "the *Philobiblon* is worthy of being read, as containing some curious illustrations of the state of literature. He quotes a wretched poem *de Vetulâ*, as Ovid's, and shows little learning, though he has a great esteem for it."* In the wonderful development of bibliophilism to which every book sale and every critical newspaper at present testifies, the *Philobiblon* cannot but prove interesting, as the first of the numerous books

**Lit. of Europe*, part i. cap. i.

which have since been published, on the special madness of which it treats. It occupies the same position towards Dibdin or Ames as the "Compleat Angler" does to all subsequent treatises on fishing. And yet it is so scarce that a new edition, put out by a competent scholar, with a trustworthy translation, instead of the slipshod version of Inglis, would be welcomed as a boon. Indeed, it is surprising that an age which is so powerfully drawn to all the literary monuments of our ancestors, should suffer such a representative book as the *Philobiblon* to become practically out of print.

M. G. WATKINS.



Curious Corporation Customs.

HERE is a curious history to be gleaned from corporation customs, for it seems as if, after the struggle for preservation against the encroachment of feudal lords or central government, these customs were so jealously preserved as practically to have come down to modern times in the same form as they existed in early times. And looking to the fact that there is ample evidence to show that the origin of English municipalities lies not in the charter granted by the king, but in the established rights and privileges of the townsmen as subsequently embodied in the charter, it may readily be conceived that a record of corporation customs will afford a not unimportant subject to the antiquarian student. It is a curious fact, too, that there exists a whole group of corporation customs altogether outside those granted by charter—a fact that should make us regard the subject as one likely to contribute an important chapter in the history of English municipalities. But our present object is limited to the work of collecting together in these pages some few of the customs which are now only scattered items of literature, and whose value can never be rightly comprehended so long as they remain unconnected with each other.

Of corporation processions and festivals there is, of course, much to be said; and the

antiquary has not neglected this subject.* But still there are a few out-of-the-way examples which, not partaking of the magnitude and importance of such processions as those at Coventry, Shrewsbury, and elsewhere, have not yet been brought under consideration. Of these, the following curious examples will prove of interest:—

“There was an ancient custom for the principal tenancy of the Legh family in the neighbourhood to walk in procession through the borough of Newton, Lancashire, preceded by a band of music, and dressed in long grey woollen coats (from whence they are usually called whitecoats) given by that family, with their crest or badge on them, and with halberds, and in this manner to attend the elections for members of Parliament for the borough; also the annual fairs, and the courts leet held twice a year.”†

“At Salisbury, the processions with the trading companies are with a wooden giant; the hobby-horse was, in the days of Salisbury’s trading prosperity, of considerable interest. They have now fallen into decay; but there is a book among the corporation archives to regulate them.”‡

A very curious bit of municipal history is brought to light by the old custom of carrying a sword in the processions of the mayors.

Henry VII. granted to Chester that the mayor may have the sword borne before him “in our absence, and may cause it to be borne before him with the point upright, in the presence as well as of other nobles and lords of our realm of England who are related to us in lineal consanguinity and others whomsoever, as in any other manner howsoever.”§ It is interesting to note that the corporation of Chester, in 1607, successfully defended their right against the Dean and Chapter, and in the award it is granted that “as often as the mayor repaired to the church

to hear divine service or sermon, or upon any just occasion, he was to be at liberty to have the sword of the city borne before him with the point upwards.”* In London, too, the same privilege was defended in times when its right was disputed. A copy of a letter exists among the archives of London, dated about 1582, written by the Lord Mayor to the Lord Chancellor, and complaining “that when he (the Lord Mayor) attended to take his oath without the Tower Gate, he had Her Majesty’s sword carried before him in the streets, as had been the custom to carry it in Westminster Hall until they came to the bar of Her Majesty’s Court, when the sword was reversed by the sword-bearer as in the presence of Her Majesty; and so it had intended to be done when arriving at the place where the Lieutenant sat as had been the custom. They were met at the corner of Tower Street by two of the warders, who commanded Her Majesty’s sword to be holden down, and pressed violently to take it down, but through the good discretion of the Recorder they were peaceably holden off.”† And later on, in 1633, a similar dispute took place with reference to the right of the Lord Mayor to have the sword borne up before him within St. Paul’s Cathedral, and “especially within the choir.”‡ Now this right, curiously defended by two such important and ancient corporations as Chester and London, carries us farther back into antiquity than the date of the chartered-grant. It does not owe its origin to the framers of the charter, but existed as one of the popular privileges of self-governing communities long before, and became one of the concessions made by the charter only because the charter adopted the customs existing at the time. That this view of the case is the correct one, is proved not only by the general method of imperial legislation upon local matters, as illustrated by modern experience, but by the curious analogy which exists in a self-governing community whose origin and practice is admittedly archaic. One of the ceremonies incidental to the great folk-meeting on Tynwald Hill, in the Isle of Man, was according “to the constitution of old

* See the contributions to the *Gent. Magazine* of 1824 and 1825, on the London Pageants, *temp.* Charles II., besides the well-known books on the subject.

† *Report of the Public Records Commission* (1835), p. 473.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 479.

§ It should be observed that this is simply a copy of older grants of the same privilege, *e.g.*, Norwich *temp.* Henry IV., mentioned by Thompson, *Eng. Mun. Hist.*, p. 175.

* See *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Fifth Report, p. 342.

† *Remembrancia*, p. 432.

‡ *Ibid.* 328.

time," that the lord should "sitt in a chaire . . . with the sword before him holden with the point upwards."* It should not be forgotten that here we have a typical ceremony of the election of the tribal chiefs of primitive communities, and the parallel to municipal custom is not too far apart to indulge in the conclusion, that in this example of old municipal custom we have a survival from old tribal custom.

Under the guidance of this ancient custom, we may record the following curious letter from an indignant correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1825 (p. 401):—

This city of Exeter is celebrated in the page of history for heroic defences made against rebellious armies and ferocious invaders. The pretender, Perkin Warbeck, was gallantly repulsed from its walls. In reward for such loyalty and bravery, the Seventh Henry granted a charter of immunities, presented his own sword to the Mayor, and gave a *hat or cap* of liberty to be worn on all public occasions. The Mayor and Corporation enter the Cathedral, preceded by the swordbearer wearing this hat on his head, within the Choir, and does not take it off till he has deposited the sword before the Mayor, close to the throne of the Bishop. In like manner, he wears this hat in the HOUSE OF GOD, in marching in front of the procession leaving the Cathedral.

At the election of the mayor some very curious customs have come down to us. The mayor of Folkestone was chosen annually on the 8th of September. Early in the morning the town sergeant sounded the horn at the residence of every jurat and commoner, summoning them to assemble that day in the churchyard to elect a new mayor for the year ensuing. After attending divine service in the morning, the old mayor and jurats withdrew to the cross or pedestal in the churchyard, where were assembled the commoners and freemen. The old mayor shortly addressed them, and requested them to depart into the chancel of the church and elect a new mayor, which they accordingly did. If either the mayor or any of the jurats refused to assume their respective offices upon being elected, "the commons were to go and beat down their principal messuage."† This is a very significant survival from old times, because in the primitive village community the right to partake of the privileges of the community was

based solely upon the possession of a tenement within the village. As a municipal custom we find it elsewhere than at Folkestone. On the occasion of the election of bailiff at Hastings, it is a law that "if the said bailiff be absent, or will not accept the charge, all the commoners shall go and beat down his chief tenement."*

A remarkable custom took place at Southampton at the yearly election of the mayor and other corporate officers, to wit, the decorating of the guildhall with flowers and strewing the floor with rushes; and entries occur in the stewards' books, as far back as the year 1483, of payments made "for rushes for the hall" on the election of the mayor, in the month of September.† Another custom prevails upon the opening of Trinity fair by the mayor and corporation, who go to the ground in procession on the Saturday noon preceding Trinity Monday, when, as soon as the king's proclamation has been read, a pole is raised, at the top of which is placed a large glove; the senior bailiff then assumes the charge of the fair as chief magistrate *pro tempore* within its precincts. On Wednesday at noon the glove and pole are taken down and the fair is *ipso facto* concluded.‡

Deering, describing the ceremony of the election of the mayor of Nottingham, says:—"The old mayor seats himself in an elbow chair, at a table covered with black cloth, the mace being laid in the middle of it, covered with rosemary and sprigs of bay (which they term burying the mace), then the mayor presents the person before nominated to the body" assembled.

On the morning of the day appointed for the election of the mayor at Wycombe the great bell was tolled for a quarter of an hour and immediately succeeded by the ringing of the bells; the outgoing mayor, with the aldermen, bailiffs and burgesses attend divine service, a sermon is preached for the occasion; they afterwards go in procession to the guildhall preceded by a drummer beating a drum and by women as strewers of flowers. On the completion of the election

* *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xii. 197.

† See as to the custom of strewing rushes, Mr. Peacock's "Churchwarden Accounts of Stratton" in *Archæologia*, xlvi. p. 201.

‡ *Report of the Record Commission*, 1837, p. 494.

* Train, *History of the Isle of Man*, ii. p. 188.

† *Report of the Record Commission*, 1837, p. 453.

the mayor and corporation return from the hall and go round the market-house in procession, observing the same ceremonies, and are afterwards weighed and their weights recorded by the sergeant-at-mace who receives a small fee for his attendance.*

For a custom at the election of a mayor at Abingdon, in Berkshire, see the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Dec. 1782, p. 558. The following occurs in the same periodical for 1790, p. 1191:—

At Kidderminster is a singular custom. On the election of a bailiff the inhabitants assemble in the principal streets to throw cabbage-stalks at each other. The town-house bell gives signal for the affray. This is called lawless hour. This done (for it lasts an hour), the bailiff-elect and corporation, in their robes, preceded by drums and fifes (for they have no waits), visit the old and new bailiff, constables, &c. &c., attended by the mob. In the meantime the most respectable families in the neighbourhood are invited to meet and fling apples at them on their entrance. I have known forty pots of apples expended at one house.

Of some curious corporation privileges there are one or two important examples. The well-known saying of a "Scarborough Warning," the origin of which has been attributed to many causes, is stated by Abraham de la Pryme to be a municipal custom. He thus describes this custom:—

Scarburg Warning is a proverb in many places of the north, signifying any sudden warning given upon any account. Some think it arose from the sudden coming of an enemy against the castle there, and, having discharged a broadside, then commands them to surrender. Others think that the proverb had its original from other things, but all varies. However, this is the true origin thereof: "The town is a corporation town, and, tho' it is very poor now to what it was formerly, yet it has a . . . who is commonly a poor man, they haveing no rich ones amongst them. About two days before Michilmas day the sayd . . . being arrayed in his gown of state he mounts upon horseback, and has his attendants with him, and the macebear[er] carrying the mace before him, with two fiddlers and a base viol. Thus marching in state (as bigg as the lord mare of London) all along the shore side, they make many halts, and the cryer crys thus with a strange sort of a singing voice, high and low:—

Whay! Whay! Whay!
Pay your gavelage ha!
Between this and Michaelmas Day,
Or you'll be fined I say!

Then the fiddlers begin to dance, and caper, and play, fit to make one burst with laughter that sees and hears

them. Then they go on again and crys as before, with the greatest majesty and gravity imaginable, none of this comical crew being seen so much as to smile all the time, when us spectators are almost bursten with laughing. This is the true origin of the proverb, for this custome of gavelage is a certain tribute that every house pays to the . . . when he is pleased to call for it, and he gives not above one day warning, and may call for it when he pleases.*

Among other odd customs worth mentioning now are the following. The well-known custom at the election of the freemen at Alnwick has been so often quoted, that we pass over it, in order to note the subjoined account from Newcastle-on-Tyne, which we take from an old and, unfortunately, undated extract from the *Newcastle Chronicle*:—

Newcastle-on-Tyne still observes some of the olden ceremonies in connection with judges of assize. With the single exception of the city of Bristol no other town insists upon entertaining the representatives of the Crown during the assizes. The judges of assize are presented with gloves on their arrival, and are entertained with profuse hospitality until their duties are ended. When the assize work is over, the mayor and aldermen, in full regalia, attend the judges, and the mayor, as spokesman, makes a speech somewhat as follows:—"My lords, we have to congratulate you upon having completed your labours in this ancient town, and have also to inform you that you travel hence to Carlisle, through a border county much and often infested by the Scots; we therefore present each of your lordships with a piece of money to buy therewith a dagger to defend yourselves." He then presents to the senior judge a piece of gold coin of the reign of James I., called a Jacobus, and to the junior judge a similar coin of the reign of Charles I., a Carolus, and, after having been duly thanked by the judge in commission, retires. The Corporation have had at times great difficulty in procuring these coins for the purpose of the assize, and as keeping up the ceremony is enjoined by one of their ancient charters, they are loth to let it drop. Upon the death or resignation, therefore, of a judge who has been accustomed to travel the Northern Circuit, the Corporation at once offer to purchase from his representatives the "dagger money" he may have received as above on his several advents to Newcastle, in order to use it on future occasions, and they are accustomed to bid very liberally for the coins. Notwithstanding this, however, the supply has at times been so scanty that £15 has been, on more than one occasion, given for each necessary coin. The writer was present during a Newcastle winter assize, at which the judge waited in the town some hours after the termination of his duties in order duly to receive the much-prized coin, which had not arrived from some London coin-collector's. The late Baron Alderson, indeed, gave the Corporation no chance of receiving back for second-hand use his "dagger money." He chose the Northern Circuit (his own when at the bar) a great number of times

* *Report of the Record Commission, 1837, p. 512.*

* *Diary of A. de la Pryme, p. 126.*

when on the bench, and after each visit to Newcastle had his *Jacobus* or *Carolus* mounted as a brooch or other ornament, and presented it to some one or other of the members of his family.

The first Sunday that the new mayor of Penryn after his election walks to church in procession, a large silver cup, given to the corporation by Lady Jane Killigrew, is filled with various sorts of liquors, such as are supposed to be in the possession of the mayor for the time being, and immediately before going to church this cup is handed by one of the sergeants-at-mace to the mayor and each member of the corporation then assembled in rotation, and each takes a sip, and the sergeants-at-mace, constables, and town-crier drink the remainder.*

This may be compared with a very curious Irish municipal custom. At Dingle the chief officer of the

"tounne they call their Sovereigne who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors have with vs in England, and hath his Serjeants to attend vpon him and beare the mace before him as our Maiors. Upon the Sunday the Sovereigne cometh into the church with his Serjeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and then they kneele downe every man by himselfe privately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the church againe to drinke, which being done they returne againe into the church, and then the minister beginneth prayers."†

An old custom took place till about 1773 at Wenlock, in Shropshire. It was called the Boys' Bailiff, and was held in the Easter week, Holy Thursday, or in Whitsun week, and no doubt was for the purpose of going a bannering the extensive boundaries of this franchise, which consists of eighteen parishes. The procession consisted of a man, who wore a hair-cloth gown, and was called the bailiff, a recorder, justices, town clerk, sheriff, treasurer, crier, and other municipal officers. They were a large retinue of men and boys mounted on horseback, begirt with wooden swords, which they carried on their right sides, so that they must draw the swords out of the scabbards with their left hands. They did not go to the boundary, but used to call at all the gentlemen's houses in the franchise, where they were regaled with meat, drink, and money

* *Report of the Record Commission*, 1837, p. 473.

† From an old MS. account of Dingle in the sixteenth century. *Kilkenny Archaeological Society Trans.*, ii., 142.

and before the conclusion, they assembled at the pillory at the guildhall, where the town clerk read some sort of rigmorale, which they called their charter. One part was—

We go from Bickbury and Badger to Stoke-on-the-Clee,
To Monkhopton, Round Acton, and so return we.

Bickbury Badger and Stoke-on-the-Clee were, and are, the two extreme points of the franchise north and south; Monkhopton and Round Acton are two other parishes on the return from Stoke St. Millborough, otherwise, Stoke-on-the-Clee, to Much Wenlock.*

A custom at Southampton clearly belongs to the same class. A procession round the boundaries used to be made yearly by the sheriffs, bailiffs, and court leet, a few days previously to which the housekeepers were summoned to attend, and a fine of one penny was imposed upon all those who did not choose to take part in the ceremony. This custom was commonly known by the name of Cutthorn, from the circumstance of the court having been formerly holden at a particular spot on Southampton Common, called the "Cutted Thorn," now planted with trees. The grand procession in 1837 took place only once in five or seven years, and it set out on the morning of the second Tuesday after Easter week, anciently termed "Hock Tuesday," from the Burgate, and having made a complete circuit of the county, re-entered the town at the south-eastern gate. At the respective meer or boundary stones on the road it was formerly usual to perform various ludicrous ceremonies, called "colts," over those persons who had never before attended the procession."†

G. LAURENCE GOMME.



Guernsey Folk-Lore.

It is popularly supposed that in Victor Hugo's *Travailleurs de la Mer* is to be found a very fair account of the folk-lore and curious superstitions which still survive in Guernsey; but we have been recently assured by an old inhabi-

* *Report of the Record Commission*, 1837, p. 507.

† *Ibid.*, p. 494.

tant of the island that such is not the case, and that the early chapters of the book cannot "in any way be relied on as giving anything like a correct view of the popular superstitions of Guernsey."*

In a small work, however, called *Folk-lore of Guernsey and Sark*,† we have an account of some of the folk-lore as it was gathered from the cottagers and fishermen whilst the author rambled about the island, questioning the people here and there; but this book consists mainly of fairy tales and legends connected with different parts of the islands, and contains scarcely any of the scraps of folk-lore which will be noticed in this article.

The whole of my information was gathered from the people who live in the neighbourhood of Moulin Huet Bay, whilst I was staying in the island last summer; but the greater part was learnt from two old natives, one of whom was upwards of seventy years of age, and had lived nearly all her life in the island. Much of the folk-lore which I collected is by no means peculiar to the island, and many parallel illustrations could be given from other parts of the world; but I have refrained from doing this because, in the first place, the exigencies of space prevent me; and, secondly, they are already afforded by the publications of the Folk-lore Society, and other similar works. However well-known many of the charms, omens, and portents may be, it is surely not uninteresting to know the precise locality where they exist.

The wild flowers, with which the island abounds, afford remedies for many kinds of complaints and disorders; and I will begin by mentioning a few examples of folk-medicine. The most favourite kind of medicine appears to be a decoction of the dried or fresh leaves of numerous plants. Tea made from the dried leaves of the eyebright is supposed to add brilliancy and lustre to the eyes by purging the vision. The taking of snuff is also thought to preserve the eyesight. Chamomile tea, and mint tea, are beneficial for pains in the chest and stomach. Sting-nettle tea, made from the fresh leaves, and fumitory tea, whether from dried or fresh leaves,

purify the blood; whilst a decoction made from dandelion and dock roots have the same effect. For neuralgia and heartburn, which is called water-brash or water-pains, sage tea is an infallible remedy; whilst cinquefoil tea should be taken by people who are afflicted with paralysis. The leaves of the marsh-mallow, when crushed and placed between two pieces of muslin or fine linen upon an abscess or gathering, work wonders. The small curious-shaped leaves of the navel-wort, when pricked and laid upon corns, alleviate suffering immediately, and finally bring about a complete cure. For a double gathering there is a most curious charm. The person so afflicted must count backwards, commencing with the number nine, for nine mornings, at the end of which time the gathering will disappear. For instance, on the first morning, the person must begin by counting 9, 8 1; on the second morning, 8, 7 1, and so on, until the ninth morning, when the charm will have the desired effect. For cows which are attacked by strangury the following remedy is used:—

Take the leaves of the mullein; chop them up very fine, mix them with bran and water, and then give the whole to the cow.

For human beings affected with this disease thyme tea should be used.

It may be as well to mention here that the milk-parsley, or mouse-milk, when the morning dew is on the plant, should never on any account be handled, because the milk-white juice disfigures every part of the body with which it comes in contact.

Birds and other animals have come in for a share of the superstitions of the islanders; the magpie and the crow being birds of especial importance.

When you hear the cuckoo's note for the first time in the season, you must place a stone upon your head and run as fast as you can until the stone tumbles off on to the ground. The exact spot where the stone falls must then be noted, and the next day you must return, and underneath the stone, if it has not disappeared, you will find a welcome present of money. Should you, however, be unable to find a stone directly you hear the cuckoo, you must still run as fast as you can in order that you may be active and enjoy good health for the rest of the season.

* *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, v. 155.

† *Folk-lore of Guernsey and Sark*, an Appendix to Le Lievre's *Guernsey Guide*. By Louisa Lane-Clarke. Guernsey. 1880.

Children, as we are also told in *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, iii. 515, on hearing the cuckoo for the first time, repeat the following distich :—

Coucou, coucou, dis-mé,
Combien d'ans je vivrai !

The presence of two magpies is a most terrible portent, inasmuch as it is the immediate forerunner of death.

In most parts of England magpies are the subject of the refrain commencing "One for sorrow," but in Guernsey their place is taken by the crows. Consequently, crows are meant when this rhyme is repeated :—

One for sorrow, two for mirth,
Three for a wedding, four for a birth;
Five for heaven, six for hell,
And seven for the devil his own sel'.

Again, the robin, which is held in such reverence in England, is never welcomed at the window, even during the winter months, because its presence is supposed to foretell death. If you have any relations or friends abroad, you should mark the day and the precise hour at which a robin comes and pecks at the window-pane, so that if anything happens to any of those relations or friends you may know whether or not the bird is the cause.

A black cat passing by the window foretells the advent of a stranger; but this is also denoted by another omen—viz., by the piece of flaming wick which often darts upwards from the candle.

A crowing hen is regarded with great dread because it portends death; but the catastrophe may be averted by the immediate slaughter of the delinquent. The same belief prevails in France, where you have the proverb, "Une poule qui chante le coq, et une fille qui siffle, portent malheur dans la maison." This very proverb is known in a slightly different form to the people of Guernsey.

In addition to these superstitions connected with birds and animals, it is interesting to note that the inhabitants of the island are considered jack-asses until they have been to London; but if they have once been there, then they need have no fear of dying jack-asses. And so it is that when the Guernsey folk are returning from a trip to Jersey, the inhabitants of the latter island shout out in

derision, "E-or, E-or" (with a nasal twang), in imitation of a jack-ass's bray: whereupon the Guernsey folk reply by shouting out "Crapaud, Crapaud," *toad, toad*—in allusion to the number of toads which grow to a most remarkable size in Jersey, and to their entire absence in Guernsey.

Let us now turn to some of the superstitions which are connected with various parts of the body.

If your nose itches, it is a sure sign that you will either be thoroughly vexed or shake hands with a fool before the day is past and over. The itching of the foot betokens that you are soon about to go on strange ground. The tingling of the ears is also a sign of good or evil; the right ear for love, the left for spite. If the right hand itches, it denotes that you will receive money; if the left, that you will have to pay money away. If the right eye feels a sensation of pain, it foretells laughter and merriment; if the left, sorrow and weeping. But in these last four cases the order of things is often reversed; and, consequently, the itching of the right hand denotes the payment, and not the receipt of money, &c.

The first teeth of children, whether the teeth come out naturally or are extracted, must be burnt in the fire, so as to prevent the cavities from being filled up by dog's teeth. In connection with teeth, an unvarying cure for the toothache is to fill your mouth full of water, and then sit upon the fire until the water boils.

The origin of babies is variously accounted for. One story says that they are brought over in band-boxes from England in the mail packets; another that they are dug out of the parsley beds with golden spades; another that they come wrapped up in cotton-wool from the doctor's mysterious cupboard; and yet a fourth that they are to be found in the early morning sleeping among the dewy cabbage-leaves. If a baby cries at its baptism, it is a sign that it will be cross and peevish all its life; and it is very unlucky to cover up a baby's face when taking it to the church to be christened, until the ceremony is over.

People who wish well to children should invariably make them presents of eggs on their arrival into this world, so as to ensure

them a life of unsullied happiness and prosperity.

There are also many other portents of good or evil in addition to those already mentioned. For example, it is most unlucky to break a looking-glass, since the result is seven years of unhappiness; and as it is generally supposed that if you break one thing you will break three things in rapid succession, you consequently ensure for yourself in the event of breaking one looking-glass, and of this supposition turning out correct, twenty-one years of woe and misery, a punishment too fearful to think of.

Again, it bodes ill to dream of eggs, more especially if they are broken. In confirmation of this, one of my informants told me that she once saw in a dream a neighbour with a number of eggs in her apron, and that the very next day a dog flew at the neighbour and scratched her face and tore her dress. It is also unlucky to leave two knives crossed upon a plate; and when a slice is cut off a loaf of bread it is considered as an evil sign to put the loaf down upon the side from which the slice has just been cut.

For a spinster to meet a married woman, or for a bachelor a married man, on the Monday morning, bodes ill. An old inhabitant of the island told me that in her younger days she always avoided meeting the butter-woman on the Monday morning, until at last the butter-woman called out and assured her that she need not be afraid of one who brought good luck to people.

It may be as well to mention here that old maids before they die must jump over a broomstick and sing "God save the Queen" three times, in order to ensure for themselves perpetual happiness and joy in the world to come.

To put on stockings, or other articles of dress, the wrong way, or turned inside out, invariably brings luck; and great care must be taken not to alter their position on discovering the mistake. An intentional mistake is, however, of none avail. To throw an old shoe after a person who is leaving home, and intends to be absent for some time, will be the means of bringing him, or her, good luck. The person who told me this piece of folk-lore, assures me that when she left home for the first time her mother threw an old shoe

after her, and that this was the cause of the happiness and prosperity which attended her so long as she was absent.

The Guernsey people appear to be great tea-drinkers, and it is therefore not surprising to find that with tea-leaves are connected some few pieces of folk-lore. Some people profess themselves able to tell your fortune from an inspection of the arrangement of the tea-leaves or grounds in the bottom of a cup.

A tea-stalk floating on the surface of the tea in a cup foretells the coming of a lover. If the stalk, when pinched, is found to be soft, the lover will be charming; if, however, the stalk prove hard, the reverse will be the case, and disagreeable and angry looks will be on the lover's countenance. A tea-stalk is also supposed to denote the arrival of a letter; but a certain form must be gone through in order to ascertain the day when it will come. Immediately the stalk is seen floating on the surface of the tea, it must be taken out and placed upon the back of the left hand; and then beaten with the back of the right until it disappears. At the first stroke the person must say the name of the day on which the stalk has appeared; at the second stroke the name of the next day, and so on until the stalk disappears and announces the day on which the foretold missive will arrive. It not unfrequently happens that the stalk disappears by adhering to the back of the right hand at the first stroke.

The weather signs which I collected are very few; and this seems remarkable, owing to the number of superstitions connected with other things. Sneezing is a sign of rain; so also is the peculiar ring, or halo, which is often seen around the sun. The appearance of this ring, in fact, betokens bad weather of any kind—*e.g.*, fog, snow, hail, or storm. When there is a large number of berries on the hawthorn trees, a rough and hard winter may be foretold with great certainty.

On seeing the new moon there are certain ceremonies to be performed in order that good luck may ensue; and especial care must be taken not to look at the fair lady through a window-pane, or through trees. If the vision is in any way obstructed, the spell is broken. So then you must look at the new moon over the right shoulder, and tap with your hand the pocket of your coat or dress,

If when you do so there is money, no matter how little, you will have plenty of money for all your wants throughout her reign; but if there is no money in your pocket when you tap it, you will not be enriched by any addition to your present store. The moon, by the way, is called the Parish, or Poor Man's, Lantern.

The old belief still prevails here that it is unlucky to kill a pig after the full moon, because in this case the meat shrinks in the boiling. The pig must be killed between the new moon and the full moon, so that the meat in the boiling may swell out and increase.

We next come to the mass of folk-lore which has gathered round the subjects of love and marriage; and various are the spells which the young people work in order to discover who it is that loves them, and who are to be their future consorts. The favourite day of the year for working these spells is the twenty-first of December, St. Thomas's Day. On this day you must take a golden pippin, and having walked backwards to your bed, and having spoken to no one, you must then place it underneath the pillow, and St. Thomas will grant to you when asleep a vision of your future consort. On placing the pippin underneath the pillow, the following charm must be repeated:—

Le jour de St. Thomas,
Le plus court, et le plus bas.
Dieu, fais me voir en mon dormant,
Ce que j'aurai pour mon amant.
Montre moi et mon épousé
La maison ou j'habiterai.

In the *Folk-lore of Guernsey and Sark* the additional instructions are given:—"Take eighteen new pins, which have never been used or stuck into paper; put nine in the eye and nine in the stem, place the pippin under the pillow, with the left garter round it."

The rhyme given in this book is also different from, and grammatically more correct than, the one which I heard. I have made no attempt to represent the pronunciation of the peculiar local dialect. For this I would refer my readers to the chapter on Language and Literature in *The Channel Islands*, by Ansted and Latham. The following is the version referred to:—

Le jour de St. Thomas,
Le plus court, le plus bas,
Je prie Dieu journellement
Qu'il me fasse voir, en dormant,
Celui qui sera mon amant,
Et le pays et la contrée
Où il fera sa demeure,
Tel qu'il sera je l'aimerai.
Ainsi soit il.

Another method of obtaining in your dreams a vision of your lover is to place your boots, or shoes, on the floor directly below the spot where your head generally reposes, in the shape of a T; and when you are in bed repeat the following quatrain:—

I've put my shoes in the shape of a T,
Hoping my true love for to see.
Let him be young, let him be old,
Let him come and visit me.

Again, having cut out in paper all the letters of the alphabet, and having, on going to bed, placed them in a basin of water underneath the bedstead, in the morning, when you arise and look at the basin, you will see floating upon the surface of the water the letters which represent the initials of your lover.

If, when a servant is at work, her apron falls off in some mysterious way, she may be sure that her lover, or some dear friend, is thinking of her.

A vision of your future husband can also be obtained by the sowing of hemp-seed. The young maiden must scatter on the ground some hemp-seed, saying:—

Hemp-seed I sow, hemp-seed grow,
For my true love to come and mow.

Having done this she must immediately run into the house to prevent her legs being cut off by the reaper's sickle, and looking back she will see the longed-for lover mowing the hemp, which has grown so rapidly, and so mysteriously.

With the apple is connected another charm. If you succeed in peeling an apple whole, you must take the peel in your right hand, and whirl it three times round your head from right to left, and then let it fall on the ground. The shape which the peel assumes, when it has reached the ground, denotes the first letter of your intended's name.

Lastly, if you pass a piece of wedding-cake through the bride's ring, and place it

underneath the pillow when you go to bed, you will dream of your lover.

The presence of cobwebs in a kitchen is looked upon as a sign that a good deal of kissing takes place, but if there are no cobwebs, then there is no kissing for the maids have something else to do.

In the island there still lingers a remarkable faith in the powers of witches and witchcraft, as will be seen from the following particulars. It is perhaps needless to say that there are both good witches and bad witches, but the latter appear to predominate.

First, let us speak of the good witches. These have been known to help servants in their household work, and others engaged in various employments. The belief is still current that if a servant, who has not quite finished her day's work when she goes to bed, leaves a piece of cake upon the kitchen table, in the morning when she comes down she will find not only the previous day's work finished, but also a great part of the next day's work accomplished. Again, people who want help with their needle-work, must in the evening leave on the table needles and cotton, &c., so that the good witches may be enabled to assist them during the night.

Now for the bad witches. If you lose your way when out walking, and find yourself going round and round in a circle, and making no progress, the bad witches are supposed to be against you.

A story is told of a woman who complained that the loaf of bread, which had been sold to her, was bad, and having taken the loaf back to the shop, cut it into two equal parts, so that the witches might be equally unpropitious to both buyer and seller. To the bad witches are attributed bruises and burns, and the mysterious sound of the "death-watch" (*i.e.*, the tapping of a beetle which sounds like the clicking of a clock), the forerunner of death.

In conclusion, let me notice a peculiar game called "Sally Water," which is similar to the English "Kiss in the Ring," and is played by the children and their elders on various occasions. The subject of singing games has of late attracted so much attention, that it may not be irrelevant to give

the words of the song, which is sung during the game, as they were told me by one who had often joined in the game. The song, however, does not seem quite complete.

SALLY WATER.

Sally Water springing in the pan,
Take a young lady before a young man!
Take the best and leave the worst,
Take the one that you love best!
Now you're married I wish you joy.
The first of May, the second of June.
Kiss away!

White cockade and a blue one too,
Kiss a pretty maid and that will do.
Kiss her again, and don't be afraid,
Kiss the pretty maid with the white cockade.

The first of May, the second of June.
Now you're married I wish you joy,
First a girl and then a boy,
Seven years after,
Son and daughter,
Pray young couple and kiss away!
Kiss away!

Such then are the scraps of folk-lore which I gathered from the cottagers and fishermen who live in the neighbourhood of Moulin Huet Bay; which is one of the prettiest parts of the island, and famous for its rill-crossed paths, or "water-lanes." It may seem strange that all the rhymes which I have quoted are, with two exceptions, in English; but in the parish of St. Martin, which includes Moulin Huet, the inhabitants for the most part speak English as well as their own peculiar dialect. In the more secluded districts of the island, the people invariably speak the native *patois*, knowing scarcely any English, and look upon St. Martin's parish as quite another part of the world.

That these scraps of folk-lore, for the most part, are not peculiar to the island I know full well; my chief purpose has been to show the exact spot where they still survive. The reason why so much folk-lore and so many curious customs and superstitions have not disappeared in Guernsey, as they have in so many other places, is not hard to discover. "It is not here as in a large country. No one is unknown, and no event is forgotten. Change takes place here, as everywhere, but the change is the slower, and the more superficial, the harder the character it acts on.

The islanders are like their own granite—sound, tough, and hardy, but not easily sculptured or worked into soft artistic forms.”*

A. P. A.

NOTES

The Great Case of the Impositions.

By HUBERT HALL.

PART III.

THE Great Customs on wool, wool-fells, and leather, were before only briefly alluded to as the development of the ancient right of pre-emption, checked by a constitutional agitation, and finally determined, to the future embarrassment of the Government, in the interests of the political party then dominant.

The chief cause of the decay of this branch of the revenue, the social and commercial revolution effected by Henry VIII.'s domestic policy has already been hinted at; and there is no space for its further discussion here: therefore our attention must be confined to a short examination of some statistics concerning the wine and cloth duties, and certain local and petty customs.

The institution of the prizage upon imported wines, an economical extension of the right of pre-emption, is obscured by antiquity; for unlike the similar dues of the Crown from the distinctive exports, woollen and mineral, it was never limited and granted anew by any statute.

We have already traced its progress from the turning-point of the *Carta Mercatoria*, and it now remains to note from actual returns the result of the schism of the English merchants from the scheme propounded by the Crown in 1303.

The failure of the “Colloquium” in that year ensured the continuance of the old scale of custom on wines imported, by denizen merchants—namely, the prise of one or two, at most, casks out of every cargo unladen.

There were, however, exceptions to this duty, the result, perhaps, of the Parliamentary

grant of a subsidy on wines. The chief exception was, of course, that in favour of the stronghold of constitutional opposition, the City of London.

At a very early date this exemption was admitted. Chaucer, as the King's Butler, petitioned that this privilege of freedom from prizage might not be extended beyond *bond fide* citizens, such as “resient et demurrant deins le citty.” He acknowledged, however, that Londoners proper, as well as the men of the Cinque Ports, were “enfranchizes en ycelle, bien et franchement, aller avec lour vines là ou lour plerra permy le realme d'Angleterre, sans ascun prise à nostre signior le roy ent paier.”*

If we turn to the accounts of the Chief Butler, in the Pipe or Audit series, exactly a century later, we shall find the following position of the revenue from this source:—

From 1500 to 1504, 16–20 Henry VII., the import trade in wines was very sluggish. In the 17th year, the prizage from the Port of London was little or nothing, except abated or free toll to certain religious houses. The butlerage receipts were £85 16s. 8d. At Southampton, on the other hand, the prizage exceeded the butlerage by more than double.

In 1529–30 the same officer, John Lord Huse, Capitalis Pincerne Anglie for the time being,† accounted for the receipts “de cust et p'sis vino in sing^{is} por^{is} Anglie.” This “custuma” was the Butlerage or “parva custuma” substituted for the prizage by the *Carta Mercatoria*. It represented 2s. on every tun; the prizage being rated at £4. The following formula is decisive evidence as to the nature of this custom. £171 were received in the Port of London “de cust. 1712, dol vini div'sis marcat' alien. in port. p'dict. custumat. videlt. dol p antiqua cust ij^a put respoñs est Regi in q^m plur com^{is} pincerū Anglie p tempore existeñ; sicut cont' in libro de partictis inde sup hunc co^m ext'.” The total prizage and butlerage for London in this year was £214.

The chief ports mentioned are London, Bristol, Exon, Dartmouth, Southampton, Kingston-on-Hull, Sandwich, Yarmouth and others.

* *The Channel Islands*, by Ansted and Latham. 2d edit. 8vo, p. 560. 1867.

* Petitions to Parliament, Richard II. Hale, iii. 124.

† This office dated from Ed. 3.

Exemption of religious houses was still frequently allowed by a pious sovereign. The Abbess of Sion, in 1500, got "iiij. dol. iiij. hh. vini," and Dame Elinor Verney, "iiij. hh. vini," at a very low rate, "eo q^d d^{na} H. vij^{mus}, d^{na} nunc, concess' p'dict' libere et quiete absqz frectagio seu aliquo alio o^e, p litt. pa."

The total annual value of the prizage and butlerage under Henry VII. or Henry VIII. was between £1,500 and £2,000 on an average.

With the reign of Mary a slight increase is visible, pointing to the supposed necessity of adjusting the balance of trade. In 1554, at Exeter and Dartmouth, prizage was paid on seven tuns, and butlerage on 30 tuns, total, £48 15s., besides petty dues—"ultra frectag. et alia on^a"—45s. It will be seen that aliens contributed only one-sixteenth part of this revenue, from about half the bulk of wine imported by denizens. In the same year, in the port of London, denizens "non existeñ liberi ho'es civitatis London" paid prizage on 8 casks, plus 60s. "other dues." Aliens paid butlerage on 384 casks. The total receipts were £62 9s. 8d. for the year. Here again it will be seen that the custom on 384 casks was only £38 8s., whilst on less, probably, than a third of that number, £24 1s. 8d. was paid in the shape of prizage. It was seldom, however, that even the "liberi ho'es" of London or the Cinque Ports were exempt from prizage, though another port was more favoured from this period onwards.

At the beginning of the first year of Mary's reign the importation of wines to Southampton must for some reason have become almost disused. The imports in former years had been most extensive, and probably valuable to the town itself; but during this year no prize wines were taken; indeed, no denizens had landed any wine whatever at this time, while the customs on the cargoes of aliens amounted only to £4 10s. for the same period. The fact is that the worthy citizens of Southampton had been tempted to enrich themselves at the expense of their fellow-countrymen, and, in a slighter degree, of the now objectionable alien, and both of these had preferred to avoid the port altogether. How comes it then, that in the next reign we find the returns of this import very large, and the town of Southampton not

only exempt from prizage, but licensed to plunder the alien, who was now obliged to land at their port? It will be remembered that, in August, 1554, Philip and Mary granted to this very town the famous license which has been alluded to above. The denizens, and with them the richer part of the spoil, escaped by the interference of the common law, but, as it were in bravado, to compensate it for this loss, this town was henceforth exempted from prizage at a time when custom was paid on 658 tuns of wine imported by aliens, and more than half of that value was paid as prizage by denizens!

Under Henry VIII. the prizage was farmed for £4 per tun; under Elizabeth, for £6. Leases were granted by letters patent for terms of twenty or forty years, as a rule. The value of a butt of sweet wine under Elizabeth was £12.

During the period preceding the new impositions of Mary the parvæ customæ were regulated and enforced in the same protective spirit as the duty on the imported wines. The following scale in force at the port of London for the year 1545-6 may be taken as a sample. The duties were levied on "merchandize laden in the port and exported within the time of this account."

The custom-house regulations were most stringent, especially in the case of aliens; and the city officials took care that these competitors were spared no insult or extortion.

There seem to have been three classes formed out of those who paid these customs. Merchants of that port and city, denizens, and aliens. All of these paid 3d. in the £ on various merchandize. Towards the total custom of £2,943 from the exportation of undyed cloth, denizens contributed 14d. and aliens 19d. the piece. As the bulk exported by either was nearly equal, this inequality of duty influenced the returns considerably. Of worsted, 168 pieces exported by aliens paid 12d. in the pound, but 622 pieces were carried abroad by native traders at only 3d. the piece—valued at £1.

These comparatively low rates of custom ensured a vast demand for unwrought cloth in the Flemish markets. The retail trade was almost entirely taken out of the hands of the English artisan, and much suffering and

discontent followed. To remedy this evil the Government placed a bounty on home industries, in the shape of an imposition on exported cloths equivalent to an increase of 300 per cent. in the custom. At the same time, to propitiate the mercantile interest, which had grown rich by a real monopoly of exports, a still heavier imposition was laid on imported foreign wines. This was the state of affairs at Elizabeth's accession. The piece of cloth, undyed, now paid 2s. 9d. "beyond the poundage." Dyed cloth paid 5s. 6d., also exclusive of poundage.

The last of leather had to undergo the following scale of charges before it might be exported:—Custom, 20s.; subsidy £3 13s. 4d.; Calais toll, 16d. It may be inferred at whose expense these impositions were levied!

The new imposition on wines above referred to was derived, historically if not legally, from the "new custom" granted to Henry VIII. by Parliament. The following is the official account of the scale of duties on the butt of wine previous to the new imposition under Mary:—Subsidy, 2s.; new custom, 6s. 8d.; poundage, 3d. in the £; Butlerage, 2s.

The two marks new imposition enjoined by Gardiner in his despatch to the port officials of London was increased to four marks, and was continued at that rate under Elizabeth.

It is noteworthy that all these official calculations were made with regard to imports or exports by alien merchants.

The loss to the denizen was trifling, while the actual consumer was not taken into consideration at all; but the evil wrought was by the consequent stagnation of trade.

A comparative table of the exports and imports during the year 1570 shows well the false and exaggerated views of the Government with regard to the Balance of Trade; but at the same time we must not forget that these views were shared by the bulk of the nation.

The total exports amounted to £26,665 3s. 10d., paying for custom, £1,356 8s. 2d., and for subsidy, £835 17s. 4d. Of this sum, no less than £21,272 2s. 8d. was derived from woollen cloths. The imports were valued at £45,356 18s. 7d., but were rated only at £27,304 13s. 2d., paying for custom, £1,262 0s. 4d., for subsidy, £146 6s., and

for impost, £552 12s.* It is needless to say that the valuation made above was chiefly fictitious, being probably designed to represent the loss to the English manufacturer through foreign competition.

These figures, however, are highly instructive, showing that while the revenue derived from imports was only slightly inferior in value to that from exports on the same rated bulk, probably two-thirds of the former and a full half of the latter, in proportion, were contributed by the foreigner in the shape of a license to trade.

Still more light is thrown on the manipulation of the revenue by the Crown from the gross returns of the principal branches of the Customs for the first six years of Elizabeth's reign:†—

Woollen cloths: £37,800, £45,000, £31,900, £23,800, £25,000, £6,500, in round numbers. Total, £220,249 13s. 10d.

Woollen cloths "vocat cottons, freses et Bayes." Total, £5,000.

Imposition on wines. £2, 7, 6, 5, 2 and £5,000, in round numbers. Total, £29,000.

Custom and subsidy of wines. Total, £8,000.

I have checked the general accuracy of these figures by the proportion deducted for the charge of collection. This deduction amounted to a sixth of the gross receipts, a fact, it appears to me, of the deepest significance. The requirements or efficiency of an official establishment may safely be calculated in an exactly inverse ratio to its expenditure in every age of society.

This, then, was the nature and motive of the impost. It was a gigantic expedient to feed the nation and support the Government; to make, in a word, the existence of the present state of things possible.

If this state of things was undesirable, as I humbly conceive it to have been, then the exaction of the impost was a constitutional crime; but if, as most historians assert, it was desirable, then assuredly the impost was a political necessity. Yet, if it was a crime, the people themselves were something more than accomplices with the Government.

The nature of the remaining class of local or sub-feudal customs cannot be better

* £355 were paid on French wines out of this sum.

† Brevis Declaratio. Pipe Accounts. Bundle 457.

illustrated than by the account given in Hale's Treatise of the Port-dues levied at Sandwich, which were taken by that writer from a MS. *Consuetudines et usus Sandwici*, continued by various accountants from Edward I. to Edward III.

Knut had granted the port of Sandwich to the monks of Christ's Church, Canterbury, "ad victum monachorum."* Edward I. took the lordship over by exchange in his twenty-first year.

The King, therefore, having the port under the grant of the Prior of Christ Church, and his successors after him, had not only the great customs of wools, woolfells and leather, and his petty customs by virtue of Carta Mercatoria (for these he had in right of his Crown, whose ever the port is; and these were collected and answered by his customers); but besides these the king, as lord of the port of Sandwich, held such customs or consuetudines as the Prior had before as Lord of the Port.†

Even these trifling duties were of a somewhat protective character.

"Vin de Giens" paid 8½d., "Vin de Bresse" 4d. the tun. "De chescun nief achate" 2s., "De chescun battel vendu," 2d. "De chescun home que passe le mere," 2d., "De chescun home oue cheval, 2d."‡ "De chescun Agne, 6s. 8d. De chescun beef, 2d."

The system of port-dues maintained‡ at London was still more extensive, and their exaction in a protective spirit became, under Elizabeth, a question of great political importance. Details will be found in the Cotton Collection.

From the above inquiry we must have learned that even when the humanizing influence of the Church was visible on the side of reform, the Crown and the nation were never so much in accord on financial questions as when taxation was carried out at the expense of the alien trader. When humanity and religion were swept away by the Reformation, financial morality in public and private life disappeared also—some would say, never to return.

Be this as it may, it is at least rash to speak of the Impositions of James I. as an unprecedented violation of the Constitution.

* By charter preserved in the *Decem Scriptores*.

† Hale, iii. 133.

‡ Compare with this Baron Clark's argument; the writ *ne exeat regnum*; the constitutions of Clarendon, and Magna Carta.

Reviews.

The History of the Parishes of Sherburn and Cawood, with Notices of Wistow, Paxton, Toston, &c. Second edition. By W. WHEATER. (London: Longmans, Green & Co.) 8vo, pp. vi. 328.



THESE places, under the guidance of Mr. Wheeler, make up a very important contribution to local history. Situated about fifteen miles from York, Sherburn has been occupied during the whole of the historic time of England, and we have, accordingly, a long narrative of manorial history presented to us. Manorial history has been too long neglected by those who pay attention to local antiquities, and by those who use these local antiquities for other branches of history; and in spite of many eccentricities of style, and not very apposite allusions to facts of modern politics, we have much to be thankful to Mr. Wheeler for his account of the manor of Sherburn. In the open commonable land and the village homesteads of old Sherburn there are many glimpses of a very early historic life to be obtained, and the Act of 1770, which brought an end to the open lands, and "divided and enclosed the open part of the common arable fields and the common meadows, pasture grounds, commons and waste lands," closed a chapter of local history which began in a prehistoric past. We wish Mr. Wheeler could have given us some particulars, and a map of these common lands. One of the most important functions of the local historian is to gather up these out-of-the-way facts, because it is only he who has the materials at command and the knowledge of the facts. Failing other evidence, it is always well to reprint the old Enclosure Acts, because they are not to be obtained from any source, except by a visit to the House of Lords, where they exist in MS., for being private acts many of these have never been printed. But copies of them must exist among the archives of the place to which they refer, and it is just this assistance to the general historian that is expected from those who undertake the local history of the places they are natives of.

The book contains a great many important particulars of the places it deals with, paying special attention to the old churches, and other interesting features of architecture, such as the gateway of Steeton Hall, the great gateway to Cawood Castle, and the ancient stone effigies removed from Lede Hall to Hazelwood Hall. These and other architectural beauties are illustrated. Besides a great mass of information on family history, perhaps the most interesting portion of the book is the Journal of a Wistow Yeoman, William Storr, 1711. Here we have field-names, land measurements, forest customs, and lists of rents and services in the manor of Wistow. We quote the following from the wood customs:—"The custom of these hags is that the tennant at new hagg hath the new hagg Awayes in, but the other 4 hagg he keeps but 2 hags in at A time & Changes Every seven year & when his seven year is out he must fence in the other 2 hags in from the common for the next 7 year." One of the manor courts was the Lammas Court, "called the 'fearing court,' the Wed-

nesday after Lammas' Day." The manor possessed the office of "Byelawmen," whose duties are curiously set forth. All these important particulars, together with the common bakehouse, the maypole, and other rustic institutions, make a very important addition to the book. There is an illustration, too, of a farmhouse at Wistow, which is a capital example of early domestic architecture.

The Bradford Antiquary. Part 2, September, 1882. (Bradford: Published for the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.) 8vo, pp. 57, 112.

We are glad to see a continuance of this journal. Perhaps the most important of the papers here gathered together are Mr. Glossop's Ancient British Remains on Barldon Moor, Dr. Bell's on some fragment of Local Medical History, and the Bradford Soke by Mr. Cudworth. The latter article is an important contribution to the history of local government; and with its illustration of the "Entrance to Old Soke Mill," affords us pleasing evidence of the vitality of the Bradford Antiquarian Society. There are other papers of very considerable interest, notably the one on the Yorkshire Royalist Squire, which gives a very impressive chapter of family history; and together with the illustrations, which are of considerable value, the part forms a valuable contribution to antiquarian literature. We shall look forward to succeeding issues with pleasure.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Report and Transactions, 1881-1882. (Plymouth: Brendon & Sons.) 8vo, pp. 82-185.

There are two papers of this very interesting Report which our readers will like to be reminded of—Mr. Lach-Szyrma's on Cornish Folk-lore, and Miss Courtney's on Ghosts and Witchcraft. We all know Mr. Lach-Szyrma's indefatigable zeal in the cause of antiquarian study, and we trust his efforts to collect the still extant beliefs and superstitions will meet with their well merited success. His special knowledge of Polish and Bohemian legends enables him to go into some interesting phases of comparative folk-lore.

Gloucestershire Notes and Queries. Edited by Rev. BEAVER H. BLACKER. Part 16, October, 1882. (London: W. Kent and Co.) 8vo, pp. 169-220.

The interest of the present part mainly centres in family history, and this should recommend this excellently edited local gleaner to a large circle of our readers. We endorse our previous remarks as to its sphere of usefulness and interest.

The First Charter of Salford, co. Lancaster. By J. E. BAILEY. 1882. (Manchester: Ireland & Co.) 4to, pp. 10.

Mr. Bailey has done well in reprinting this from the Palatine Note Book. No one knows better than Mr. Bailey the value of these old charters, and we should rejoice to see him use his influence for the establishment of a Burgh Records Society for England. The first charter to Salford was granted by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and it contains many clauses showing very significant evidence as to the early origin of

municipal institutions. We find clauses giving the old burgage tenement, the right of pre-emption, the right to pasture, &c. We should like to see all the first corporation charters in England edited with the care Mr. Bailey has devoted to this one.

A Week in the Yorkshire Dales. By the Rev. JOHN PICKFORD. Second edition, 1882. (Manchester: Henry Gray.) 8vo, pp. 33.

This beautifully printed little volume is issued with the taste we are accustomed to expect from Mr. Gray, and we follow the author very pleasantly indeed in his journeyings to Ripon, Studley Royal, Fountains Abbey, Jervaulx Abbey, Danby Hall, Bolton Castle, and other places of interest in this most delightful district of England.

Rambling Sketches. By T. RAFFLES DAVISON, with Descriptive Notes by WM. E. A. AXON. Parts 1-3. (London and Manchester: Offices of *British Architect*.) 4to.

The plan of these rambling sketches is excellent, and will no doubt afford many an half-hour's amusement to those interested in the architectural curiosities and beauties of Europe. We wish, however, that the idea were limited to sketches of ancient art, because however interesting modern structures may be to professional architects, they are scarcely calculated, in most cases, to foster the love of art and art-culture. The timber church at Meverley; St. Edmund's Church, Mansfield Woodhouse; Bramhall Hall (five sketches); the Old Vicarage, Prestbury; a bit from an old house at Ipswich; the Guest Chamber, Craggside, Northumberland; are the most interesting of the series in our opinion. We would suggest to the artist that a very wide field of usefulness and interest exists in the domestic architecture of this country—a field that has been barely touched upon outside the detail-excellencies of Mr. Turner's book. These sketches are issued in monthly parts, and we cordially wish the venture the success it deserves.

Byegones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties. Two parts, April to September, 1882. (Oswestry.) 4to, pp. 41-128.

We always welcome good local efforts to collect the fast fading relics of past days. The journal before us deserves all support. These two parts contain many very valuable items not to be found elsewhere, though we take the opportunity of warning the editor against admitting too many quotations from well-known books. The Oswestry Corporation Records are exceedingly useful, and under the questionable title of "Popish Ceremonies in Wales," some very curious lore is gathered together. Folk-lore notes are well represented.

Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge. Part 1, January, 1642-1665. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. 1882.) 8vo, pp. xxxiv. 172.

St. John's College has set an admirable example to the other colleges, and we trust the example will be

widely followed; but we must not forget that St. John's has one very great advantage in having among its members such an accomplished biographer and bibliographer as Professor John E. B. Mayor. This register which he has edited is a model work, and will be of immense value to those whose studies lead them into the fascinating paths of biography.

On the 21st of January, 1629-30, Dr. Owen Gwyn, Master, and the senior fellows, made an order:—

"That the register of the College should have a booke provided him wherein he should from time to time write and register the names, parents, country, school, age and tutor of every one to be admitted into the college before their enrolling into the buttery tables; and shall receive of each of them for his pains as the head lecturers and deans do for their admission."

From this book Mr. Mayor has compiled his register. A former book is cited, but it is not known to exist, although "it is barely possible that it may be lying hid in the College treasury." The original entries are in Latin, and contain much verbiage, which is frequently repeated. The entries in the printed volume before us are in English, and have been drawn up on a system in which the facts are placed in the most convenient form. Professor Mayor has written a very interesting introduction, in which he makes some remarks on the various terms by which the trade, profession, or rank of the fathers of the students is described. Most of the entries were made from oral information, and there are in consequence many curious blunders in the spelling of names, &c. Hawarden appears in two forms—*Cowarden* and *Harding*, and Glemsford as *Glansford* and *Lensford*; and these are merely specimens of mis-spelling, some of which are much worse. When the lists of admission are completed indexes to the whole will be produced by Mr. P. J. F. Gantillon, of Cheltenham. These will consist of (1) names of persons; (2) names of places; (3) trade, profession and rank.

We will conclude our notice of this valuable book with an extract from Mr. Mayor's preface:—

"The value of such lists as this to the biographer, genealogist and philologist is manifest. They also tell from age to age how far the College fulfilled its mission of uniting class to class. We see noblemen, baronets, esquires, gentlemen, nearly on equal footing with the professional and commercial classes and with artisans. Together all went to the grammar school, together the more promising proceeded to the University; for plain living threw open the doors to every fortune. We boast of our reforms, but should be puzzled to show that the highest and lowest of our countrymen find as much to attract them here now as they did two centuries and a half ago."

The Rectors of Loughborough. By the Rev. W. G. DIMOCK FLETCHER, M.A. (Loughborough: H. Wills. 1882.) 12mo, pp. 53.

Mr. Fletcher, who had already produced an *Historical Handbook to Loughborough*, now follows that book with an account of the Rectors. He has been able to add largely to the particulars given in Nichols' *Leicestershire*, from searches made at the

Public Record Office, among the wills at Leicester and Somerset House, and in the Parish Registers of Loughborough itself. Nichols' list consists of twenty-eight rectors, but in these pages forty are named. The earliest rector whose name is known was Bertram, Dean of Lichfield in 1193.

Stanhope and its Neighbourhood. By W. MORLEY EGGLESTONE. (Stanhope: Wm. Egglestone.) 12mo, pp. 114.

Stanhope-in-Weardale possesses a history well worthy of record, and Mr. Egglestone has gathered together some interesting particulars respecting it. The rectory is best known out of Durham as having been one of the greatest prizes in the Church of England. Amongst the distinguished men who have been Rectors of Stanhope, special mention must be made of Bishop Tunstall, Bishop Butler, Author of the *Analogy*, and Bishop Philpotts of Exeter.

Memoir of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, President of the Court of Session, and Chancellor of Scotland. With an Appendix containing a List of the various Presidents of the Court, and Genealogical Tables of the Legal Families of Erskine, Hope, Dalrymple and Dundas. By GEORGE SETON, Advocate. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1882.) Sq. 8vo, pp. xiv. 217.

The Presidents of the Court of Session have mostly been distinguished men, and they deserve to find a biographer. Mr. Seton proposes to be this biographer, but some friends have had misgivings whether the public are likely to welcome a series of lives of these great lawyers, and they have therefore advised him to print his life of President Seton as a specimen, and if that is favourably received, to follow on with the others. This book is so well done that we trust it will not long stand alone, and we have little doubt but that Mr. Seton will be called upon to complete his important labours. Scottish lawyers have always held a more important position in Scotland as leaders of Edinburgh society than can be claimed for them in England, and we frequently come across references to the doings of "The Fifteen" in Scottish literature. The introductory chapter deals with the origin of the Court of Civil Jurisdiction by James I., and the institution of the Court of Session by James V.; and the remainder of the volume is devoted to the life of President Seton. Mr. Seton expresses a fear that, as antiquarian biography has somewhere been pronounced to be "at once the most laborious and most unreadable kind of writing," his book, in spite of his endeavour to put a human interest into it, will be found to be dull. We can reassure him, and affirm with confidence that no one will be so stupid as to apply to it Gray's criticism on a work of D'Alembert, that it was "dry as a bone, hard as a stone, and cold as a cucumber." It is in fact a very interesting work, dealing with an important and difficult period of history in a very clear and satisfactory manner. The publishers have also done their part well, and a very handsome volume is the result. Alexander Seton filled many important posts, and stands out from his surroundings as a very striking figure. He was highly esteemed by James VI., although he did not scruple to express his difference

from the king when he disapproved of certain proceedings. Honours were thickly thrust upon him, one consequence of which was that he had frequently to alter his signature. Prior to 1598 he signed himself "A. Seton," "A. Seton, P." [Prior of Pluscarden], "A. Seton Vrqvhart," or simply "Vrqvhart," and occasionally "A. Pluscarden" and "A. Seton Fyvie." Subsequently he signed "Fyvie," "Dunfermline," and "Al. Cancell." Although Lord Dunfermline's time must have been well occupied by his duties as a judge and as a statesman, he did not confine his interests to law and politics alone. The "turf" found in him a warm supporter, and his tastes led him to build fine houses and to cultivate the "noble science" of heraldry. He covered Fyvie Castle with his arms and principal charges, and his family bearings were also blazoned on the "factor's pew" in the parish church of Fyvie, above the words "Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie," and the date "1603." On the 16th of June, 1622, Chancellor Dunfermline died, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, "with the regret of all that knew him, and the love of his country." His career had been prosperous, and his good fortune did not cease with his life, for we must look upon it as a fortunate circumstance for his fame that in the year 1882 he has found in a namesake so excellent a biographer as Mr. George Seton.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Somersetshire Archæological Society.—(See *ante*, pp. 172-4.)—The first place visited was the parish church of Chard, an ancient edifice situated on the south-west side of the town, which is now undergoing a thorough but strictly conservative restoration. The church was no doubt founded by Bishop Jocelyn, who founded the borough of Chard, but there was only one stone left belonging to the original church. This had been pointed out by the architect, Mr. Ferry, and it formed the foundation of one of the buttresses of the east end of the chancel. The present building was erected between the years 1400 and 1440, and was of the Perpendicular type peculiar to Somersetshire, although it was not the first of its class. The gurgoyles were particularly beautiful, and of great interest. Originally there were two chapels with an altar in each. The rood-loft passage went right round the church, and squints had been discovered during the restoration. Chard Grammar School, which is situated at the lower end of the main street, was next visited. The Banqueting Hall, which is now known by the name of Waterloo House, a building the peculiar gable-fronts of which attract much attention, was afterwards visited by the Society. Behind the house was a very interesting old hall, but its special use had not been explained. It had been called the Justice Hall, the Bishop's House, and all sorts of things. A most elaborate ceiling exists in what was evidently

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a fine Elizabethan room. Immediately on the left was a representation in plaster of the Judgment of Solomon. Adjoining it was Justice, with a sword, and in the centre another medallion representing the three men in the burning fiery furnace. Then there was another figure, reading the Book of the Law, and adjoining "Daniel in the lions' den." That hall was the Court House of the Manor of Chard, in which the courts were held, and where the lord of the manor or his steward sat to receive obeisance and the customs of the manor. Every house in Chard paid 12*d.* per annum, and there were certain times when that money had to be paid, and when certain services had to be rendered, such as chopping sticks.—The company then proceeded to Membury camp. Membury camp is situated on the summit, which is rendered more conspicuous by the clump of trees on the top, within view of the English Channel. Mr. Green, in describing the camp, said that it formed an ancient British fortress, from which they could see seven or eight other similar fortresses, Lambert's Castle and others, down to Castle Neroche, in Somerset. They were constituted when the people of Devonshire were at enmity with those in Dorset, and when the inhabitants of both counties were enemies of those of Somerset. They had their little wars, and that was one of the fortresses of Devonshire to protect them from the people of Dorset or Somerset. They were used at the time when people used the flint weapons to be seen in the museum they had inspected at Chard. Membury Church, a very primitive structure, situated in a secluded spot within easy distance of the camp and village of Membury, was inspected by the Society. The building consists of a nave and chancel with a south aisle, which is covered by a massive oak roof deeply panelled. The chancel arch was really thirteenth-century work, and that was confirmed by the recumbent figure in the arched recess, which was of a very early date, representing a lady of the thirteenth century. The lady and the chancel were in some way connected. There were two curious tablets in the south chapel, on one of which three lines had been erased, presumably for some pedigree or property purposes, to destroy evidence. In the evening a meeting was held at the Town Hall. Mr. Green read a Paper on the Manor of Chard. He said in tracing the history of the ancient borough of Chard there were no personal or family doings, no exploits of the mailed warrior or belted earl to record. The whole border district hereabouts was very early granted to the bishop, and formed part of his territory, which became known as the Bishop's Hundred. On Wednesday morning the company proceeded to Coombe St. Nicholas Church. Mr. Ferry, the diocesan architect, who described the building, said it was very interesting as showing traces of three dates of architecture, the Norman Period, the workmanship of the 13th century, and the Perpendicular Period. Three dates in one church was unusual. There were aisles on both sides of the chantry. There was one peculiarity of the churches here, and that was that the towers appeared to be of a remarkably severe type—very different from the churches in the Clevedon district, which were visited, by the way, last year—and the buttresses and tower of this church appeared to be very plain. The porches had been restored.

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On the exterior of the outer archway was what appeared to be a blocked-up niche, and he had no doubt the image of the patron saint was there. The other porch did not seem to have been original—in fact, there was evidence of its having been built recently. The roof had the appearance of having been built at the Restoration. Only a portion of the rood-screen remained, but it had evidently been unusually beautiful, and the tracery was exceedingly delicate. The turrets at the east side were very conspicuous objects in connection with the building.—The President then conducted the Society to a barrow, near Northay, where some excavations had recently taken place under his direction. He said he was led some time ago, by the appearance of the mound on the top of that hill, to imagine that there might be some remains either of the Neolithic or Bronze Age. On making an examination with some others, they found that there were traces of a barrow there, although some of the earth had been removed for the purpose of agriculture. They commenced to dig in the excavation nearest the edge, and one of the first things they found was a bronze dagger, which showed at once that they had got to a Bronze Age interment. They then dug about three feet underneath, and came upon a quantity of pots, which resolved themselves into part of the soil again. They afterwards went to the driest part of the ground, and there they came upon a solid dish or pot, which held about a gallon. The pot was perfectly dry, and contained ashes and bones inside it, as he would show them. They also came upon another smaller pot, which crumbled to pieces. The President exhibited the bones, which were those of an adult person, that had been found in the large pot. The bones had evidently been burned, collected together, and put in a pot. In the vicinity was a large quantity of ashes. In those days it was the custom for the inferior people, the slaves and hostages, not to be potted at all, but collected together and burned, and that would account for the vast quantity of ashes that had been discovered. On going to some other parts of the barrow they found some imperfect pots, which had not been so well preserved. There was a great deal of bone-earth in various parts of the barrow. The interment had apparently never been disturbed.—The party then inspected the Churchstanton Manor-house, a grand old structure, full of features and objects of archaeological interest. Some fine ancient oak staircases led to the library, where the president, Mr. C. I. Elton, pointed out a very fine piece of old carving worked into the cornice of the library shelves, which was formerly part of the screen of the church at Coombe St. Nicholas. At the corner of the room was a fine old piece of furniture, evidently belonging to an old Jacobean church, in the front panels of which were some very fine pieces of carving. It was found buried in the garden of an adjoining cottage, where it was doubtless deposited in the time of the Civil War. Some interesting Roman remains on the grounds were next pointed out by the President, and a holy fountain, where in early British and Roman times the people propitiated the nymphs of the stream. In the immediate vicinity were the fragments of a Roman villa, where a portion of a tessellated pavement, some pottery, and one of the flues from the hot-air

chamber of a Roman bath had been discovered. The Society next visited Whitestaunton Church, which stands secluded amongst some noble trees near the Manor-house. It was described by Mr. Ferry as a very good specimen of the Perpendicular Period. The font was Norman, and that was the only portion remaining of the Norman Period. The only other place visited on Wednesday was the Roman villa at Wadeford. Mr. Green described the remains of the Roman villa, which were unusually distinct. It appeared to have been the dwelling-house of the tax-collector or the inspector of mines for the district, and bore traces of the ancient luxury of the Romans. Mr. Winwood said the tesserae, with which the floors were laid with great regularity, appeared to be of white lias. On Wednesday evening a meeting was held in the Town Hall. Mr. Green read a Paper on the History of the Borough of Chard. He stated that the first mention of Chard otherwise than as a manor was in 1198, when, Savaricus being Bishop, one hundred shillings were given from "Cerde," by the hand of the parson there, for masses to be said for one year in the church of Wells for the Bishop, his predecessors, the benefactors of the church, and all the faithful defunct. But the time from which Chard starts into life as a town dates from the time of Bishop Jocelyn, who began his episcopate in 1206.—On Thursday the party went to Forde Abbey. The Abbey is situated in Dorsetshire, being on the other side of the river Axe, which divides Somerset from Dorset. This noble pile of buildings commanded universal admiration, and some remarks were made by Mr. Ferry, architect, on the Abbey. He said it was a very interesting example of the remains of the Cistercians. The Abbey was dedicated to St. Mary, and there was another very interesting Abbey in the county of Somerset, the excavations of which had much progressed lately, that of St. Mary, Old Cleeve. The only portion of the cloisters which now remained was the north walk, and the building now used as a chapel on the east side was formerly the chapter-house. The Abbey was completed about 1148. The chapter-house differed from the general chapter-houses of the Cistercians in not being in three aisles. There was a similar exception at St. Mary, Old Cleeve, that had no isles. In consequence of the cloisters being on the north of the church, there were several exceptions to the general rule. The refectory, ordinarily speaking, would be on the south side of the cloisters at right angles, but it was not always so. To the north of the chapter-house were the rooms of the dormitory, the local name for this portion of the building being the Monks' Walk. The dormitory was of the thirteenth century. The north of the cloister was a very beautiful example of Perpendicular work, dated 1528.

Essex Archaeological Society.—Annual meeting at Colchester.—August 4.—Much interest was manifested in many bones of animals now extinct in England, exhibited at the close of the meeting by Mr. Philip Benton, of Little Wakering Hall. Traces of the subterranean habitations of the Cymry, with ash-pits and kitchen middens full of shells and fish-bones, were brought to light in digging upon his estate for brick earth. Those identified are the cores of horns and scapular bones of oxen with large protuberances, tusks

of the wild boar, together with skulls similar in every respect to the Irish bloodhound. Amongst the debris were found Roman-British pottery, and in one of the passages an ancient knife, part of an arrow and a javelin head, together with a peculiar large bone comb with a handle held together with metal rivets, and the broad part of a stilus. Interspersed with these articles were pieces of circular concrete, together with rubbing stones (apparently used for the purpose of grinding or bruising cora, or preparing paint), and an iron ball of about one inch and a quarter in diameter, and other articles, the uses of which are not clear.—By invitation of Mr. J. Round, M.P., Treasurer of the Society, a *Conversazione* was held in the evening in the Library at the Castle. The Corporation regalia occupied a small table near the extreme end of the room, and were under the charge of Mr. J. Ramplin, Town Sergeant. Several volumes from the Harsnett Library were placed upon another table, and the antiquity of the works attracted no small amount of attention. A number of diagrams were hung about the walls, and were referred to in the papers afterwards read. Previous to the consideration of these Papers, the party, under the superintendence of Mr. Acland, paid a visit to the Museum. On the return of the party to the Library, Mr. F. M. Nichols was called upon to read his Paper upon "Colchester Castle." The earthworks were presumably the work of an earlier time than the construction of masonry with which they were associated seemed to imply, and were all remains of the defences of Colchester Castle. The limits of the Castle Bailey were indicated to the eye by the inequality of level still existing on the site of the ancient fosse, and by the course of the streets which formed the boundary of the district. The whole area of the defences was about eight acres, and the space included within the slopes was probably less than three. In the north-east corner of Mr. Round's garden the removal of a small amount of earth some years ago exposed to view the corner of a wall very substantially built in rubble work. The corner was a right angle, and was evidently Roman work. Mr. Nichols described the Castle in detail; and with reference to the discovery of some stucco, he said he did not agree with Mr. Butler in thinking that this was necessarily Roman. He believed mediæval builders used stucco for the sake of its ornamental appearance. In Rochester Castle and Hedingham keep there were similar traces. The Castle was built mostly with broken bricks, and very few whole ones, and he judged they were made at different periods; the perfect bricks were admitted to be of a late date. The Norman Church of St. Albans was built almost entirely of Roman materials, exhibiting a proportion of whole bricks not unlike that of Colchester Castle. The proof of the Norman origin of the Castle was to be found in its general form.—Mr. H. W. King said he had a communication from Canon Marsden to read to the meeting. A discovery was made about two years ago of early French coins, together with the remains of a wooden box in which they had been enclosed and buried six or eight feet below the surface, near the Lighthouse in the town of Harwich. The coins were about twenty in number, and they were, through having been found on Government ground, afterwards sent to London. They were of the reigns of Louis VII. and

Philip II., and it seemed tolerably certain that they were buried by the French who came over to England at the invitations of the Barons who were dissatisfied with the government of King John. They were doubtless buried for safety, and, in the alarm which followed the desertion of the French by the Barons, left behind.—Mr. King then read a Paper written by himself some twenty-five years ago, on "The Armorial Bearings of the Town." After describing the Borough arms Mr. King said he had seldom seen them correctly displayed, but Colchester was not alone in this respect; for in the Royal Arms over the Royal Exchange, London, the supports were not only in an incorrect position, but the distinctive arms of Scotland were excluded altogether. He remarked upon the singular fact that the arms of Nottingham were identical with those of Colchester, with the exception that the two staves were tintured green in the former.—A party of ladies and gentlemen visited the churches and places of interest in the district from an archaeological point of view. The first stopping-place was Chappel Church. The building is not large, and is essentially a Norman structure, with three windows in the east end. Two small windows in the north and south walls are good specimens of the Perpendicular style of the fifteenth century. One of the most interesting places inspected during the day was the Priory at Earls Colne. The cloisters (where, by the way, was to be seen a rare specimen of an antique carved cornice) proved the centre of attraction. Here is deposited the upper portion of a stone coffin lid of Aubrey de Vere, founder of Colne Priory, and several effigies in alto-relievo. Sixteen Earls of Oxford, it appears, were buried in the Priory Church, and most of their remains are now in these cloisters. A curious old panel, with the badge of the De Veres upon it, found during the restoration of the parish church, excited some interest; but perhaps the greatest amount of attention was bestowed upon some pieces of very ancient Flemish tapestry, depicting scenes from the adventures of Ulysses, taken from old Colne Priory, which was pulled down about 1824. Various fragments of alabaster figures of bishops, saints, &c., found in the east wall of the parish church, were amongst the other items worthy of regard in the cloister. An ebony cabinet, formerly at Olivers, in Stanway, once the property of Oliver Cromwell, attracted notice. Other noteworthy articles are damask table-cloths and napkins, formerly belonging to Oliver Cromwell, having upon them the Tudor rose, crowned, emblems of France and England, and the Cross of St. George, all supported alternately by greyhounds and dragons; and an antique terra-cotta Roman amphora, found at Lindsell, Essex, about sixty years ago.—The party next proceeded to Colne Church, the summit of whose tower is embattled and ornamented with white stars in groundwork of flint. The interior of the building contains many fine brasses and monuments to the Harlakenden family; and amongst the church plate is a curious hexagonal chalice, upon which is portrayed Jesus Christ, with a globe and cross, the date of which must be about 1518.—At Great Tey Church the first thing noticed was the curiously carved heading and side-piece of an old oak bench; the work showed clearly the figure of a man with a bagpipe. Formerly this beautiful

old Norman tower stood in the centre of the church, the church being cruciform. The church at present has a decorated chancel of the time of Edward III. The small Norman church at Little Tey was soon after reached, and was found to have been restored and modernized. The structure is of the time of Stephen, and contains some traces of the Perpendicular style. A visit was subsequently paid to Coggeshall Church, many old beams in private houses—one dated 1565—being noticed *en route*. The church, which is a fine specimen of the Perpendicular style, contains amongst numerous objects of interest, a very ancient Early English font. The building is of the fifteenth century, but the chancel bears the appearance of being of later date. In one of the massive pillars at one time there was a staircase leading to the tower. The edifice, as a whole, is one of the grandest Perpendicular churches in the county. The font in the church really belonged to Pattiswick. In the chamber over the porch are some brasses of 1480 and 1490.—The remains of the old abbey, founded by King Stephen in 1142, and now in the occupation of Mr. Sydney Pattisson, and used as a farm residence, were then visited. The abbot's private chapel, which is the earliest specimen of English moulded brickwork known in the kingdom, stands unoccupied. Late in the afternoon the cavalcade moved towards Marks Tey, the queer old wooden tower of whose church excited interest. Several fine Norman arches are in the structure, and an ancient wooden font.

Royal Institution of Cornwall.—Annual Excursions, September.—The start was made for the south coast. Passing by the legendary Fairy Cross, the party entered the magnificent demesne of Bocomnoc Park, one of the most remarkable for extent and the great number of fine trees in the county. A short halt was made to view the Giant's Hedge, a remarkable ridge, evidently artificial, running for a distance of six or seven miles from Lostwithiel to Looe. Rising with a broad sloping back from the south, or seaside, it presents a perpendicular face to the north, or landward. On the steep side it presents a wall-like face, some seven or eight feet high. It was evidently meant as a defence against approach from the land side, and is attributed to the Danes. At the picturesque village of Lanreath a halt was made, to examine the very ancient parish church. A peculiarity in this church is that it has a beautifully carved rood screen extending right across before the entire breadth of the chancel. The carving is particularly beautiful in the upper parts; and below, the panels were decorated with paint and gilding. Here were portraits of the four Latin Fathers, SS. Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine; also portraits of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Barbara, St. Catherine. Some time since a person employed to clean and renovate some of the wood work, set to work industriously to scrape off and efface all this old ornamentation, and which unfortunately he succeeded in almost completely obliterating. The only traces that remain escaped through the timely arrival of the rector. The high altar in this church was consecrated on the 17th of October, 1321. This church of Lanreath, as well as the neighbouring church of Pelynt, very probably existed prior to the Norman Conquest, because both

were mentioned in Domesday Book. Both present, however, traces of very early Norman remains. Lanreath Church contains at present a very interesting carved Norman font. There are also some very striking monuments, chiefly commemorative of the families of the Bullers and Trelawnys. William of Worcester says that St. Mancus lies buried here. Here also some remarkable ancient monuments were pointed out, including two very grand ones in the chancel, one belonging to the Buller family, and the other to Bishop Sir Jonathan Trelawny, of ballad fame. Returning to Lostwithiel the party inspected the interesting parish church, and the historic ruins of Restormel Castle in the neighbourhood.

Essex Field Club.—Sept. 9. Mr. Meldma, President.—The work of exploration of the singular deep excavations in the upper chalk in Kent and Essex, which are locally known as "dene holes," is being undertaken by this club, and their labours may be expected to bring forth interesting information. It is already known that these dene holes are not all of the same period, but that enlargements of some have taken place since the time when iron picks were employed, unless it can hereafter be demonstrated that there were bronze picks of the same form before the Age of Iron. The grouping of numbers of these dene holes in certain limited spaces, as at Cavey Spring and Stankey, at Jordan's Wood in Kent, and at Hangman's Wood, near Grays, in Essex, presents the appearance, when mapped, of being the sites of villages. The connections of these underground works with the ancient camps and hut circles, ancient roads and boundaries, and their associations with the topographical names of places in the neighbourhood or surrounding district, will also throw light upon their history and object. The scene of the operations was a small wood, situated on the flat table land of tertiary geological age, on the estate of Captain Wingfield. Having made the descent, the visitor stood upon a conical mound of sand, which had fallen in and trickled away in all directions. Around were lofty chambers excavated in the white chalk, the exact horizon of the strata being clearly indicated by the thin two-inch thick line of black tabular flints so well known to geologists. The chambers were in height about 18ft. and in breadth about 12ft., the walls perpendicular, and the roofs nicely arched. The plan of the chambers, which are six in number, is that of a double trefoil, each set of three being disposed on each side of the descending shaft. In the north-west and south-east direction the extreme length from the end of the one chamber to the end of the other is about 70ft.; in the other direction the two sets of parallel chambers are severally in similar extreme length about 46ft. This symmetry in the arrangement and the similarity in the arched form of all the chambers is adverse to the theory which has been propounded of their having been ancient marl pits for the application of the excavated chalk to the cultivation of the soil. The floors of the chambers are covered to some depth by a mouldy black humus, commingled in which are numerous small fragments of soft rotten wood. The humus is such as might well have been produced in the lapse of ages by the decay of corn or other grain, and is very like the dark soil produced by the decay of refuse malt from

brewhouses. The example dene hole under examination would appear to be either of a later period, or which has been subsequently enlarged at a much later date than its origin, as there are everywhere marks of the tool by which the excavations were effected, and the diagonal positions of which, from proper right to left on the surface, would accord with the blows of a pick. It must be borne in mind, however, that there are undoubted examples of far more primitive means of operation. No ancient remains of animals nor any other relics were discovered. A few semi-recent bones of dogs and sheep, with the gelatine still remaining in them, were turned up from the superficial sand, being those of animals which had fallen in through the open entrance.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—September 2. —The members visited Corbridge-on-Tyne, where they inspected the old church and tower, and the Roman remains, also Aydon castle, a specimen of a fortified manor house of the 15th century. Halton Castle, as well as Dilston, was visited. A Paper by Mr. William Woodman, Morpeth, on "Temple Thornton Farm Accounts, 1308," was laid before the meeting. Temple Thornton was a templar establishment in Northumberland.

Banff Field Club.—The club, under the leadership of Mr. Sheriff Scott Moncrieff, made an excursion to Mortlach, September 12. The party visited the Old Castle of Balvenie, the Castle of Auchindoun, Mortlach Church, and the ancient hill fort on Little Conval. The fine old Balvenie Castle was much admired. Nor was the old Castle of Auchindoun found to be less worthy of admiration. Though not much now as a building, it gives indication of strength in former times, and brings to the mind many exciting scenes in and around it in the centuries that have gone by. Mortlach Church was found as handsome a temple, in a modern light, as it is interesting for its antiquity. Not much of the old building of eight centuries ago can now be traced, but some pieces of it are still there, and they have been well preserved in the recent improvements made on the building. The Runic stone on the haugh below the church was closely inspected, and then the party betook themselves to the Little Conval to see the old hill fort on the top of it. It stands boldly up, overlooking the plains of Moray, as a most fitting barrier between the hill tribes on the one side, and the lawless aggressive legions that often had possession of the low country on the other.

Yorkshire Philosophical Society.—August 22. —The members of this Society made an excursion to Settrington. On arriving the party were met by the Rev. Isaac Taylor, the rector, who suggested an investigation of the quarries, and the result was a gleaning of valuable specimens of fossil shells, corals, &c., which were found projecting from the old coral rock, and in the oolite rock below. Subsequently, the church, with its interesting windows, was inspected. The train was next taken for North Grimston, where the Norman church, with its remarkable sculptured font, was a matter of interest. Grimston Hill and the quarries were also inspected.

Oct. 3.—The Rev. Canon Raine in the chair.—Mr. W. Keeping, M.A., Curator of the Museum, read a list of specimens which had been presented since the last

meeting. Among them may be mentioned, pottery and other curiosities found under his house in Petergate, presented by the Rev. C. B. Norcliffe; a Nuremberg token or counter, by Mr. W. W. Hargrove; a large stone weight with handle, inscribed "H. S. 1686," by Mr. Hugh Christie, of Melbourne; a curious chain, found recently under the Union Bank, by Mr. St. T. Carnegie; two gold weights and a medal, commemorating the anniversary of Revolution of 1688, by Mr. F. J. Walker; Mr. Edward Hailstone, Walton Hall, Wakefield, thirty-five bronze pre-historic implements and weapons, several implements of stone from the West Riding, of the same period two very fine bronze Roman bowls, found early this century, at Finningley, near Doncaster; a finely ornamented patera of Samian ware from York; a torch stand, two vessels and a lamp, from Trier, of bronze and Roman work; six very fine Roman vessels from the same place, with inscriptions, fourteen vessels of Romano-Greek ware, three lamps from Carthage, with the Christian monogram upon them, and two charms against the "Evil Eye" from Trier; two Danish combs and two mediæval vessels found in York, a vessel from the moat at Walton Hall, a very fine circlet from Ireland, covered with interlacing work and rich ornamentation; a collection of nearly forty matrices of seals, chiefly foreign, a large number of original impressions of the Royal seals of England, and a very large quantity of Doubleday's casts of English and other seals.—The Chairman alluded to the valuable and interesting nature of many of the gifts and to their great variety, offering a few remarks on the principal presents, including the old Roman bowls, a magnificent gift from a gentleman who was a most generous patron of the Society. Several deposits of this kind had been found in different parts of the country; they ran in sets of sixes and tens. He thought the general idea was that these bowls had been used for mixing and cooling wines by means of snow and ice. A fine collection of them was found between Knaresbro' and Aldbro' many years ago, a portion of which were presented to the Society. A number of original impressions of the Royal seals of England given by Mr. Hailstone were very interesting, and he hoped when this gift became known it would lead to their obtaining a collection extending 300 or 400 years back. That they should have a series of mediæval seals relating to this country, particularly to the archbishops and other dignitaries of the city of York, was very desirable. Their present collection was very defective in this respect.

Cumberland and Westmoreland Archaeological Society.—Oct. 13.—The members had an excursion in the neighbourhood of Bassenthwaite Lake and Overwater. The chief places of interest from an antiquarian point of view which they visited during the day were Castle Howe, near Peil Wyke, about the end of the lake from which the Derwent emerges; the Camps at Caermote, a few miles distant from Peil Wyke; a curious piece of earthwork at Snittlegarth, some trenches at the south end of Overwater and Orthwaite Hall, an excellent specimen of an old English farmhouse on the hillside overlooking the last named lake.

Manchester Scientific Students.—Sept. 27.—The members visited Hayfield, the leader of the ex-

cursion being Mr. Theodore Sington. On leaving Hayfield railway station the party proceeded for about two miles along the Glossop road to the foot of Hollingworth Head, then passing through a gate and crossing the stream, by the side of a sheepwash and fold, got on the ancient bridle-path from Glossop to Kinder and Edale, from which they soon arrived at the edge of Leygate Moor. Proceeding for about a mile by a road which forms a zigzag of three nearly straight lines, the party reached the Old Oak Wood near the lower house. A short walk from here is the Downfall. Near here is the Mermaid's pool, of which the natives have a tradition that a beautiful woman lives in the side of the Scout; that she comes to bathe every day in the Mermaid's Well, and that the man who has the good luck to behold her bathing will become immortal and never die. The old people of Hayfield, moreover, tell a long story of a man who, sometime in the last century, went from Hayfield over the Scout, and was lucky enough to meet this mountain nymph, by whom he was conducted to a cavern hard by. Tradition adds that she was pleased with this humble mortal, and that he lingered there some time, when she conferred on him the precious gift of immortality. Mr. Yates gave a short account of Hayfield, and said that by an ancient custom it has a mayor, the late Mr. John Hobson having held the office thirty years. There is little doubt but that the Romans were for some time in these parts, as their coins have been found here, and hunting and bull- and bear-baiting were the favourite sports of the ancient inhabitants; but on the introduction of commerce they earned high wages, and, indulging in luxury, became effeminate, and their rude sports began to decline. The manufacture of wool and cotton was introduced here at an early period. It is said that cutlery was made here before it was known at Sheffield.

FOREIGN.

Antiquarian Congress at Cassel.—The Congress of the German Antiquarian and Historical Societies, which took place at Cassel from the 27th to the 30th of August, was throughout of an interesting character. Count Eulenburg, who represented the State at the Congress, spoke at the opening sitting of the advantage to the nation of the researches undertaken by antiquarian societies. Dr. Dunker read a paper on the services rendered by the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Hesse to the cause of scientific research. Dr. Wolff and Dr. Suchier presented to the Congress an account of the Roman antiquities found in 1880 and 1881, near the village of Gross-Krotzenburg, on the river Main. The most noteworthy of these discoveries is the sanctuary of Mithras, which throws light on the introduction into the Roman empire, from Persia, of the worship of the sun-god Mithras. An altar of Jupiter is also amongst the relics discovered. The question whether the northern portion of the electorate of Hesse was a limit to the occurrence of cromlechs, circles of stones, &c., was discussed in one of the sections with special reference to the classification of the monuments of this description in the Grand Duchy in general. In another section the subject of ancient wall paintings was discussed, and various facts of interest were brought

forward. A spirited discussion took place on the question of the route which Germanicus took when passing through the country now known as Hesse. Dr. Schenk of Schweinsberg spoke against the opinion that in the thirteenth and fourteenth century the right of bearing heraldic devices was an exclusive privilege of the nobility. The orthography of name of the city where the Congress was being held formed an appropriate subject of discussion. There is a difference of opinion in Germany as to whether K or C should be the initial letter. In manuscripts of the tenth century the name is spelt "Chassel," and the orthography "Kassel" is first met with in records of the eleventh century. This last-named form of spelling was approved of by the Congress in its official capacity. The steps which had been taken for the safe keeping of the remains of the Roman bridge at Mayence, and the general question of the preservation of ancient monuments, were referred to during the Congress. An interesting report as to the Roman-Germanic Museum at Mayence also formed part of the proceedings. There was a resolution adopted impressing on historical societies the advantage to antiquarian research of the collection of the *Volkslieder* (or popular songs) of their respective countries. The important question of the restoration of feudal castles, and particularly of that of Heidelberg, was alluded to with special reference to the recent discussion on the subject at the Hanover Architectural Congress.

Obituary.

EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY.

Born Jan. 22, 1812; Died Sept. 19, 1882.

Mr. Shirley was the eldest son and heir of the late Evelyn John Shirley, M.P. for South Warwickshire, by Eliza Stanhope, the only child of a cadet of the house of Chesterfield. He was educated at Eton and at Oxford. He matriculated in 1830 as a gentleman commoner at Magdalen, and took his bachelor's degree in 1834; but he was too much absorbed in genealogical and heraldic studies to graduate in honours. In 1841 he published the *Stemmata Shirleiana*, a quarto volume, containing the history in detail of the Shirley family and estates. The original edition of the *Stemmata* was limited to one hundred copies. An enlarged edition appeared in 1873, which deservedly ranks high among family histories. One of his earliest literary efforts was *Some Account of the Territory of Farney in Ulster*. It was a labour of love in his later years to expand this work into a *History of the County of Monaghan*, a folio which ranks among standard county histories of the first class. In 1848 he published *The Shirley Brothers for the Roxburghe Club*, and in 1851, *Original Letters and Papers in Illustration of the History of the Church of Ireland*. His chief work, perhaps, is *The Noble and Gentle Men of England*, published in 1859, a second edition coming out in 1860, and a third in 1866. It is profusely illustrated with armorial shields, and gives a sketch of each family from the earliest ancestor on record. Both as an antiquary and as a

country gentleman, he took the warmest interest in hunting and hawking, and all other knightly sports of the olden time. His book on deer parks (*English Deer Parks*, 1867) is a classic on the subject of the noble science of venery.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Abrogation of Certain Holydays.—*A copy of thacte* made for thabrogacion of certayne holy-dayes, according to the transumpt late sent by the kyngs hyghnes to all bisshops with his graces strayght commaundment, to signifie his farther pleasure to all Colleges, Religous Houses and Curates, within theyr diocesse for the publicacyon, and also effectual and universal observacion of the same. An. 1536.

For as moch as the nombre of holy-dayes is so excessyvely grown and yet dayly more and more by mens deuocyon, yea rather supersticyon was like further to encrease, that the same was and sholde be not only prejudiciall to the common weale, by reason that it is occasion as well of muche slouth and ydleness, the very nourish of theues, vagaboundes, and of dyuers other unthriftynesse and inconuenyences, as of decaye of good mysteryes and artes, utyle and necessary for the common welthe, and losse of mans fode many tymes, beyng clene destroyed through the superstitious obseruance of the said holy-dayes, in not taking thoportunitie of good and serene wheather offered upon the same in time of harvest, but also pernicious to the soules of many men, whiche being entysed by the lycencious vacacyon and lybertye of those holy-dayes, do upon the same commonly use and practise more excesse—ryote and superfluitie than upon any other dayes. And sith the Sabboth-day was ordeyned for mans use, and therefore ought to gyue place to the necessitie and behove of the same whan soever that shall occure; mouch rather any other holy-daye institute by man. It is therefore by the kyngs hyghnes auctority, as supreme head in earth of the Church of Englande, with the Common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realme in Convocacyon lawfully assembled and congregate, among other thyngs decreed, ordeyned and established.

Fyrst that the feests of Dediacyon of the Church shall in all places throughout this realm be celebrated and kepte on the fyrst Sonday of the moneth of Octobre for ever, and upon none other day.

Item, that the feest of the patrone of every church within this Realm, called commonly the Church-holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kepte or observed as a holy-day, as heretofore hath been used, but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons, resydent or dwellinge within this realme to go to their work, occupacyon or mystery, and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said feest, as upon any other worky-day, excepte the said feest of the Church-holy-day be such as must be ells universally observed as a holy-day by this ordynance following.

Also that all those feests or day holy-days which shall happen to occure, eyther in the harvest time which is to be compted from the fyrst day of July

unto the xxix day of Septembre, or elles in the terme time at Westmynster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as holy-dayes, but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupacyon upon the same as upon any other workyeday, excepte allwayes the feests of the apostles, of our blessed lady, and of saynt George. And also such feestes as wherein the Kings Judges at Westminster-hall do not use to sytte in Judgment, all which shall be kepte holy and solempne of every man, as in tyme past have been accustomed. Provyded alwayes that it may be lawful unto all preests and clerkes as well secular as regular in the foresayd holy-dayes now abrogate, to synge or saye their accustomed seruyce for those holy dayes in their churches: so that they do not the same solempnely, nor do ryng to the same after the manner used in hygh holy-dayes, ne do commaunde or indict the same to be kepte or observed as holy-dayes.

Finally, That the feest of the Nativitie of our lord, of Easter, of the Nativitie of saynt John the baptiste, and of saynt Michael, shall be from henceforth compted, and accepted and taken for the iiij general offering days.

And for further declaracyon of the premysses, be it known that Easter terme begynneth alwayes the xviii. day after Easter, reckoning Easter-day for one, and endeth the Monday next after thascencyon day. Trinitie terme begynneth alwayes the Wednesday next after thoctaves of Trinitie sonday, and endeth the xi or xii day of July. Myghelmas terme beginneth the ix or x day of October, and endeth the xxviii or xxix day of Nouember.

Hillary terme begynneth the xxiii or xxiiii day of January, and endeth the xii or xiii day of February.

In Easter terme upon thascension daye. In Trinitie terme upon the nativity of saynt John Baptist. In Myghelmas terme upon Alhollen-day. In Hillary terme upon Candlemas day, The Kings Judges at Westminster do not use to syt in Judgment, nor upon any sondayes.

Dates and Styles of Churches in the Isle of Wight.—(Communicated by Mrs. Damant).

Arrdon (St. George).—Given by William Fitz Osborne to the abbey of Lire in Normandy. Early English chancel, and Perpendicular tower. In south aisle a brass date, 1430, with an effigy of a man in plate armour, and an Early English inscription

"Here is y buried under this grave
Harry Hawles his soule God save
Long tyme steward of the Yle of Wyght
Have m'cy on him God ful of myght."

Another brass fixed on a pillar has a long ryhming inscription and the date, 1595, and there are three other brasses and a monument by Westmacott.

Bembridge (Holy Trinity, 1845).—Early English in style.

Binstead (Holy Cross).—A modern reproduction of the old Early English church. Nave and chancel divided by Early English arch. Some ancient carvings are preserved which belonged to the old church, and over the outer-gate is a curious old keystone with rude carving.

Bonchurch (St. Boniface).—Norman; body and chancel compass-roofed; plain chancel, arch, and

doorway. Remains of mural paintings on the N. wall. Probable date of foundation, 1070.

New church, 1847.—Norman in style. Nave, transept, chancel, south porch, and bell-gable. Some good and ancient stained glass in the west and transept windows.

Brading.—Traditional date, 780. Trans. Norman style. Body and chancel separated by Norman arch; tower, north and south aisles, separated from the body by Early English arches. Lady Chapel contains the tombs of the ancient Oglander family, and some wooden effigies of crusaders and knights. Within the altar rails is a remarkably fine slab, date 1441, representing a knight; the original silver enlaving is gone. In north aisle are two altar tombs, with old English inscription, remarkable for the name of Elizabeth being spelled "Helizabeth." In the wall behind the pulpit is an inscribed niche for the patron saint, and an Elizabethan altar table is well carved. A fine Chippendale chair in the vestry is preserved as being used by Legh Richmond, a former vicar. The bells have inscriptions, dated 1604 and 1709. Registers from 1547.

Brightstone (St. Mary).—Restored 1852. Chancel, north and south aisles, Norman. South aisle separated from body by decorated arches. Low tower and conical roof. Chancel floor paved with ancient tombstones and tiles. Registers from 1566.

Brook (St. Mary the Virgin).—Rebuilt 1862. Body, chancel, and low tower. Gothic style.

Calbourne (All Saints').—Middle of thirteenth century. Early English, with modern restorations. Low tower, with wooden spire, 1752. Porch and transept erected 1836. A brass in south aisle (*temp.* Edward III.) once formed part of a fine tomb, with columns of Purbeck marble, to one of the Montacutes, Earls of Salisbury, lords of the manor, of the date 1360. Register from 1699.

Carisbrooke (St. Mary).—Probable date, 1064. This, the finest church in the island, lost its Norman transept and chancel in Elizabeth's reign. It consists of nave, south aisle, porch, and beautiful perpendicular tower, built in embattled stages, and crowned with pinnacles and turret. Old Early English doorway built up in north wall. Mural monument to Lady Dorothy Wadham, *temp.* Henry VIII. Large stone coffins. Incised slab with effigy (broken in two), and a curious wooden slab hanging on a pillar, with lines to the memory of Wm. Keeling, 1619. Niche for patron saint, and piscina. Reformation pulpit. Registers from 1578 contain curious entries concerning King Charles I.

Chale (St. Andrew).—Body, chancel, and south aisle separated by Trans. Norman arches, with chapel at east end. Good Perpendicular tower; Piscina at south-east angle, and niche for image in splay of north-east window. Entrance to rood-loft still apparent. Fragment of old stone coffin and remains of mural painting over vestry door. Registers from 1588.

West Cowes Chapel (St. Mary).—Rebuilt 1867. Nave, chancel, north and south aisles, south porch, and tower (built 1811).

West Cowes (Church of the Holy Trinity).—Built 1831. Enlarged 1862. Body, tower, and chancel in Early English style.

East Cowes (St. James).—Built 1833. Enlarged 1868. Chancel, body, and tower Norman style.

Freshwater (All Saints').—One of the six island churches given by William Fitz Osborne to the abbey of Lire in Normandy. Restored and partly rebuilt 1876. Nave, chancel, north and south aisles (each with chapels), and square embattled tower. In tower is a lofty pointed arch, with window which lights the west end of the church. In north chapel is a decorated Norman arch, with slab where a brass has been. In south chapel are the matrices of two good brasses, and an ancient tomb, with brass plate on which is a knight in armour. This chapel was the mortuary of the Urry family.

Gatcombe (St. Olave).—Ancient structure. Body and chancel separated by Early English arch, and a square embattled Perpendicular tower. The north wall of chancel has an arched recess, where lies an effigy in oak of a mailed knight, supposed to be the tomb of the founder, one of the De Lisle family.

Godshill (All Saints').—One of the six churches given to the abbey of Lire by Fitz Osborne. Ancient Trans. Norman structure, cruciform, with chancel, nave, cross aisles or tower, and a singular bell turret on the south gable. It contains many fine monuments to the Leighs, Worsleys, Hackets, Frys, and Standishes. The finest ancient monument in the island is one to the Dame Mary Leigh, *temp.* Henry VIII. The lady's robe is embroidered with the arms of the old families who owned the manor. The more ancient tombs of De Heynos and De Aulas have been robbed of their fine brasses. A duplicate of Rubens's "Daniel in the Lions' Den" adorns this church, given by Sir R. Worsley. Registers from 1558.

St. Helen, 1788—restored 1830. Chancel, transept and low tower. Register from 1653.

Kingston.—Early English body and chancel. A brass dated 1436 inserted in the wall. During restoration, handsome sedillia with hollow mouldings of Early English date discovered.

St. Lawrence (1191).—Nave, chancel, south porch and bell turret. The smallest church in England. There is an ancient piscina.

Mottistone (St. Peter and St. Paul).—Trans. Norman nave and chancel, separated by Norman arch side aisles and low square tower. A pointed window and carved rose indicate a date prior to Edward IV. Chancel dates from Henry VIII. A massive altar tomb.

New Church (All Saints).—Nave, chancel, north and south aisles. Erected in beginning of 13th century. Registers from 1582.

Newport (St. Thomas à Becket).—Rebuilt 1855. Nave, clerestory, side aisles, north and south porches and chapels, chancel, sacristy, west entrance, arch and tower in Decorated Early English style. Pulpit and reading desk of fine carved oak, date 1631. Old monument in fine preservation with figures of Sir Edward Horsey, date 1582. Modern monument by Marochetti to Princess Elizabeth who is here buried; a small brass plate marks her vault.

Niton (St. John the Baptist).—Nave and chancel separated by Norman arch. South aisle, south porch and west tower. Remains of Early Norman arches in north wall. A square opening in the chancel where was the entrance to the rood-loft. South

porch is barrel-roofed with stone ribs. Low battlemented tower with small spire. In front of south entrance is the base of a large cross. This church was given by Fitz Osborne to the abbey of Lire in Normandy. Registers from 1560.

Northwood (St. John the Baptist).—Nave, north and south aisles, chancel, porch and tower of Norman date.

Ryde (St. Thomas).—1827. Nave, chancel, west and south aisles and tower, Early English in style.

Ryde (St. James's).—1827.

Ryde (Holy Trinity).—1845. Nave, north and south aisles, west tower and spire. Style, early English.

Ryde (St. John's).—1843. Nave, north and south transept, north and south porches, and at west end a double bell-gable. Early English style.

Ryde (St. Peter's).—1852. Nave and chancel, south porch and bell-gable at west end. Early English style.

Sandown (Christ's Church).—1845. Nave, chancel, aisle and tower with spire, Early Decorative English.

Shaftesbury.—Ancient church, said to have been erected by William Fitz Osborne. Tower and doorway Norman; rest of the building Early English; windows in south aisle remarkably good. The nave is divided from the aisle by Early English arches on beautiful columns of Purbeck marble; chancel arch has been peculiarly treated at the impost; the increased width of the arch terminates in partial foliation. In the tympanum of the Norman doorway is a rude Saxon (?) carving of a man between two animals. The tower is of great size, being used as a place of refuge by the parishioners; the walls are very thick. Good lancet windows light the church. In south aisle are two shields in a stone moulding, date 1630, and a curious slab, with shield and spear crosswise, circa 1200.

Shorwell (St. Peter).—Nave, side aisles, tower and south porch, Perpendicular, except some fragments of earlier styles; tower has decorated base; stone pulpit (with iron frame for hour-glass), entered by steps through an arch piercing a pier in centre of north aisle; remains of mural paintings over the north doorway, with legend of St. Christopher over south doorway; fresco (in bad preservation) of "The Last Judgment;" a brass near altar steps with effigy of a priest; many monuments and inscriptions to the Leighs and Benets. The chalice and communion-table date from 1569 and 1661.

Shanklin (St. John the Baptist).—Restored 1864. Nave, chancel, and north and south transepts; has a good piscina.

Shanklin (St. Saviour's).—1869. Nave, chancel, north and south aisles, tower, and south porch.

Shanklin (St. Paul's).—1876. Nave, chancel, north and south aisles continued round east end to form vestry, organ chamber, and porch.

Thorley (St. Swithin's).—1871. Nave, chancel, north and south transepts, south porch, and bell-turret, in Early Decorated style. Two bells belonging to the old church are preserved, also the curious porch of old church, with belfry above.

Ventnor (St. Catherine's).—1837. Nave, chancel, north and south aisles, and ornamented tower, with florid pinnacles, in Early English style.

Ventnor (Holy Trinity).—1862. Nave, chancel, north and south aisles, and north and south transepts, and tower.

Whippingham (St. Mildred's).—1861. Nave, chancel, north and south aisles, transepts, and central tower. A memorial to the Prince Consort and other royal memorials are in the chancel. In the porch is the original Norman building.

Whitwell (Our Lady of Whitwell and St. Radigunde).—Two chapels are under one roof—one forming the chancel of the other, and separated from the nave by a Gothic arch; the south aisle is also separated by Gothic arches. Probable date that of Henry III.; Early English window. Norman corbel and remains of a fresco are worthy of notice.

Wootton (St. Edmund).—Built temp. Edward III. Part of more ancient structure seems incorporated with this church. Nave and chancel, doorway with fine Norman arch.

Yarmouth (St. James).—1543. Nave, chancel, tower, and small chapel near the chancel; fine monument to Sir Robert Holmes, 1666; communion-table of ancient oak; Registers from 1614.

Yaverland.—Temp. Edward I. Nave and chancel separated by fine Norman arch; good Norman doorway.



Antiquarian News.

On the 6th of October the ancient church of Aycliffe, near Darlington, was reopened. The church, which is rich in ancient Saxon and other relics, has been restored; a new open roof replaces a flat one, and other alterations to the structure have been made.

Mr. John E. Price, F.S.A., who has, through the courtesy of the directors of the Inner Circle Railway, taken a very active part in excavations for antiquities during the construction of this new line, states that large quantities of Roman pottery, enriched and plain, have been found along the line, including some admirable specimens of Samian ware, as well as mediæval pottery of native and foreign manufacture. There has also been discovered a miscellaneous collection of iridescent glass, china, stone cannon-balls, &c. A fine piece of the old City wall was disclosed at Trinity Square, just below the surface. It was in good order, but a length of about 73 feet had to be removed, and it was observed in this locality that the old ditch had been diverted to the eastward from the wall, for some purpose not now apparent. In the same quarter were also discovered several interesting foundations of Roman buildings; among others, a large area of red tessellated Roman pavement laid on a concrete bed. It was supported by a substructure of oak piling, with which in some places were found the roots of oak trees, a clearing of vegetation having evidently been made by the early colonist previous to the erection of the building. A wall, a platform, or way on two sides, a gutter, and some ducts also remained; and among these were found fragments of pottery and unique semi-cylindrical tiles. Near Aldgate mediæval walls were met with, as though

associated with the foundations of the religious house of the Minorite Order of St. Clair. Contiguous to these was an ancient well, with curb and windlass; and at the bottom thereof were found pottery and other objects. A Roman cemetery is known to have existed at the Minories, and sepulchral relics were accordingly found between Aldgate and Trinity Square, but chiefly nearer the Great Eastern Railway, from Church Street southwards. A massive lead coffin was discovered near to Church Street. It was ornamented with scallop shells and a beaded pattern of well-known Roman type. Adjoining John Street a large quantity of remains, with two black urns, were found; while Roman human remains were met with on the City side of the London wall. Mr. Price adds that the work is being continued, and, as the line penetrates thoroughfares full of interest from their association with the early history of London, further interesting discoveries may be expected.

The extremely interesting fossils that were discovered at Charing Cross, London, when the deep excavations were made for Messrs. Drummond's banking-house, have now been all identified, pieced together, and named. They form more than one hundred specimens, illustrating with considerable completeness the more ponderous animals that in Pleistocene times—coeval with, probably, the first appearance of man on our earth—ranged where Trafalgar Square now is. The fossils include bones of the cave lion; tusks and bones of the mammoth; tusks and bones of extinct elephants; remains of extinct Irish deer, red deer, of a species allied to the fallow deer, of rhinoceros, and of extinct oxen, from the Pleistocene gravels; bones of the horse, the sheep, and the shorthorn (Celtic) from recent deposits.

A most important discovery has just been made in the neighbourhood of Poitiers, where an entire Gallo-Roman town has been unearthed. It contains a temple 114 yards in length by 70 yards in breadth, baths occupying two hectares, a theatre—the stage of which alone measures ninety yards—streets, houses, and other buildings covering a space of nearly seven hectares. The excavations are being continued with further success, disclosing more edifices, sculpture in the very best style and in good preservation—dating, it is thought, from the second century—and a quantity of iron, bronze and earthen articles. M. Lisch, the inspector of historic monuments, is enthusiastic over this discovery, and declares that the town is “a little Pompeii in the centre of France.” It is to be hoped that this interesting relic of a bygone age will not be suffered to fall into rack and ruin for want of a little enterprise and attention.

While some excavations were being conducted in the nave of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, an interesting discovery took place alongside the second pillar from the Earl of Cork's monument on the southern side. Here a coffin was discovered, in which was a square box containing the skulls of Dean Swift and Stella, together with a white glass bottle having a red seal, inside which was a manuscript as yet unopened. It is understood that the neck of the bottle will be cut in order to get at the manuscript, which will probably contain some interesting matter.

The re-opening of Heyope Church, Radnor took place recently. The tower arch is rude Norman, the chancel windows Tudor, and the nave windows “debased English.”

Glimpses of our Ancestors in Sussex, by Charles Fleet, has been so well received by public that the author has in preparation a second volume.

The reparation of the roof of Thorn Falcon Church has brought to light a carved oak cornice of the A.D. 1652, carried round the whole nave and in excellent preservation.

The work of restoring the parish church of Mary, Chard, has just commenced. The church is of the fifteenth century, having been built in 1460. In removing the plaster on the walls in the chancel were recently discovered traces of ancient painting on the walls, and on removing the modern panelling a piscina was found in a good state of preservation, four “squints,” or hagiocopes, and on each side of the east window arched recesses, where it is thought the images of saints stood, as the brackets which support them show signs of having been roughly chiselled. The representation on the left-hand side is a figure of an angel or a seraph, the head and features of which were secured. The picture is executed in oil colour and probably the chancel was beautifully adorned with such productions. Underneath this was “Belief.” On the opposite side a portion of Lord's Prayer was found, with a representation of clouds, and some fine scroll work. The walls bore a number of stencillings and old English characters, which were scarcely legible.

The Naples correspondent of the *Daily News* writes:—The last house excavated at Pompeii in 1891, Regione VIII., is of an anomalous kind. It is situated at the south side of the isola. Its construction is quite unusual, as it possesses no proper atrium. On entering the doorway you find on your right a small stove in the corner of the passage, and on the left is the kitchen proper with a room for slaves. Then to the right is a row of columns, forming a rectangular space, in the midst of which is the triclinium with the reclining bed formed of masonry, and in the centre a cylindrical table covered with slabs of marble geometrically arranged. The wall paintings of the open space are not of great value; there are heads of Medusa, hypographe, and fantastic birds. Returning into the passage there is on the left next to the kitchen an exedra with walls ornamented with white and yellow squares, divided by columns, decorations and festoons all in fresco. At the entrance of this room are two strange figures; on the left an infant surprised at the sight of a large rat issuing from a trap, and on the right the same infant trying to catch the rat. On the left wall is a medallion with a small figure, two cupids, and two flying geniuses, one with a pastoral staff in the left hand and a bunch of grapes in the right, the other with the staff in the right hand and the left supporting a basket on the shoulder. The opposite wall is in a bad condition, so that nothing can be distinguished but the faint traces of a similar medallion. This room was covered, and above it and the kitchen was a second story, to which access was had by a staircase at the end of the ground floor passage and by a similar passage above.

The south-western corner of the great bath at Bath has now been laid bare with its steps and pilastered piers. Many fragments have been found, but two should be named. One is a carved stone lion or sphinx, with conventional rugged mane in addition to the more natural form. The face is partially broken and the legs are not perfect. The form suggests its having been one of the Antifixæ on the angles of the hipped roofs. (A similar lion was found in building the market.) The other is a carved capital of the composite order, a base found a few weeks since enabling a complete restoration. This column is of later character than the greater part of what has been hitherto found, and clearly belonged to an addition to the baths, a colonnade, or more properly a peristylum, on the south of the baths, in the position now occupied by Swallow Street. This fronted the gardens of the baths. With reference to the teal's egg mentioned in last month's "news," Mr. Davies writes to the *Bath Herald* that it must have been laid when the platform on which it was found was overgrown with rushes, and when the columns, pediments, and pilasters of the ruined baths stood a picturesque ruin in a sedgy lake—Aqua Sulis, a deserted city.

A local link, says an Edinburgh paper, between Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott is about to disappear. The two great Scottish poets met only once—in the house of Principal Ferguson, the historian of the Roman Republic, and a leading spirit of the *literati* of Edinburgh in his day. Until lately the house remained the finest in the neighbourhood; but a few years ago the garden ground was feued for building purposes, and last year the house itself, with its three flats, was subdivided into workmen's houses. The west gable with the drawing-room window still remained, but now this gable is to be closed in by a tenement rising beside it; and in a short time the place where Burns and Scott met may be forgotten.

The recent discovery of human footprints at Carson, Nevada, has created great interest in American scientific circles. At a meeting of the Californian Academy of Sciences, Professor Joseph Leconte detailed the results of a careful examination which he has made of this locality. The professor arrived at the conclusion that if the footprints were not in a quaternary formation they were not likely to be older than the upper pleiocene passing into quaternary. He observed that no one who studied the tracks could fail to note the remarkable general resemblance to human footprints, both in their form and in the apparent singleness of each impression. Their size called for explanation; for, although well defined as rights and lefts, their straddle was unusually wide. They might have been made by a human foot enclosed in a raw hide sandal, much larger externally than the foot. The bear and mylodon, or gigantic ground-sloth, could alone make a track at all resembling the footprints in size and form, and they were not the tracks of either of these; they were those of a biped, more likely man or the anthropoid ape, familiarly known as the missing link in the chain of human evolution. The track was too much curved for any bear. Professor Leconte said he knew of no

animal but a biped which could make such tracks, but this was possible for a man with sandals on to do. However, as a judicial mind, he desired to hold his final scientifically expressed opinion in reserve, awaiting further testimony.

Mr. Alfred Poore, of Salem, Essex Co., Massachusetts, is publishing the *Genealogy of the Family of John Poore, Ten Generations, 1615-1880*.

The old and venerable Market Cross at Alston, which has stood in the Market Place upwards of one hundred years, has been razed to the ground, preparatory to a new and more modern structure being erected.

In the latter part of last year the remains of a Roman villa were discovered in the village of Box. The Rev. H. H. Winwood suggested that a portion at least should be bodily taken up. This work has been undertaken, and an exhibition formed. The remains include a crescent-shaped bath, the sides and floor of which are laid with tesserae of white lias. There are also sundry specimens of pottery and ornamental brick, together with the bones and teeth of animals, all of which were excavated on the site of the villa. We believe the remains are to be shown in some of the principal towns.

The forty-ninth meeting of the Archaeological Congress of France took place at Avignon. A large number of savants from different European countries were present at the inauguration of the proceedings. After the business of the first day, an excursion was made by the members and their guests to the ancient palace of the Popes who reigned in Avignon.

The Lewes Priory excavations, referred to in our last issue are suspended for the present, in consequence of Mr. St. John Hope, under whose superintendence the work has been carried on, being compelled to leave Lewes for a time. The real business of Mr. St. John Hope in Lewes was to make excavations at Lewes Castle, where there is good reason to suppose some really interesting discoveries are in store, and this has been delayed while the work at the old Priory has engaged attention.

The Leasowes, the once-famous home of the poet Shenstone, near Hales Owen, is to be let. The house is most picturesquely situated, and the land which goes with it extends to some 150 acres. Many of the famous wits, statesmen, and men of letters of the last century have been entertained there, and it was there that Shenstone died in 1763.

It may interest some of our readers to know that Messrs. Nimmo & Bain are about to issue a new Library Edition, in ten volumes, of Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, with all the copyright additions.

A Royal Warren; or, Picturesque Rambles in the Isle of Purbeck, Dorsetshire, by Charles E. Robinson, and illustrated by Alfred Dawson, is to be published by subscription by Messrs. Gilbert of Southampton.

The church at Stony Stanton, dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels, like many of its sister edifices throughout Leicestershire, has just passed through the hands of the restorers. It is principally in the Early Decorated style, some traces of Norman architecture still remaining. The church underwent renovation and restoration in 1842, but the alterations on both

occasions have consisted mainly of interior improvements, and happily the original construction of the building remains unchanged. The church consists of nave, north and south aisle and chancel, with tower and spire at the west end. The nave is lofty and of capital dimensions, and is lighted by three clerestory windows on each side. The north aisle has been untouched. It is in a somewhat dilapidated condition and badly lighted, and signs of decay are observable by fissures in the buttresses and portions of the wall. The aisle gallery is also allowed to remain, and the old-fashioned pews retain their places. The gallery, which formerly stretched across the nave, joining those in the aisles, and hiding from view a handsome tower arch of Perpendicular date has been removed, opening up the arch, which has been restored, and displaying in addition an inner buttress on each side, surmounted by some wrought masonry. Some old traceried paneling which formerly decorated the front of the galleries is now utilized in the chancel, forming a dais on the walls. The arches leading from the chancel and the aisle to the organ chamber are of uniform construction. They are formed of moulded jambs, bases, and capitals, that leading to the chancel having hood moulds with carved terminations representing John Wycliffe and Lady Jane Grey. The column of the other terminates with pendant corbels. During the progress of restoration the workmen came across the stairs leading to the ancient rood-loft, which had hitherto been blocked up. It has now been partially opened up, the upper doorway and a portion of the steps being brought to view. The rood-loft was originally entered by a doorway in the north aisle, which has also been exposed. The church is comparatively bare of monuments, three mural tablets in the north aisle, two of which are of comparatively ancient date, comprising the whole.

The interesting ancient parish church, St. Bartholomew's, Radcliffe, which existed A.D. 1282, and was restored in 1846, is undergoing restoration under the superintendence of Messrs. J. Medland and Henry Taylor, architects, Manchester. The west end of the north aisle is being entirely rebuilt, and a new stone window erected.

The parish church of St. Nicholas, Bathampton, has been re-opened after having undergone considerable enlargement and alteration.

A very interesting discovery has been made at the parish church of Market Drayton. In the demolition of the Buntingsdale Chapel, the workmen came upon a large alabaster slab. Unfortunately, the slab was fractured, but the two pieces were found to constitute what had formerly been a monument to the memory of two members of a family who had lived in this neighbourhood three hundred years ago. The greater part of the stone is occupied by two effigies, who are represented in a recumbent position, with hands uplifted in the act of adoration. The style of the figures take us back to the days of "good Queen Bess." The male is a bluff hearty-looking man, habited in a huge flowing cloak, and the wide breeches alluded to by Strutt, and mentioned in the Harleian MSS., the said breeches being stuffed with hair-like wool-

sacks. The most attractive of the two figures is that of the female. Like the fashionables of her day and generation, she wears one of those caps, alluded to by Skelton, Henry VII's poet laureate, in his satirical picture of a well-known hostess of that time.

Here is an interesting description of primitive account-keeping. A Pulteneytown (Wick) fishcurer was settling the other day with a crew of Highland women. He asked them how many barrels of herrings they had put through their hands. "How many will you say yourself?" was the cautious rejoinder. The curer referred to his books, and gave the total entered there. The leading woman then produced her "books," consisting of three nicked pieces of hoop, which were stowed away in some mysterious recesses about her skirts. One piece represented whole barrels, another halves, and the third quarters. The chieftainess of the troop counted the nicks, and announced that her totals corresponded with those in the curer's books. A settlement satisfactory to both sides immediately followed.

A very curious document has recently been discovered in the State archives of Hesse Darmstadt. It is the official tariff of Darmstadt and Bessungen, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, to the executors of those towns for the performance of their duties. To boil a criminal in oil brought the executioner 24 florins, while breaking a man on the wheel gave but five florins 30 kreutzers. Criminals were hanged at 10 florins per head, and burnt alive for 14. To apply the torture of the rack brought but five florins, and branding on the back or forehead or cutting off nose and ears were the same price.

An agitation is now going on in Yarmouth for the destruction of the ancient and picturesque toll house. "This is," says the *Athenaeum*, "a unique work of its kind in England, and has so many points of interest that no pains ought to be spared to protect it." Sir John Lubbock is said to desire its appropriation as a museum, "thus saving it the ignominious fate of the Carliol Tower at Newcastle, and imitating the wise act which preserved for the public the old house at Cluny, Paris."

The quaint and pretty little church of Biddulph, has been sadly treated. Biddulph was once Norman but now modern Gothic. It contained stained glass windows from Belgium, a richly carved stone altar, and an altar-tomb to the Bowyer family, also their pew in good carved woodwork. In the churchyard is a mortuary cross of Decorated date, and at its removal seven incised slabs were found at its base. We are now informed by the authorities during a recent restoration that nothing ancient has been cast away or destroyed, only removed to more careful keeping in other parts of the church and churchyard. The tower was of very ancient architecture, but had now become in a dilapidated state. The building was good, but had suffered much from the storms. Part of the parapet had been blown down, and other parts removed for the safety of the public. The tower marked some of the most important eras in the history of the country, dating back to the time of the Normans, while there were marks of each succeeding age of the works of our forefathers. It was

remarkable for the symmetry and elegance of its proportion. The tower part was the work of the eleventh century; the next stage of the twelfth, probably about 70 years later, both good of the kind; while the upper part was carried out in the fifteenth century, and there was manifestation of great skill shown by the architect in forming this part within the walls of the old fabric.

Seaford Church is to be restored, it being now twenty years since this operation was last performed.

A trainload of wood arrived in Berlin a few days ago, which is creating a great deal of interest among antiquaries. The wood in question was the foundation of a bridge supposed to have been built by the Romans across the Rhine between Castell and Mayence, the date of which was 53 B.C., though of course all remnants of the old Roman structure above ground have been long swept away. Some workmen recently came on the wood while digging to renew an embankment. Most of the wood is to be placed in the antiquarian museum at Berlin. Prince Alexander of Hesse has bought a quantity, which he intends to have made into drawing-room furniture for his son, the Prince of Bulgaria.

Hoggeston Church has been restored. The date of the building is about 1350, except the southern arcade, which appears to have been erected about a century and a half earlier, as the style of a south window, opened out and recessed, would show. The tower stands at the west end of the north aisle, and contains three bells. There is a door into the south aisle, under an obtuse-pointed arch, and another at the west end of the nave. Above the latter is a large mullioned window of three trefoil-headed lights. The windows in the east end of the aisles are good, and there is a curious one-light window in the west end of the south aisle. The other windows are plain and modern; those of the clerestory are blocked. Three pointed arches on each side divide the nave and aisles—supported on the north side by octagon columns, and on the south by circular pillars. In the south aisle is a trefoiled piscina, and the original doorway and four of the stone steps remain which led to the rood-loft. In the work of restoration all the roofs had to come off, and very few of the old timbers were capable of being used again. The chancel, which was in a reduced condition when the work was undertaken, has been restored to its original length. All the chancel is now new except two portions of the side walls. The recumbent effigy of a man in a long robe, which was formerly on the north side of the altar, has been removed to a corresponding position in the extended portion of the building. This is stated to represent the founder of the church, William de Bermingham, who died lord of Hoggeston Manor in 1342, and it is said that the statue holds in its hands the model of a church. When the floor of the chancel was removed several years ago, the bones of five or six persons were discovered immediately beneath this ancient monument. The features of the face of the figure have been worn away by time; and at the feet, which are very small, is a quadruped (couchant), not easily ascertained, *minus* the head. The altar tomb of Elizabeth, wife of Joseph Mayne, of Creslow, who died in 1599, which formerly stood

near the door in the south aisle, has been removed to the eastern end of that portion of the church. The several slabs in the floor, near this monument, are inscribed to the Mayne family. The exterior of the wall of the nave above this aisle bears the date 1623, from which it has been conjectured that the greater part of the side of the church was re-erected at that period. It is probable that the south wall was undermined by excavating vaults beneath the south aisle, as the burial places of the family of Mayne.

Correspondence.

MAXWELLS OF MUNCHES.

Mrs. H. Strickland writes:—"Helen Maxwell" will find all particulars of—

1st. The Maxwells of Munches (which place is in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, not *Dumfriesshire*) in the *Book of Carleaverock*; *Memoirs of the Maxwells, Earls of Nithsdale*, by W. Fraser, Edinburgh, published in 1873.

2nd. Of the family to whom Carleaverock Castle, Dumfriesshire, now belongs (Lord Herries); and the history of the castle itself, in the same work; also in the *Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland*, by J. M. Wilson.

THE POLE FAMILY.

(v. 239; vi. 183.)

I hope before long to contribute to your columns a note on the true pedigree of Pole, but meanwhile it may be as well to warn your readers against the guesses of *dilettante* genealogists. The suggestions that the Poles were identical with the *De la Poles*, and that Sir Richard was "cozen german to King Henry VII." in virtue of having married a cousin of Henry's wife, or (by the subsequent discovery) of having a Tudor for his mother, are all equally unfortunate, all equally at variance with the plain facts of the case. It may be added that *consobrinus*, when used in a restricted sense, meant "son of mother's sister;" in this case a perfectly accurate description. F. C. L. is wrong, therefore, both in premiss and in conclusion.

J. H. ROUND.

FOOTSTEPS OF THE ENGLISH IN GERMANY.

(vi. 51.)

Mr. Davis' warning against hasty conclusions in this matter was needed. Yet, if Dr. Brandes, in his most interesting Paper, has included some doubtful instances, he has also omitted many which are clear, and which would have further strengthened his position. The following, for instance, I believe, are unnoticed by Isaac Taylor. *Colbe*, near Magdeburg, suggests our *Colby* in Norfolk. *Magdeburg* itself is reproduced in *Maydenburh*, which I have marked in my Domesday plan of Colchester, and which still exists. *Frankenbostel* in Hanover may possibly be compared with our *Ditchling bostel* (i.e., beacon) on the South Downs. *Wolbeck* (near Munster) reminds us of *Welbeck* Abbey. *Burgstall* suggests the famous

Boar (Burh?) *-stall*, while such names as Oxtede, Hersted, and Norden might easily be paralleled in England. But there happens to be one case, of which I am personally cognizant, and which shows how these parallels may lurk unsuspected. Between Cleves and Cologne lies the rising manufacturing town of Crefeld, unnoticed on early maps. In Essex there was formerly a family of Crefeld or Crefield, stated by Le Neve in his *Catalogue of Knights* to have come over from the Low Countries under Elizabeth. This, however, was quite erroneous. They can be traced back to an early period in Essex, and, beyond that, into Suffolk, where they originally appear as *De Crefeld* (circ. Hen. III.), a name which they assumed from a locality. They appear long to have been extinct in the male line, but their name has been gracefully perpetuated in streets on their former property, where it will form another link between ourselves and our Teutonic ancestry.

J. H. ROUND.

THE GREAT CASE OF THE IMPOSITIONS.

(v. 61-65.)

A perusal of Mr. Round's courteous criticism has convinced me that he has misapprehended my argument, if not the entire question.

In my own argument certain elementary propositions were assumed as granted. The first was that prizeage represented a tax in kind—the outcome of purveyance—and custom a percentage, to whatever value, in specie. Dependent hereon is the second proposition, also assumed, since it has never hitherto been denied—viz., that prizeage, in the above “nature” undefined (not in proportion as Mr. Round makes me say), was technically applied to wines alone, all temporary requisitions, unconnected as they were with the mercantile status, being relegated to the heading “Purveyance.” Now, unless these propositions are granted, it will be impossible for any one to follow the great legal arguments in this case, for they are the veritable alphabet of the question.

But granting them, the rest is easy. We have the prizeage of wines and the “butlerage” of wines, the former a requisition in kind (since the natives chose to retain it), the latter a custom percentage. In later times the king's butler combined the dual office, and collected both purveyance and custom. With regard to other taxes, there was the great custom, also of the nature of a purveyance; the port dues, subsidiary to the prizeage, and to which I apprehend that Mr. Round's plural most fitly belongs; and the petty customs, of the nature of a subsidy.

The ratio of any of the above depends of course on the application of Mr. Round's *force majeure*. In mediæval times it was the purveyance that recouped the Crown; in Tudor times the impost, a term which, for the sake of distinction, should never be applied to earlier transactions as Mr. Round applies it.

Therefore, when Mr. Round speaks throughout his fluent paper, of the “Butlerage” as synonymous with the “Prizeage,” regarding both as a custom imposed by the Crown, we may suppose, as a rude sportsman doubly charges his weapon “for good luck,” he fails to apprehend the whole line of my argument. To

class prizeage with the *parvæ customæ* is the most grievous error that any writer could fall into.

The “Butlerage” was of course the commutation of the prizeage into a petty custom, and was paid by aliens alone, who consequently paid no prizeage. Prizeage was the ancient toll in kind retained for choice by natives, who therefore paid no butlerage, as it was afterwards called. The natives and denizens differed in degree, the former possessing the status of “*liberi homines*,” while the qualification of the denizen was residential. A want of knowledge of these distinctions has been the cause of most of Mr. Round's errors.

It is the same when he speaks of the 20s. “Butlerage rate,” the real rate being 2s., and the wholly different prizeage (which is there meant) being “accounted for”—bought in, in fact—for the nominal sum of 20s., for the officer had to deliver an account like other people. The real butler and butlerage (*Piscerna capitalis Anglie*) of Mr. Round only date from Edward III.

I believe the remainder of Mr. Round's emendations, apart from his misapprehension of my technical phraseology, are not meant as more than conjectural ones, but I cannot allow that he upsets any of my facts, for the only other authority he brings against me, being of the reign of James I., is totally valueless, and must be at once rejected. The Butlerage has no constitutional or fiscal value after the reign of Elizabeth. The remaining instance, as applying to the prizeage, and not to the butlerage, is, I have shown, beside the mark.

With regard to my historical inaccuracies, Professor Stubbs (whom, by the way, I did not intend either to “attack” or “assail”) is no doubt right in his version of the “colloquium,” which is only that of nineteen people out of twenty; but I fail to see how his Constitutional History (which I did consult on Mr. Round's own showing) supplies the deficiencies of his select charters, as Mr. Round puts the matter. Also, I would wish to observe that any decent history will show that the “maltolte of 1297” was prior to the “episode of the refractory earls,” and did (*inter alia*) “produce” it. As I mentioned no individual article of the Confirmatio chartarum, I do not see the point of Mr. Round's *non sequitur*.

In conclusion, I fear that such an excellent scholar as Mr. Round has rather wasted his energies without advancing anything new in reviewing this question from a casual stand-point.

The merits of the case are too involved to permit any man to decide on them without a searching reference to the technical arguments of the Tudor and Stuart periods. These he may illustrate, as I have attempted to do, by his own instances, but the latter should be drawn exclusively from the working accounts of a contemporary date. Without this be practised, conjecture and analogy will but prove delusive.

HUBERT HALL.

45 Colville Gardens, W.

P.S.—I perceive that Mr. Round is gradually learning the history of this question at my expense. In his first letter he disputed the individuality of the prizeage; now he insists upon its technical definition.

I should be ashamed to confess the time or labour that I have bestowed upon the present subject, but I can assure Mr. Round that it was more than enough

to have enabled me to master the primary meaning of the term *prizage*—viz., that the Crown took prizable wines at its own price, a definition which may be found in any Law Dictionary.

To go straight to the point—I objected to the statement of Professor Stubbs that *prizage* was the royal right to take one cask out of every ten at 20s. the cask, and I proved beyond question that the Crown did not take one cask out of every ten. In reply to the assertion that the rate was fixed at 20s., a statement as misleading as though a future writer should define the Income Tax as equivalent to 5d. on the first half and 8d. on the second half of the financial year, I suggested, in all good faith, that Professor Stubbs' authority, Madox, must have mistaken some other prize for the *Recta Prisa*. For, I said, Madox does certainly imply that "a due of 20s. in the cask, *in acquietando*, was an ordinary one."

Now Mr. Round, palpably oblivious of the meaning of *in acquietando*, makes me say that a custom of 20s. paid by the merchants was the ratio of the *prizage*. But what I did say was, quoting loosely from Madox,* that a credit or onus of 20s. was acquitted by the accountant (*ut se quietum reddat*) though whether for the *recta prisa*, or to balance the *freitagium*† for wines presented free of toll to religious houses, &c., was not stated; yet no doubt for the latter, since London, &c., were notoriously exempt from the *recta prisa*. My meaning, moreover, was perfectly clear from the second use of "*acquietatio*," below. I admit that I tried to prove too much for my cause, and that *prizage* was usually taken at 20s. under Henry III.; but Professor Stubbs (whom I had myself charged with here misreading Madox) had no right to make a sweeping definition from that circumstance. Madox, certainly, does not breathe a word about the *prizage* being fixed at 20s. for any time.

Also I had no wish to prove that London was consistently free from *prizage*. Mr. Round will read in the third instalment of my Paper, "It was seldom, however, that even the *liberi homines* of London or the *Cinque Ports* were exempt from *prizage*." Mr. Round quotes me as saying that Madox, followed by Professor Stubbs, depended on a chamberlain's account for Sandwich, *temp.* Henry VII. But I added that London and Sandwich were "*then independent franchises*;" neither is it fair of Mr. Round to suppose me ignorant of what I have myself in its proper place proved to satiety. But what in the name of History has Henry VII. to do with chamberlains, or Sandwich, or Madox? Chamberlains were an expedient of the time of Henry III. and his fore-goers. Sandwich was acquired by the Crown from its spiritual lords under Edward I.; while Madox, surely, could never have dreamed of extending his researches into the sixteenth century, considering that he did not write a word herein later than Edward II. Henry VII., of course, as my original MS. shows, is a glaring misprint for Henry III., therefore the effect of Mr. Round's refutation of my truly astounding assertion by a nearly contemporary

* "Et in *acquietando* cccciiij; *dolia vini gallici*, &c., scil. *pretium dolij* xx." &c.

† "Et nullam *prisam* capiatis (scil. *vinorum*) nisi ubi *prisa* solet antiquitus capi." Pat. 5 j. m. 4.

patent* (1519) is somewhat marred. Mr. Round cannot have the reputation of Stubbs' or Madox greatly at heart if he did not trouble to inform himself of what century they were writing or did ever write, respectively.

Finally, I cannot see that Mr. Round has made one point, or elucidated a single difficulty. That it was easy to have done both, I never doubted. I only meant my Paper to be suggestive. I am very grateful to any one, and especially to such an authority as Mr. Round, who can spare the time for "putting me straight." But if they try to do this off-hand they run the risk of putting other people wrong.

H. H.

RUNIC CROSS.

(vi. p. 87.)

Your correspondent will find a description of the Runic Cross, at Bewcastle, in the first volume of Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*. In Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden it is called "a cross of an entire square stone, about 20 ft. high, and curiously wrought."

There is, or used to be, another cross three miles from Bewcastle, at a place called Cross Hill, near the Maiden Way, but whether it is Runic or not I do not know.

H. S. COWPER.

Elmwood, Ludbury, Harrow.

A WIG LAW CASE.

An Inquisition on a Periwig may sound somewhat frivolous, but the result of such a one in the reign of Charles II. will at least prove that it was no light matter for a beau to be denuded in a drunken brawl after the likeness of Hogarthian heroes. On the last day of November, 1662, Jerrard White, gent., of St. Clement Danes, was thus despoiled of his "*Jabericulus, anglice Periwigg*," which he was then carrying on his head as part of his proper goods and chattels. For fourteen days Jerrard White dispensed with a wig, but on the 15th he espied his property on the person of another. The latter refused to give it up, and prudently "disposed of and converted" it forthwith, "to his own proper use," to "the damage" of White, £40. A jury at Westminster solemnly sat on the periwig, and assessed the damage and costs at £7 12s.—say £25 of our money. H. II.

* Mr. Round's interpretation of this fact is most erroneous. The true explanation will be found in the following extract, of which I could produce a hundred similar ones in Tudor times. "London—Et *oneratur super computum de xvij de precio quatuor doliorum vini Hugonis Vaughan mercatoris Indigene in portu predicto hoc anno accidentium per ipsum Hugonem colore libertatis civitatis Londini detentium asserentem se fore civem commorantem infra libertatem civitatis predictae, cum hic oneratur pro eo quod dictus Hugo commoratur extra libertatem civitatis predictae.*" —Pipe Accounts. Bun. 325-2.

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The Antiquary.



DECEMBER, 1882.

Christmas.

By G. B. LEATHOM.

THE various associations of Christmas have been so frequently discussed that the subject might fairly be supposed to be exhausted, and yet there are many points of interest which still need investigation, and in continuation of the project commenced this year, it will be well to place some of these before our readers. We propose to touch upon these points in the following pages.

The festival of the birth of Christ was celebrated by different communities of the early Christians at various periods of the year, and it was not until the fourth century that the present season was definitely fixed upon. This is said to have been the act of Julius I., Pope of Rome, A.D. 337-352. There can be no doubt that the end of December does not represent the true anniversary, and there is reason to believe that the celebration was transferred from the last month of the Jewish year, when the birth was known to have taken place, to the last month of the Christian year.

We have already alluded in the article on Martinmas to the supposed connection between the mass or feast days and the service of the mass, and we must again make a passing allusion to it here, noting at the same time that we are sadly in want of more historical light on the point. The philologists have settled it that the one is derived from the other, but they await corroborative evidence from history. Surely evidence, either corroborative or the reverse, must be available somewhere if we could only get a clue to it.

It is curious that, although the Saxons used the word *mas* so largely for the feast days, the chief of all does not appear to have

been at all generally called Christmas until after the Norman Conquest. The name for the natural occurrence of the winter solstice, "Midwinter," or the term applied to the Pagan celebration of it, viz., "Yule," were generally applied to Christmas after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity. In the Saxon Chronicle we almost invariably read of "midwinter," but in and after A.D. 1001 we meet with "Cristes mæsse." It still, however, remains a point worthy of consideration whether the Midwinter Day of the Saxon Chronicles was actually Christmas Day, as usually supposed by the authorities, or whether it was not intended to describe, as it would correctly do, the day of the winter solstice—the shortest day—which falls on the 21st December. As, however, Christmas-tide covers a period of at least twelve days, so also Yule-tide covered a similar space of time, and therefore the two would to a great extent coincide.

The name of Yule [says Mr. Elton], derived from the turning of the sun in its annual course, was given to the two months which preceded and followed the winter solstice, but the year began on "mothers' night," now Christmas Eve, when the women took part in a nocturnal watch.*

The whole history of Yule-tide takes us back to a period of our national history which lies buried far back in the tribal and ethnological beginnings of our race. One little incident alone, the lighting of the Yule-log from the remaining embers of the last year's log, opens up a history of the past into which we dare not enter, because, first, it would absorb more space than can be afforded to a single article, and, secondly, because it has already been touched upon in our volume for last year. But it must be noted, now that our articles on the popular archæology of the months have drawn to their close, how constantly and persistently the customs now clustering round the feast days of Christianity, were once customs performed at various times in the pagan routine of village life. This is surely a most important result to have obtained from our researches into this subject, and it deserves the attention of the scientific students of folklore. It is not mere accident—it has a definite cause—and though up to the present time it has, we believe, been an unknown problem, there is

* Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 411.

sufficient interest and value in it to deserve further investigation.

Omens from the seasons and weather at Christmas are very plentiful, and we must quote one example from Harleian MS. (No. 2257, fols. 152-4), as it is applicable to the present year :—

If Christmas on a Monday be,
A great winter that year you'll see,
And full of winds both loud and shrill;
But in the summer truth to tell;
Stern winds shall then be and strong,
Full of tempests lasting long;
While battles they shall multiply,
And great plenty of beasts shall die.
They that be born that day I ween,
They shall be strong each one and keen,
He shall be found that stealeth ought,
Though thou be sick thou diest not.

One especial feature of Christmas customs is the representation of mumming plays or masques. This subject has a history yet to be written. The mumming plays, as they have come down to us upon the waves of popular tradition, are a very curious and valuable portion of folklore. As Mr. Nutt has pointed out (*Folklore Record*, iii. 114), they contain features very significantly parallel to the folktale proper. If this fact leads to the identification of the incidents of the popular mumming play with those of the folktale, there will have been restored to English folklore an important factor which at present seems almost to have died out. Mr. J. S. Udal, in his valuable contribution to the third volume of the *Folklore Record*, has done so much towards telling us the chief facts at present known of the mumming plays that it is unnecessary to do more than record this reference to the subject. But putting on one side the folklore aspect of the question, there is another view which leads us to an interesting problem in the history of manners and customs. How far has the mumming play contributed towards the creation of the legitimate drama? It has been over and over again asserted that the miracle plays formed the beginning of dramatic representation in modern Europe, and that the influence of Roman and Greek dramatic art soon brought about a distinct branch of amusement in the representation of plays written by special authors. Under this view of the case, mumming plays have been relegated to the position of degene-

rate successors to the miracle plays. But this cannot be. The folktale incidents of mumming plays point to a far more ancient origin than the biblical incidents of miracle plays. All early nations have some forms of dramatic art—the war dance, the festival ceremonies, so elaborate among primitive peoples are early dramas. The immediate successor of these ceremonies is the mumming play. As a popular custom, we know, it was very wide spread, forming one of the features of Christmas festivities in almost every village in England. And it penetrated to the Court. This is exactly the link which connects the popular mumming play with the professional drama. The Court and nobles of the land would soon desire something more than the constant repetition of the village ceremony, and it was this which brought about a new development. The mumming play represented the very crudest form of drama, but it has features particularly close to some of the scenes given by Shakespeare. Thus the play acted in *Midsummer's Night Dream* has personal representations of impersonal objects, and this is one of the features of the mumming play. Shakespeare, it is well known, appealed to popular custom for so many of his incidents that here, too, it must be admitted we have evidence of the first literary enshrinement of popular custom. And thus we are gradually led to the position of Christmas plays being written specially for the Court. We can only touch upon the bare outline of this important subject. It reached its utmost height during the reflected period from the Tudor rule in England, under the reign of the first Stuart.

Masques at Court were given at all times of the year, but New Year's Day, Twelfth Night, and Shrove Tuesday were probably those most favoured. Two of Ben Jonson's masques, however, were presented at Christmas proper—one of these, given in 1616, was entitled, "Christmas his Masque." Two of the characters are thus described:—"MINCED PIE, like a fine cook's wife, dressed neat; her man carrying a pie dish and spoons." "BABY-CAKE, drest like a boy, in a fine long coat, biggin, bib, muckender, and a little dagger; his mother bearing a great cake with a bean and a pease." Christmas himself is thus described:—"Enter CHRISTMAS,

with two or three of the guard attired in round hose, long stockings, a close doublet, a high-crowned hat, with a brooch, a long thin beard, a truncheon, little ruffs, white shoes, his scarfs and gaiters tied cross, and his drum beaten before him."

One other masque presented at Court at Christmas, 1617, is entitled "The Vision of Delight." This is an elegant piece, in which Grace, Love, Harmony, Revel, Sport, Laughter and Wonder accompany Delight, but there is little in it which has any bearing upon the history of Christmas.

Shortly after this period, however, the growing influences of the Puritans brought about a different state of things. The old cheer and festivities of Christmas gradually, from the reign of James I., gave way before the stern fanaticism of the succeeding periods. This is amply illustrated by many facts to be gained from the historical records of the seventeenth century. Whether in consequence of this, or as forerunner of it, we cannot say, but country Christmasses were much altered by reason of the nobility flocking to London. Mr. Chappell prints, in his *Popular Music of the Olden Times*, a ballad called "Christmas's Lamentation," in which the writer complains of the flocking of the nobility to London.

Christmas beef and bread is turn'd into stones,
Into stones and silken rags;
And Lady Money sleeps and makes moans,
And makes moans in misers' bags;
Houses where pleasures once did abound,
Nought but a dog and a shepherd is found,
Welladay!
Places where Christmas revels did keep,
Now are become habitations for sheep.
Welladay, Welladay,
Welladay, where should I stay?

A letter of Chamberlain's to Sir Dudley Carleton, written Dec. 21, 1627, contains the following information bearing on this complaint:—

Divers lords and personages of quality have made means to be dispensed withall for going into the country this Christmas according to the proclamation; but it will not be granted, so that they pack away on all sides for fear of the worst.—*Nichols's Progresses of James I.*

But these were indications only of something more serious still against the festivities of old Christmas. Evelyn records in his diary of the Christmas of 1652: "No sermon

anywhere; no church being permitted to be open; so observed it at home." And in the same year, Sir Thomas Gower, writing to Mr. John Langley, on Dec. 28, says:—

There is little worth writing, most of the time being spent in endeavouring to take away the esteem held of Christmas Day, to which end order was made that whoever would open shops should be protected by the State; yet I heard of no more than two who did so, and one of them had better have given £50 his wares were so dirtyed: and secondly that no sermons should be preached, which was observed (for aught I hear) save at Lincoln's Inn.—*Hist. MS. Commission Reports*, v. 192.

In the following year Evelyn writes: "No churches or public worship. I was fain to pass the devotions of that Blessed Day with my family at home." The next year's entry is: "1654. Christmas Day. No public offices in churches; but penalties to observers; so as I was constrained to celebrate it at home." In 1655 we read: "There was no more notice taken of Christmas Day in churches." The season was still more embittered. It was at this holiday time that Evelyn made the following record:—

I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of Preaching; this being the last day; after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach, or administer Sacraments, teach school, &c., on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both Priest and Presbyter. So pathetic was his discourse that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family, received the Communion. God make me thankful who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the Captivity of Zion.

What could not be celebrated in public was performed in private. On the Christmas Day of 1656, Evelyn chronicles his going "to London to receive the Blessed Sacrament, this holy festival, at Dr. Wild's lodgings, where I rejoiced to find so full an assembly of devout and sober Christians." "26th. I invited some of my neighbours and tenants, according to custom, and to preserve hospitality and charity." By next year some of the clergy had bolder grown, but their boldness was met by rough treatment. Here is a record of the day, A.D. 1657:—

I went to London with my wife to celebrate Christmas Day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter

Chapel, on Michah vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was going to the Holy Sacrament, the Chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprized and kept prisoners by them; some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, the Countess of Dorset, Lady Hutton, and some others of Quality who invited me. In the afternoon, came Col. Whalley, Goffe, and others from Whitehall, to examine us one by one. Some they committed to the Marshal, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me, why, contrary to the ordinance made, that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them), I durst offend and particularly pray for Charles Stuart, for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Charles Stuart, but for all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors. They replied, in so doing, we prayed for the King of Spain too, who was their enemy and a Papist; with other frivolous and ensnaring questions and much threatening; and finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. There were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spoke spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action. So I got home, late the next day, blessed be God.

Of the anniversaries of 1658 and 1659, there is no record, but we have this "Jubilate," on November 25, 1660: "Dr. Rainbow preached before the King, on Luke ii. 14, of the glory to be given God for all his mercies; especially for restoring the Church and Government. Now the service was performed with music, voices, &c., as formerly." On the Christmas Day following, Evelyn writes: "Preached at the Abbey, Dr. Earle, Clerk of his Majesty's Closet, and my dear friend, now Dean of Westminster, on Luke ii. 13, 14, condoling the breach made in the public joy by the lamented death of the Princess" (of Orange, the King's sister, of small pox, on the 22nd), "which entirely altered the face and gallantry of the whole Court."

But soon we have a contrast to this. At Christmas-tide, 1662, "I was told," writes Pepys, in his Diary, "that my Lady Castlemaine hath all the King's Christmas presents made him by the Peers, which is a most abominable thing; and that at the great ball she was much richer in jewels than the Queen and Duchess put together." And he goes on—"The Commons in Parliament, I

hear, are very high to stand for an Act of Uniformity, and will not indulge in Papists, which is endeavoured by the Court party, not the Presbyters." In the year 1667 it had become one of the London sights to go to the Queen's chapel on Christmas Eve. Pepys stood there, near the rails, from nine at night to two in the morning. He expected to see a figuring of the birth of Our Saviour, the manger, &c., but he stood amid a crowd of lackeys, beggars, fine ladies, zealous poor Papists, gaping Protestants, and cut-purses, with only Queen and Court to stare at, and an endless musical service to listen to. The Papists, he says, had the wit to bring cushions to kneel upon. Lady Castlemaine, he adds, "looked prettily in her night-clothes." Pepys finished his night, or rather Christmas morning, at the Rose Tavern, over "burnt wine," and so home by moonlight. He stopped now and then, on his way, to drop money, as was the custom, and so home, where he found his wife in bed, and Jane and the maid making pies. He was up by nine, to church;—dull sermon, crowds of fine people, a good Christmas dinner, a quiet afternoon, and a joyous evening, brought the day to an end. At Court, things went from bad to worse. One may be a little surprised to find Evelyn himself there on Christmas Day, 1684; but he was ashamed of what he saw. "Dr. Dove preached before the King. I saw this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the King in the midst of his three concubines, as I had never before seen; luxurious dallying and profaneness."

One other object we will mention before closing these notes of Christmas-time in England. Why was this day chosen as a day for the payment of rents and other periodical dues? A question like this presents one of the most curious, and yet one of the most simple problems of our social history. We are so accustomed to the idea of Christmas Day being a so-called Quarter-day, that it is not easy to contemplate a time when this happy arrangement did not form part of the ordinary routine of life. Yet a moment's reflection will easily show that this contemplation does not lead us far afield from the region of fact. A record or two, there-

* Dr. Doran summarized a few of these points in *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. ii. p. 502.

fore, giving evidence of the transition is of value to the student, and we accordingly supply one curious piece of information on the subject. Mr. Jeaffreson, in calendaring the Anglesey MSS. of Miss C. Griffith, came across some curious leases, which indicated the rendering of certain provisions at feast-days in payment of rent. The leases set forth, among other matters, that the rents shall be "Xs of lefall money of Englonde at the feastes of thapostell Phelippe and jacobbe, and all Seyntes, by too equall porcionnes, wyth too gese as presentes at Christmas, and too capons at Ester, and one day of reapinge in harvest time, or iii^d in money yerely duringe the seyd terme." And again, an indenture of lease for fifteen years, "at a yearly rent of vs. iii^d." payable in equal portions at Michaelmas, and the feasts of Sts. Philip and James, and also of "six capones or sixpence in money price of euery one of the same capones," payable in equal portions at the feasts of Christmas and Easter. (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, v. 415).

And Mr. Jeaffreson pointedly comments upon these curious records, that—

Attention may be claimed for the leases which show that, from the time of Elizabeth down to the later decades of the seventeenth century, it was usual for the tenants of farms in Anglesea to pay their rent in the three separate forms of money, presents, and service, and that in cases where the tenant was exempt from the two last-named kinds of obligation, his lease generally stated expressly that the money, which he had agreed to pay as rent, covered the dues commonly rendered to landlords in labour and gifts. The presents thus exacted by landlords and rendered by their tenants, were for the most part articles of agricultural produce. Sometimes, however, they were offerings of another kind. For instance, so late as Charles the Second's time, Hugh ap William held a small farm, the Tythin Clay, in the county of Anglesey, of Mr. Owen Holland, at a yearly rent of "£6. 0. 0. in money, two capons, and a hundred red herrings in presents, and six days of masons work in services."*

There is no doubt that this practice on the part of landlords of inserting in their leases special stipulations for the payment of presents at principal feasts of the year, first became general in Anglesey in consequence of a growing disinclination on the part of tenants to render dues which had been purely spontaneous before custom made them unavoidable obligations.

* *Ibid.* p. 405.

Their Eminences the Cardinals.

By R. DAVEY.



THE title of Cardinal is the highest but one—that of Pope—in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and, therefore, its bestowal is the greatest honour an ecclesiastic can receive from the Pontiff. Its origin is exceedingly remote, for according to Pope Eugenius IV., in his Constitution *De Mediocri*, although not mentioned in the earliest annals of the Church, there is little doubt but that St. Peter himself instituted the Order of Cardinals, in imitation of his Divine Master, who surrounded Himself with Apostles. So, also, Peter surrounded himself by a council of persons of superior intelligence and morality, to assist him in governing the nascent Church. Doubtless it is on account of this tradition that we find Sixtus V. styling the Cardinals "representatives of the Apostles," and that in Papal Bulls we see the Sacred College always termed "Apostolic." The title "Cardinal" makes its first appearance in history in the fourth century, at the Council of Rome, which assembled under Constantine. We learn from Lælius Zecchius, *De Repub. Eccles.* (Part ii.), that in his opinion the word Cardinal means Principal: "*Nomen Cardinalis idem fere significat quod principalis*," &c., and that it is also derived from the Latin *cardo*, the hinge or pivot of a door; for, says he, "the Cardinals are the pivots of the doors of the Church." St. Augustine calls the chiefs of the Donatists, Cardinals, and St. Ambrose so styles the seven principal moral virtues, because they are the foundations and props of all others. But the Venerable Cardinal Bellarmine assures us that in the early ages of Christianity the word "Cardinal" was bestowed upon the principal churches of Rome, which were known as *Cardinales*. From the churches the title, in the course of time, passed to the chief pastors who directed them; and to this day the Canons of the Cathedrals of Milan, Ravenna, Salerno, Naples, Cremona, Campostella, and Cologne are arrayed in scarlet, and were styled, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, Cardinals "by courtesy," but St. Pius V.,

by a Constitution, dated March 13, 1567, ordered them to relinquish this title in favour of the chief priests of the Church of Rome. They nevertheless still wear scarlet garments in the choir, instead of the ordinary purple robes common to the canons of other cathedrals.

It would be a curious but lengthy task to note all the high eulogiums bestowed upon the Sacred College by the various Pontiffs and ecclesiastical writers; and a volume could be easily filled with quotations from their works in its praise. Sixtus V. compares it to the assembly of elders chosen by Moses, by command of God, to help him lead the chosen people into the Promised Land (Numb. ch. xi. v. 10, 17); and hence this remarkable Pope limited the number of its members to seventy, which corresponds with that of the elders of the Israelites.

As amongst the Jews these aged men formed the Senate of Moses, so also do the Cardinals act under the Popes in a similar manner, and he is to them a second, a Christian Moses, the High Priest, Vicar of Christ, and Head of the Church, destined by God to lead the human family through the troubled waves of this life to the tranquil shores of eternity.

Pope Innocent III., the same who excommunicated King John of England, likens the Cardinals to the priests of the race of Levi, who were charged by the High Priest to assist him in the performance of his Pontifical duties, and in administering justice in Israel, as we read, Deuteronomy, chap. xvii. 8 and 10 verses :—

If there arise a matter too hard for them in judgment between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matter of controversy within thy gates; then shalt thou arise and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment.

In a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Eugenius IV. says :—

Who does not readily perceive that the dignity of cardinal is superior to that of archbishop? for, whereas the latter is established for the use of one country, the former is of universal utility to the entire Christian people. The archbishop directs only one church; the cardinals, with the assistance of the Pope, direct them all, and, whereas the cardinals are judged only by the Pope, they possess the privilege of judging the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops and all the other ranks of the Church and priesthood.

St. Jerome, himself a Cardinal, speaking of the Cardinalate, remarks that: "Just as the Romans had their senate, by whose advice they acted, so also we have our senate, the assembly of the chief priests." Their Eminences are the Privy Councillors of the Sovereign Pontiff, his coadjutors in life, and those who upon his death are charged with the reins of ecclesiastical government until the election of his successor, and it is on account of this exalted office that they receive most high-sounding titles. One Pope calls them "sons of the first grave," another "the spiritual fathers," a third "the props of the Church," and a fourth "the lights of the Church and pillars of the faith." Sixtus V. calls the Sacred College, which is the name given to the entire and united body of Cardinals, "the eyes and ears—i.e., the most important organs of the mystical body of the chief of the Church;" and so intimate, says he, is their connection with the Pope, that they are exempt, when they receive the episcopate, from taking an oath of fidelity to him, because it would be useless for him to insist upon an oath, as it were, from a part of himself, so that when Cardinals are sent out as legates they assume the title of *Legati a latere*, for the reason that they alone are members of the mystical body of the Supreme Pontiff. Their Eminences are, therefore, after the Pope, the first dignitaries of the hierarchy, being, as has already been said, superior to the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and, in a word, to all priests, for they only can elect a Pope who can be chosen but from their ranks. This exclusive privilege was granted them in the Eleventh Ecumenical Council, that of the Lateran, by Alexander III. Previous to this decree there had been much confusion on the death of each Pope by reason of the ever-increasing number of persons who considered it their right to interfere in the election of his successor. He, Alexander, therefore, declared that the Popes should henceforth be elected by the Sacred College, and according to an ancient custom he is selected exclusively from amongst its members. Since Stephen III., 769, the Popes have always been chosen from amongst the Cardinals excepting under peculiar circumstances. The following Popes, how-

ever, have been created since that date without having previously received the purple :— Gregory V. 996, Sylvester II. 999, Clement II. 1046, Damasus II. 1048, St. Leo I. 1049, Victor II. 1055, Nicholas II. 1058, Alexander II. 1061, Calixtus II. 1119, Eugenius IV. 1145, Urban IV. 1261, Blessed Gregory, 1271, St. Celestin V. 1294, Clement V. 1305, Urban V. 1362, Urban VI. 1378. Some writers declare that after the death of Nicholas III. the Superior General of the Dominicans Giovanni da Vercelli, was elected Pope, but died before receiving the tiara. All these Popes were either bishops or simple priests at the time they ascended the Chair of Peter, and never belonged to the Sacred College. The number of privileges accorded by the Popes to the Cardinals, is fixed by some writers at thirty, others, as Cohellius, for instance, at forty-one. Manfredius counts them as thirty, and Germonius, in his treatise "*De S. Immunitatibus*," declares that the Sacred College enjoys at least 300 spiritual and temporal advantages. Of these, doubtless, by far the most important is that of electing the Pope, and the next, the following, recorded by St. Thomas of Aquinas, who asserts that, during the Council of Rome, A.D. 324, Pope Sylvester decreed that :—

Before the sentence of excommunication can be pronounced upon a cardinal he must be accused by seventy-two witnesses, if he belongs to the order of bishops; by sixty-four, if to that of priests; and by twenty-seven if to that of the inferior order of deacons.

Urban VIII. gave the members of the Sacred College the title of Eminence in 1630. They had been previously addressed as reverend, illustrious, honourable, &c. &c. There are three orders of Cardinals, the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, which are gracefully likened, by Cardinal Paleotti, to the three orders of the celestial hierarchy, the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones. Under Stephen III. the title of Cardinal is used for the first time. They are then styled hebdomadary cardinal-bishops, in the Council held at Rome in 769, because, in those times, they were obliged to either celebrate Mass before the shrine of St. Peter, or to assist the Pope at Divine service, at least once in each week. The number of the Cardinal-bishops used to be seven :—Ostia,

Porta, St. Rufina, Albano, Sabina, Frascati, and Palestrina. These Sees are all situated in the immediate vicinity of Rome, but only six of them remain, since Eugenius III., in 1150, united the Bishopric of Ostia to that of Velletri. The order of priests includes those Cardinals to whom the Pope grants the titles of certain churches in and about Rome, which are more or less famous for their important relics, or on account of the martyrs who were put to death upon their sites and whose bones rest beneath their altars. Fifty-five out of the 360 churches of Rome possess the privilege of giving a title to a corresponding number of Cardinals.

The Sacred College, when complete, consists of seventy members; six Cardinal bishops, fifty Cardinal priests, and fourteen cardinal deacons, who also have the privilege of titular churches of inferior rank. A Cardinal is considered the spouse of the Church, whose name he receives. He is bound to keep its altars in repair, to embellish it, and to hang his coat of arms and portrait over its principal entrance. Here is an example of how a Cardinal's title is written :—

"By the grace of God and will of the Holy See, Prince of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic See, Cardinal priest by the title of St. Andrew and Gregory on Monte Calio."

Up to the time of Sixtus V. the number of Cardinals was not determined. We know for certain that in 1331 there were but twenty, and under Urban VI., in 1378, only twenty-three. In the reign of Sixtus IV. there were fifty-three, but Leo X. increased the number to sixty-five. Paul V. never allowed the Sacred College to exceed sixty-three members, and under Pius IV., in 1559, it rose to seventy-six. Some authors affirm that under Pope St. Pontianus, in A.D. 230, there were 236 Cardinals. The Emperor Ferdinand, of Austria, proposed at the Council of Trent that the number should be reduced to twelve or twenty-four. His Imperial Majesty was informed by the legate that this was a matter which could only be treated by the Pope in person.

In the time of Sixtus V. it was customary to create Cardinals only during the fourth series of Ember days, but this custom has

fallen into disuse, and the Pope now creates them when he chooses. It was also Sixtus who revised all the rules whereby the Cardinals should be elected. To him is due the regulation establishing that the members of the Sacred College may be selected from the two orders of the clergy, the regular and secular, and from amongst the ecclesiastics of all nations, and this is strictly in accordance with the wise observation of St. Bernard, who advises that "those who are to judge the affairs of the universe should be called to their office from all parts of the world." Pope Benedict XIV., whose liberal and exalted spirit even Voltaire praised in his dedication to him of his play *Mahomet*, confirmed the decree of Sixtus V., in an allocution pronounced April 5, 1756, wherein he records the fact that he had that day appointed eight foreign cardinals. Sixtus V. decreed, moreover, that the Sacred College should always possess at least four doctors of theology belonging to the religious congregations, or to the mendicant orders, and dreading lest family pride should influence so sacred an institution, the Pope further declared that no two near relatives should sit together in the conclave.

The age at which a person can receive the dignity of Cardinal was fixed by the Council of Trent at thirty years, the one below which no priest can be consecrated bishop. Sixtus V., however, made an exception to the rule in favour of the Cardinal deacons; he established that they might receive the hat at twenty-two, and determined that those who were not ordained deacons at the time they were raised to the purple, were to be so during the first year of their admission into the Sacred College, otherwise they can have no voice in the affairs of the consistory or in the election of the Pope. Notwithstanding these decrees, since Sixtus V., as before, many persons have been created Cardinal deacons under twenty years of age, of which the most notable are Giovanni di Medici, afterwards Leo X., who received his hat in his twelfth year. Antonio Faccinetti, who was created Cardinal by Innocent IX. in 1591, before he was eighteen. Joseph Deti, by Clement VIII. in his seventeenth year, and Silvester Aldobrandini, a boy of sixteen, received the dignity from the same Pope in 1605. Paul V., named Cardinal, Maurice, of Savoy

(1607) at fourteen; Carlo di Medici at nineteen, and Ferdinand, of Austria, son of Philip III. of Spain, who was only ten. In 1647, under Innocent X., Francis Maidalchini, aged seventeen, was elected Cardinal, and Clement XII. in 1735, at the request of Philip V. of Spain, bestowed the title of Eminence on His Majesty's son, Don Luis de Bourbon, an infant only eight years old, who was also appointed Archbishop of Toledo. It must have been a curious sight to have seen this little creature arrayed in full robes of office, and endeavouring to go through his stately duties and ceremonies with decorum. He, however, soon afterwards relinquished the Mitre of Toledo to an older and wiser head. These examples are much commoner before than after the days of Sixtus V., who just before he promulgated his decrees, gave the scarlet hat to his nephew, Alexander Peretti, who was a youth of but fourteen, whose brother Felix, the favourite of his Pontifical uncle, was cruelly and mysteriously murdered, some say by order of his beautiful wife, the wretched Victoria Accoramboni, the famous "White Devil," of Webster's drama.

Let us now consider the costume of the Cardinals. The dress or robe consists of a long frock buttoned down the front with many little buttons, and a kind of cloak, cape and train of vivid scarlet. The majority of writers are of opinion that the choice of this colour is due to the fact that it was worn by the old Roman senators to whose dignity and office the Cardinals succeeded, to a certain extent, in the time of the great Constantine, but it has also a mystical signification. It is the colour of blood, of martyrdom, and is intended to remind their Eminences that they are expected to die, if necessary, in the defence of the faith. The earliest mention of this colour being set aside for the use of the Sacred College is to be found in Cardinal Ostien's works. He tells us that it was worn by the Sacred College in the previous year to the one in which the book was written, 1274. Paul Morise says that the colour was chosen by Clement II. in 1064, in imitation of the Canons of Milan Cathedral, who had recently adopted this vivid hued raiment by order of their Archbishop, Heribert. The famous hat made its first appearance in

history at the thirteenth General Council, held at Lyons in 1244, under Innocent IV., who ordered the Cardinals present to wear "scarlet hats."* Paul II. in the fifteenth century added the custom of bestowing upon the newly-created prince of the Church a scarlet cap or Beretta, and a skull cap of the same colour called the *callota*. He ordered that anyone found wearing such a headdress without being a member of the Sacred College, should be rigorously punished. He also granted the Cardinals the right to caparison their horses with scarlet, and Urban VIII. accorded them the privilege of decorating their carriages with long scarlet tassels called *focchi*, which used to form such a very picturesque ornament of the old coaches, which have almost entirely disappeared from the streets of Rome since 1870.

It was Innocent IV. who, as already stated, decreed that the Cardinals should wear scarlet hats, and this he did to commemorate the massacre of several members of the Sacred College, by order of the Emperor Frederic II., in 1219, under his predecessor Pope Honorius III. Their eminences first wore these hats at Clugny in 1246, during the session of the Council of Lyons, when Innocent IV. went in State to that city to visit St. Louis, King of France. The hat is now rarely worn. Formerly it used to be in constant use, and figures very picturesquely in the frescoes of the early Italian painters, and in the old pictures and engravings of processions of cardinals on horseback, accompanying the Pope either to his coronation, or to pay a State visit to some church. At present the usual hat worn by a Cardinal is the black three-cornered beaver hat common to all priests on the Continent, but having a scarlet ribbon round it, and gold cord and tassels. The *beretta* is a small three-cornered cap made like that which all Catholic priests wear when in church, and not officiating at the altar; it is, however, scarlet instead of black. The *callota* is merely a little scarlet skull-cap. The Cardinals who belong to the religious orders do not wear the scarlet robe, but retain their own distinctive costume. They however possess the hat, and wear the

red beretta and skull-cap—a privilege accorded them by Gregory XIV. On ordinary occasions the costume of a Cardinal is black edged with scarlet, scarlet worked button-holes and buttons, and a wide black or scarlet silk cloak floating from the shoulders. Their choir dress is scarlet with a cape lined with ermine. The robe must be made of plain silk without figures of any kind upon it, but the train and cape may be made of watered silk, *moiré antique*, or even of velvet lined and edged with ermine. When the Cardinals wear violet, as in Lent, for instance, their hats must be of the same colour. Violet is the ecclesiastical colour for penitential seasons, and also for mourning. When a member of the Sacred College loses a near relative, he cannot put on black or any sign of mourning; and can only in token of respect for the memory of his dead, suppress the tassels on his hat, and of the narrow golden cord which surrounds it. On the third Sunday in Advent, and of the fourth of Lent, called respectively *Lætare* and *Gaudete* Sundays, their Eminences assume light pink robes to signify the joy expressed by the Church at the approach of Christmas and Easter, but they immediately resume their sombre garments, since the penitential season is not passed. When a Cardinal dies his hat is hung up over the place where his body rests, and there remains until removed either by accident or by the effect of time. The oldest hat thus suspended in Rome is to be seen in the church of Santa Maria Nuova, and is that of Cardinal Mariano Volpano, who died in 1390.

The Cardinals are elected to their dignity in what is termed a Consistory. There are two kinds of Consistories or meetings of the Sacred College, the *private* and the *public*. At the "private" no one but the Pope and their Eminences can be present, in this the new Cardinals are named; on the contrary, in the "public" consistory, when they receive their insignia of office, the foreign ambassadors, ministers, Roman aristocracy, and strangers of distinction are allowed to assist at the ceremony.

(1.) The private or secret Consistory. When the Holy Father, robed in his usual white dress, but wearing the red velvet tippet lined with ermine, and the crimson skull-cap, so

* Patrizi, *Cerem.* lib. i. sec. 8 and 4; Pagi, in *Vita Innocent. VI.* tom. 3, n. 31; Plautus, *De S. R. E. Cardinalium Vestibus*, p. 60.

familiar in Raphael's portraits of Leo X. and Julius II., has taken his seat on the throne erected in the hall of the Consistory, their Eminences being seated, he pronounces an allocution, and then announces to them that he intends creating several new members of the Sacred College to fill up the vacancies in that august senate. He next asks them whom they would select to receive the honor of the hat in these words: "*Quid vobis videtur?* Whom do you choose?" Their Eminences rise and bowing low signify by that gesture that they are willing to welcome in their midst any one whom the Supreme Pontiff may deem worthy of wearing the scarlet. Then the Pope says:

We name by the authority of God Almighty, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and by our own, Cardinal bishops (naming them) Cardinal priests or deacons (naming them) of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church with all necessary and due dispensations and exceptions, and this we do in the name of the Father ✠ Son ✠ and Holy Ghost ✠ Amen.

Having three times blessed the newly appointed persons who, of course, are absent and also those assembled, the Pontiff rises from his throne and leaves the hall followed by the princes of the Church, and the ceremony is over.

(2.) The first Consistory concluded, the Cardinal Secretary of State (Jacobini) sends a verbal communication to the newly created Cardinals who are resident in Rome, informing them of their election. This message is brought them by the Papal master of ceremonies, who also tells them when they are to proceed to the Palace of the Vatican to receive the Beretta from the hands of the Pope. As soon as the news of the nomination is known in Rome all the prelates, members of the high nobility, ambassadors, &c., hasten at once to the residences of the new Cardinals to congratulate them. The recipients of those compliments meet their guests at the door of their apartments, but as yet do not wear the distinctive insignia of their new office. When at last the appointed time arrives and they go to the Vatican they proceed thither in their gala coaches and are received at the foot of the Grand Scala Regia by the Master of Pontifical ceremonies who leads them to the chamber of the Cardinal Secretary

of State, who in his turn takes them into the presence of the Pope.

The ceremony which now takes place is a continuation of the first secret Consistory, or is rather a second edition of it. The Pope, arrayed as before, receives the newly created cardinals by pronouncing a short allocution, after which they kneel three times before him, pronounce a vow of obedience and he places upon their heads, beginning by the eldest and ending with the youngest, the scarlet *beretta*. Next he puts *mosette* on their shoulders, and then gives them the double *Accolade*. He finally felicitates them and encourages them to persevere in their duties and to illustrate their rank by deeds of charity and zeal for the welfare of their flocks. The eldest and first created Cardinal thanks the Pontiff in the name of the rest. When this function is terminated the master of ceremonies cries out three times, "*Ite omnes*—Go out all of you," and the Pope remains alone with the new members of the Sacred College and the Cardinal Secretary of State. What His Holiness says to them remains always a profound secret. On leaving the Papal presence, their Eminences receive from the Keeper of the Apostolic Wardrobe the red skull-cap, which is placed upon a silver platter, and which they themselves put on their heads. Having taken ceremonious leave of the Eminent Secretary of State, they return home, wearing the skull-cap only, but carrying the Beretta on their knees as they sit in their vast old-fashioned State coaches, which are not unlike those of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London in size and shape. During the evening the principal palaces of Rome are illuminated, and bands of music perform in front of the residences of the newly elected. For in the Eternal city the creation of a Cardinal is looked upon as, in other parts of the world, is the birth of a prince of the blood. The ambassadors, ministers and other distinguished persons illuminate their mansions also, and not unfrequently kindle bonfires in the adjacent squares and piazzas. Until the Cardinals receive the hat, they cannot wear any one of the insignia of their office except the skull-cap, nor may they visit or receive visits, to or from the older Members of the Sacred College, and this by decree of Gregory XI., May 4, 1706, unless they have

received special permission so to do from the Holy Father. If the newly elected are of royal blood or relatives of the Pope, their nomination is announced by the booming of the cannon from the fortress of St. Angelo, and the Pontiff gives them the Beretta and skull-cap with his own hands, as took place when Benedict XIV. elevated to the grade of Cardinal-deacon, Henry Stuart, Duke of York, brother to the second Pretender; and lately, when Pius IX. gave the same rank to H.I.H. Prince Lucien Bonaparte. If the Cardinal is at a distance from Rome, as in the case with the American Archbishop McCloskey, a noble guardsman brings him the letter and the *calloks* or skull-cap from the Secretary of State, announcing his nomination, and an Ab-legatè conveys to him the Beretta. The travelling expenses of these gentlemen are defrayed by the Papal treasury. Their Eminences are selected, as already said, from both the regular and the secular clergy—that is to say, from the religious order, as well as from the ordinary priesthood. A special clause, however, in the rules of the Order of the Jesuits prohibits them from aspiring to the dignity of Cardinal; but they can, nevertheless, receive the hat by a special dispensation from the Pope. The Popes have the right of creating Cardinals *in petto*—that is, selecting certain persons for the Cardinalate whose names they may keep to themselves until a fitting opportunity for publishing them occurs. Clement XIV. once reserved eleven in this manner. Panvinius thinks this custom was introduced by Alexander VI., and the first mention of such a practice is to be found in Platina's life of that Pope, who says that he created in the Consistory held in 1493, John of Aragon, a cardinal, but did not name him until the following year. Since the times of Urban VIII., 1623, the custom has been general, and the present Pope usually adopts it. If the Pope dies before the Cardinals *in petto* are officially appointed, their creation is considered null.

Nothing can be imagined more magnificent than the spectacle presented by the assembled Pontifical Court for a "Public" Consistory, or solemn distribution of the scarlet hats. The apartment chosen for this ceremony is one of the most glorious in the world, being

that known as the Hall of the Consistory, which is decorated by the noblest frescoes of the Divine Raphael. Upon a crimson throne, and under a dais of the same coloured velvet, sits the Supreme Pontiff, wearing his triple tiara, and in full Pontifical robes. To the left and right of his Holiness are their Eminences the elder Cardinals, seated upon benches covered with fine tapestry, and having their train-bearers at their feet, who are accommodated with low stools, and holding the superiors' Berettas upon their knees. Ranged along the walls at intervals are the Swiss Guard, in their quaint costumes of yellow and black. Here the sun, streaming through the lofty windows, brilliantly illuminates portions of the immortal Sanzio's grand pictures, or the frescoes on the high and arched vault, or flashes dazzlingly upon the steel cuirasses of the noble guard, or on the gold embroidered dresses of the various ambassadors—on the Spanish, for instance, who wear still the picturesque costumes of the time of Philip II. On either side of the Papal chair stand the Princes Orsini and Colonna, who have the hereditary privilege of being "princes assistant at the Pontifical throne." Presently way is made for the newly-appointed Cardinals, who file into the chamber two by two. They genuflect three times before the Pope, and then proceed to embrace their elder brethren. The Pontiff then places the red hat upon their heads, and says to each as he does so, "Receive this red hat, sign of your eminent dignity, which obliges you to devote yourself to the good of the Church and the faithful, even to death and to the shedding of your blood—*usque ad mortem et sanguinis effusionem inclusive*." The Pope only touches their heads, so to speak, with the hat, for as soon as he has uttered the above words, he gives it back to the master of ceremonies, who in the evening carries it to the newly elected, being accompanied on this occasion by the Grand Chamberlain, the master keeper of the Papal wardrobe, two prelates and five servants in rich liveries, called palefreniers. After the bestowal of the hat the Pope retires, unless he intends to pronounce an allocution, and the assembly proceeds to either the Sistine, or Pauline Chapels, where the *Te Deum* is chanted. When that hymn of grace is sung, their Eminences re-enter the

Hall of the Consistory, and another ceremony is performed, called "the closing and opening of the lips." Each of the new Cardinals approaches the Pope in turn, who places his finger on their mouths, saying, "I close your lips so that you may not speak in the Consistory or in the Conclave;" and then he opens their lips, repeating the following formula:—"I open your mouths so that you *may* speak in the Councils and in the election of the Supreme Pontiffs, and in the Consistories, and in all places where it is your right as Cardinals to speak. In the name of the Father, Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." This ceremony is at least as old as the time of Eugenius IV., for it is mentioned as having taken place in the Consistory he held Oct. 20, 1431. However, Pope Pius V. declared, Jan. 26, 1571, and what he said was confirmed by Gregory XV. in his "Ceremonial," written in 1622, that this ceremony is no longer absolutely necessary, and can be dispensed with. Nothing now remains to complete the ceremonies except to bestow upon each Cardinal a sapphire ring, for which he makes a return gift of 500 ducats, which, by decree of Pius IV., goes towards defraying the expenses of the Lateran Basilica. The selection of the sapphire signifies the supreme and quasi-royal dignity of the Cardinalate, since that stone is the emblem of fidelity and loyalty. The custom of giving this ring is evidently anterior to the reign of Boniface VIII. (1294), for in his time it was undoubtedly bestowed, as a usual custom, upon his nephew, Cardinal Gaetani. Above the stone on this ring the arms of the reigning Pontiff are skilfully engraved.

After their reception of the scarlet hat, the Cardinals proceed to the Church of St. Peter's, in great State, to adore the Blessed Sacrament and pay their homage at the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul. On leaving the basilica they distribute abundant alms to the poor, and then go to pay their respects to the Dean of the Sacred College. The Dean of the Cardinalate is always a very important personage. He is Prefect of the Congregation of Ceremonies and Secretary of the Holy Office, or Inquisition. He is, moreover, usually a Patriarch, or Archbishop, and is addressed as *Colendissimo* and *Osservantissimo*. When by chance he is Bishop of Ostia

as well as Cardinal, he has the right to consecrate the new Pope, if His Holiness has not previously received the dignity of Bishop. He has, moreover, to be addressed by the Pope as "Venerable brother," "Dear son," and on the envelope, "To the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal." The Cardinals address their letters to each other thus: "To the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord Cardinal."

After their visit to the Cardinal Dean, they return home and receive the visits of their friends; and, indeed, of any one who chooses to wear full evening costume. The saloons of their palaces are thrown open and brilliantly illuminated. The princesses and marchionesses of the Roman aristocracy flock to these receptions in their most gorgeous dresses, and blazing with diamonds. The Cardinal receives his guests at the door of the first saloon, and, after kissing his hand, the visitor passes into the other halls and partakes of light refreshments. A band of music plays in the house and another in the street, facing it. These receptions continue for three consecutive evenings.

No Cardinal can visit an ambassador after his creation until after the ambassador has paid him his respects; neither can he descend the staircase to reconduct any visitor to his carriage. A Cardinal cannot kneel on the same bench in a church on which any other person is kneeling, unless that person is of royal birth. Three Cardinals being together in one carriage cannot admit a fourth person into it, even if he be a prince of the blood. These rules of etiquette are, however, more frequently dispensed with than retained.

Cardinals, when residing in Rome, must have the following dependents and servants, who are called *famigliari*, or familiars:—
 (1.) An auditor, who prepares the documents and writings of his master for publication;
 (2.) A secretary, who opens his dispatches;
 (3.) A master of the chamber, who regulates the ceremonies to be observed on introducing strangers to his Eminence;
 (4.) A gentleman usher, who carries the Cardinal's torch in public processions;
 (5.) A train-bearer;
 (6.) A chaplain;
 (7.) A major domo;
 (8.) A chamberlain;
 (9.) A valet;
 (10.) A dean, who regulates the wardrobe; and
 (11.) A door-opener, who opens the doors of

the houses and salons which his master may choose to enter, and also those of his carriage. There then is the coachman, the postilion, and then stable-boys, or, better, "hanging footmen," from the custom they have of riding behind the Cardinal's carriage on State occasions. Their Eminences, as a rule, live very simply. Their table is frugal, and their manner of treating their "familiar" and dependents very kind and paternal in the extreme. They are usually remembered in their patron's wills, and are not unfrequently pensioned by him for life. The Cardinals are usually chiefs of various religious congregations, inspectors of monasteries, protectors of religious orders, corporations, and colleges. Their duties are innumerable, and it is astonishing how they find time to fulfil them all, and to be what all the Roman Cardinals are, always ready to receive with surpassing politeness any strangers who may bring them an introduction or need their aid. Within the present century the Sacred College has been illustrated by some of the most eminent of men, such as the great statesmen, Cardinals Pacca and Consalvi; that astonishing man, Cardinal Mezzofanti, who wrote and spoke seventy languages; the great Cardinal Mai, whose indefatigable labours and ability as an antiquary discovered and gave to the world the beautiful *De Republica* of Cicero, and many other immortal works of the ancients; Cardinal Wiseman; Cardinal Billiet, the accomplished botanist; Cardinal de Bonnechose, the eloquent French speaker and philanthropist; Cardinal Manning; Cardinal Newman; Cardinal McCloskey; Cardinal Pitra, whose archæological knowledge is of the highest order; the late Cardinal Bernabo; and many others, alike eminent for their piety, charity, and learning.

Indeed, to a truly conscientious prelate, the dignity of Cardinal is not an enviable one. Let Pope Pius II. explain its duties, in the following fragment from his Allocution pronounced on the occasion of the creation of a number of Cardinals in Siena Cathedral, in 1460:—

My sons [said he], you have just received the greatest of the most exalted dignities. Called to the Sacred College, you will be with us the judges of the earth. You will have to distinguish between cause and cause, between blood and blood, between

leprosy and leprosy. Successors of the Apostles, you will be seated round us on our throne. You will be the senators of Rome, and like kings; the true hinges of the earth, upon which the doors of the Church move. Consider, therefore, in your hearts what mind, what genius, what integrity, is needed to worthily fill this dignity: humility and not pride, liberality and not avarice, abstinence and not excess, continence and not license, wisdom and learning and not ignorance; in a word, all the virtues and no vices, is what this honour exacts. If you have been hitherto vigilant, you must be doubly more so now than ever. If you have been generous, you must be doubly so now. Give alms abundantly, and above all things, help the needy and feed the poor. May the Scriptures be ever in your hands, that you may teach others to avoid error, and that your light may shine forth before the whole world. In fine, be such as you wished the Cardinals to be, before you yourselves were raised to that dignity.

Intimidated by the tasks and responsibilities of their office, many have refused the rank, or only accepted it when menaced by anathema. Others have begged the Pope to remove it from them out of an extreme spirit of humility. In 1059 we find St. Peter Damien renouncing the purple, which, however, he was obliged to reassume by command of the Pope in 1062. The Blessed Andrew of St. Francis, of the great house of Conti, refused the hat in 1302, because he feared it might inflame his vanity. St. Vincent Ferrer did the same; and so did St. Francis Borgia, St. Philip Neri, and, in our own time, Prince Odescalchi, of the Order of Jesuits, grand-nephew of Innocent XI., who renounced the dignity of Cardinal to become a Jesuit.

When a Cardinal dies, his body is embalmed, and exposed to the veneration of the public upon a bed of State, surrounded by several altars, at which Masses are said from an early hour after midnight to mid-day, for three successive days. On the third day the body is taken to the church, and placed upon a catafalque erected in the centre of the sacred edifice. The face of the corpse is covered with a white veil, and the violet robes of office which are worn in Lent enshroud the stiff figure of the deceased. His hands are crossed upon his breast, and at his feet is a metal cylinder, containing the acts of his life, his titles and name, written upon parchment, which, together with several coins of the reigning Pontiff, are buried with him.

If a Cardinal dies during the Conclave,

he is laid in State in the Sistine Chapel ; but the funeral does not take place until the close of that assembly. The Mass of Requiem is usually sung by a brother Cardinal, assisted by a domestic prelate of the Pope and the chaplain of the deceased. The body, as a rule, before the Italian occupation, was buried in the church which gave the title to the deceased in life. A Mass of Requiem is also said a few days after the death in the Pope's private chapel, at which His Holiness assists. November 5 is the day fixed for the celebration of a Mass for the repose of the souls of all the departed Cardinals since the days of Peter. This ceremony used to be performed on the same day as that of the Requiem of all Popes ; but by a decree of Leo X. it was fixed for the above date, whereas the annual Mass for deceased Popes takes place on September 5.

The only ceremony connected with the Cardinalate which now remains to be described, is that of the taking possession of the titular church. This usually occurs in the afternoon. The church is beautifully decorated and illuminated for the occasion, and the square in front of it is sprinkled with yellow sand and box leaves. The coat of arms of the Cardinal is hung over the door, and remains there as long as he lives. It is also represented in the interior of the sacred edifice, under a plentiful hanging of crimson velvet. On either side of the choir are two portraits, one of the Pope, the other of the new Cardinal. A throne draped with scarlet is to the left of the high altar, which is ornamented with six tall wax tapers, often covered with illuminations. The Swiss Guards stand at the entry of the church and by the altar. The Cardinal arrives in his gala coach, robed in scarlet, and accompanied by a master of the pontifical ceremonies and a bishop. Three other coaches follow his, and contain his suite. These vehicles and their horses are caparisoned with scarlet cords and tassels. At the door of the church its clergy await His Eminence and conduct him to the altar. Here he is enthroned, and a notary of the Apostolic Chamber reads him the brief of the Pope confirming his right to the title and to its temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. The clergy then promise to obey the new

Cardinal, and proceed to kiss his ring. *Te Deum* is chanted, and benediction given, and His Eminence next pronounces a short allocution previous to withdrawing into the sacristy, where a crowd of persons of distinction or of his acquaintance come to kiss his hand and compliment him, and the ceremony is thereby concluded.

Such are the principal rules and ceremonies attendant upon the Cardinalate. It must, however, be remembered that since the occupation of Rome by the Italians, many of the ceremonies I have described are omitted.

The Story of Romeo and Juliet.

By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART II.



HE following parallel passages will show how often Shakespeare worked up the thoughts of others, when he considered them worthy of such attention. In the beautiful scene in the garden, where the lovers meet alone for the first time (act ii. sc. 2), there are several special likenesses between the play and Brooke's poem besides the general resemblance, thus—

In windowe on her leaning arme her weary hed doth rest.

Brooke.

See how she leans her cheek upon her hand.

Shakespeare.

Oh Romeus (of your life) too lavas sure you are,
That in this place, and at thys tyme, to hasard it you dare.

What if your dedly foes, my kinsmen, saw you here?
Lyke Lyons wyld, your tender partes asonder would they teare.

Brooke.

The orchard walls are high and hard to climb,
And the place death, considering who thou art,
If any of my kinsmen find thee here.

Shakespeare.

If wedlocke be the ende and marke which your desire hath found,

Both me and myne I will all whole to you betake,
And following you where so you goe, my father's house forsake,

But if by wanton love and by unlawful sute
You thinke in ripest yeres to pluck my maydenhoods dainty frute,

You are begylde ; and now your Juliet you beseekes
To cease your sute, and suffer her to live emong her likes.

Brooke.

If that thy bent of love be honourable,
Thy purpose marriage, send me word to-morrow.

And all my fortunes at thy foot I'll lay,
And follow thee, my lord, throughout the world.

But if thou mean'st not well,
I do beseech thee
To cease thy suit, and leave me to my grief.

Shakespeare.

The expression of Juliet's impatience for the hour which is to bless her with her husband's presence, and her beautiful soliloquy (act iii. sc. 2), in which she wishes the sun to hurry on his setting and night to come quickly, seem to have been suggested by the following lines in the poem :—

How long these lovers thought the lasting of the day,
Let other judge that wooed are lyke passions to
assay :

For my part, I do gesse eche howre seemes twenty
yere :

So that I deeme, if they might have (as of Alcume we
heare)

The sunne bond to theyr will, if they the heavens
might gyde,

Black shade of night and doubled darke should
straight all over hyde.

The parting scene between Romeo and Juliet (act iii. sc. 5) is described more fully in the poem than in the play. When Romeus arrives in Juliet's chamber both are mute—

But on his brest her hed doth joylesse Juliet lay,
And on her slender necke his chyn doth ruthfull
Romeus stay ;

and when the lovers part the signs of dawning day are more elaborately enumerated by Brooke than by Shakespeare, although the former does not mention the nightingale which is so beautifully introduced by the latter. When Lady Capulet comes to Juliet after Romeo has left, she chides her daughter for the excessive grief she exhibits for her cousin's death in much the same terms both in the poem and play—

For time it is that now you should our Tybalt's death
forget

You cannot call him backe with teares and shriking
shrill :

It is a falt thus still to grudge at God's appoynted
will. *Brooke.*

Evermore weeping for your cousin's death ?
What wilt thou wash him from his grave with tears ?
An if thou couldst, thou couldst not make him live :
Therefore have done. Some grief shows much of
love :

But much of grief shows still some want of wit.
Shakespeare.

The directions given by Friar Laurence to Juliet (act iv. sc. 1) are founded upon those in the poem, where we read—

Receive this vyoil small and keepe it as thine eye,
And on the marriage day, before the sunne doe cleare
the skye,

Fill it with water full up to the very brim,
Then drink it off, and thou shalt feelee throughout eche
vayne and lim

A pleasant slumber slide, and quite dispreed at length
On all thy partes, from every part reve all thy kindly
strength :

Withouten moving thus thy ydle parts shall rest,
No pulse shall goe, ne hart once beate within thy
hollow brest

But thou shalt lye as she that dyeth in a trauce.

Shakespeare writes—

Take thou this vial, being then in bed,
And this distilled liquor drink thou off ;
When presently through all thy veins shall run
A cold and drowsy humour, for no pulse
Shall keep his native progress, but surcease.

Juliet's speech before she falls into the trance (act iv. sc. 3) is a condensed and greatly improved version of Brooke's vivid but lengthy description. When the time comes for taking the potion, natural fears arise—

What doe I knowe (quoth she) if that this powder
shall
Sooner or later then it should, or else not worke at
all.

Then she thinks of the vault where she will be laid, and of the bones of her ancestors and Tybalt's body ("a griesly thing to looke upon") which it contains, and

Then pressed with the feare that she there lived in,
A sweate as colde as mountaine yse pearst through
her slender skin.

It will only be necessary here to quote a few lines of Shakespeare's description—

I have a faint cold fear thrills through my veins
That almost freezes up the heat of life.
Come vial
What if this mixture do not work at all ?

To conclude, the two last lines of the play are a plain echo of those of the poem—

For never was a story of more woe
Than this of Juliet and her Romeo.
Shakespeare.

There is no monument more worthy of the sight
Then this the tombe of Juliet and Romeus her knight.
Brooke.

The inquiry into the amount of obligation that Shakespeare is under to the old story is one of very great interest, but the considera-

tion of the differences which he has introduced is of still more value, as they vividly discover to us the consummate genius and judgment which he brought to bear upon the treatment of his subject. Shakespeare hurries on the action of the play, as he probably felt that precipitancy would make the misfortunes of the lovers seem more natural, and would give sharpness and reality to the whole. In the poem Romeus resorts to Capulet's garden many evenings before Juliet sees him, and the two lovers have three months of married life before the catastrophe occurs.

Shakespeare excites our imagination in respect to Romeo, who is not seen at first, but only talked about, and his father and mother (two characters who are not introduced in the poem), and Benvolio have the opportunity of speaking of him. Juliet's home is made by Shakespeare an unloving one in order to prepare her for Romeo's love, but in the poem it is otherwise. The first four scenes of the play are worked up from mere hints in the poem, which commences with the ball at Capulet's house. The hero and heroine are, in all essentials, creations of Shakespeare. In the poem they are lovers in whom we feel an interest, but in the play they are made the very impersonations of pure and true love, and have souls in ideal sympathy with each other. Shakespeare's Juliet is an almost perfect character, and she so completely carries captive our imagination and love that we easily forgive her deceit towards her parents; but Brooke's Juliet does not engage our sympathy in the same way. Although she is introduced to us in flattering terms—

She was also so wise, so lowly, and so mylde,
That even from the hory hed unto the witlesse childe
She won the hearts of all—

and although she firmly resolves to meet death rather than suffer the pollution of a second marriage, yet her chief characteristic is deceit, and she has not the same excuse for her conduct as the Juliet of the play, because Lady Capulet is drawn as a kind loving mother,

Whilst ruthfully stood by the maydens mother mylde;
and even Capulet expresses himself as follows:

The whilst seeke you to learne, if she in any part
Already hath (unware to us) fixed her frendly hart;

Lest we have more respect to honor and to welth
Then to our daughters quiet life, and to her happy
helth:

Whom I do hold as deere as thapple of myne eye,
And rather wish in poore estate and daughterles
Then leave my goodes and her ythrald to such a one
to dye,

Whose chorlish dealing (I once dead) should be her
cause of mone.

Unfortunately he did not act up to his principles. Juliet was "a wily wench."

For sith, to mocke her dame, she did not sticke to lye,
She thought no sinne with shew of truth to blear her
nurces eye.

She is forward when she is with Romeus, but Shakespeare throws a delicacy all his own over the first meeting of the lovers, and his Juliet gives her love to Romeo without reserve, but with all the purity of her innocent soul. In the matter of age, Shakespeare has made Juliet much younger than the other narrators of the story. Capulet says—

She has not seen the change of fourteen years.
(Act i. sc. 2.)

In the poem we read—

Scarce saw she yet full sixteen yeres—too young to be
a bryde;

and both Da Porto and Paynter make her eighteen years old. Romeo (being the complement of Juliet) was, I think, intended by Shakespeare as the perfect representative of a fine nobleman, one who gained the love of all who knew him, and was worthy of the love of such a woman as Juliet. In one instance Shakespeare seems to have been led into an inconsistency by his authority, for when Romeo is hiding in the friar's cell (act iii. sc. 3), Laurence uses much stronger words of reproof than Romeo's language or action seems to warrant, and asks—

Why rail'st thou on thy birth, the heaven and earth!

Now if we look at what has gone before we shall find that Romeo had not railed at all. However, in the poem he blames Nature, the author of his life, he curses his nurse "that gave him pappe," he rails on Fortune, and blames all the world. The long account in the poem of Romeo's behaviour is much reduced by Shakespeare, by which it greatly gains in dramatic power.

The next important character in the play, after the lovers, is Mercutio, and he, with all

his lightheartedness and wit,* is an entire creation of Shakespeare's. All we learn of him in the poem is contained in the following description, and the information that his hands were always as cold as ice—

At thone syde of her chayre her lover Romeo,
And on the other syde there sat one cald Mercutio ;
A courtier that eche where was highly had in pryce,
For he was corteous of his speche, and pleasant of
devise.

Even as a lyon would among the lambes be bolde,
Such was among the bashfull maydes, Mercutio to
beholde.

With a richness of resource for which Shakespeare is remarkable, we find him creating two friends for Romeo—viz., Benvolio, the sharer of his serious, and Mercutio of his lighter, thoughts. In the poem Benvolio is a nameless friend, and Mercutio is no friend at all. The comic part of the play with Sampson and Gregory, and, in fact, all before the fifth scene of the first act, are Shakespeare's own. Paris is only mentioned in the poem, and his introduction in the tomb scene of the play merely to be killed by Romeo, is an example of Shakespeare's fondness for killing off his characters. Was this his own taste, or was it done to please the audience? Nothing is more worthy of remark than the art with which Shakespeare reduces and puts into a few words pages of the poem, and in other places amplifies a mere hint; thus we read in the poem:—

The Capilets disdayne the presence of theyr foe,
Yet they suppress the styrrèd yre, the cause I do
not knowe ;

which lines are beautifully worked up in the play so as to give Capulet an opportunity of showing the better side of his character—

I would not for the wealth of all the town,
Here in my house do him disparagement,

he says to Tybalt, when that hot-headed man points out Romeo to him (act i. sc. 5).

These are, I think, the chief points worth notice in the poem.

Paynter's novel of *Rhomo and Julietta* contains most of the instances related in the poem, but they are told in a much balder style, without any of the incidental interest introduced by Brooke. As Shakespeare has

* In the first quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* Mercutio's speech on Queen Mab is given to Benvolio, evidently on account of the printer's omission of the word "Mer."

used the *Palace of Pleasure* for other of his plays, it is probable that he read this particular novel, and he may have taken a hint from it. Thus in the poem no period is given for the operation of the opiate, but in Paynter it is said to be "forty hours at the least," and Shakespeare's time is "two and forty hours." Again, in the poem, Romeo pays the apothecary forty crowns, but in Paynter the amount is fifty ducats. Shakespeare chooses forty ducats, and he may have taken the coin from Paynter, and the number from Brooke.

The names of the characters in Paynter are more in accordance with the original Italian than those in the poem; thus Escalus is styled "Senior Escala," and Lord Bartholomew of Escala, and the Montagues are spoken of "Monteschies," but in some instances the French form is preferred, as in "Thibault," who is described as a strongly made young man of "dexterite in armes." It would be tedious as well as useless to analyse the plot of Paynter's novel, but it is necessary to mention in passing that the description of the apothecary is here almost as full as in Brooke's poem.

The following short sketch of the argument of Luigi da Porta's story will be sufficient to give some idea of the original.

It happened at Verona that, when the cruel enmity between the rival houses of Montecchi and Cappelletti had temporarily subsided, Antonio Cappelletti, the head of his family, gave entertainments, night and day, during Carnival. At one of these a young man of the house of Montecchi in pursuit of his mistress is present, and he is soon attracted towards the daughter of the host. Romeo dances with Juliet, and each falls deeply in love with the other. After parting at the ball, they each think over their feelings, and soon "court each other, sometimes at church, sometimes from a window, insomuch that neither was happy, except when they saw one another." "It happened one night, as love ordained, when the moon shone unusually bright, that whilst Romeo was climbing the balcony, the young lady (whether by chance, or that she had before heard him) opened the window, and looking out saw him." "After this, the youth, going

frequently to speak to her, it happened one night, when it snowed very much that he meeting her at the usual place, asked her to let him into her chamber." Juliet refuses, but agrees to marry Romeo. "Upon which having prudently put an end to their conversation, they parted." Romeo goes to Friar Lorenzo, who agrees to marry the lovers. One day, in Lent, Juliet goes to the convent of St. Francis to confess, and there the two are married. They now enjoy each other's love for several nights, and hope in time to find out "some means to appease the father of the lady;" but in the meantime the old and almost dead enmity between the two houses revives. In a street quarrel Romeo, with a single blow, stretches Tebaldo Cappelletti dead on the ground, and having been seen to commit this murder, he is banished. He only grieves at leaving Juliet, and gives way to no unmanly lamentations, but reaches Mantua half dead. Juliet is now always weeping, and her mother (whose name is Giovanna) imagines that she wants to be married. Messer Antonio, at his wife's suggestion, treats with one of the Counts Lodrone as a husband for Juliet, and is angered when she refuses to marry. Juliet goes with her mother to confession at the church of St. Francis, and tells her troubles to Friar Lorenzo, who gives her a potion that will make her sleep "for eight and twenty hours, more or less." She now returns home "so joyful that Messer Antonio and his lady lost all suspicion of her being in love, and imagined that it was in some strange melancholy mood she had shed so many tears, and they would willingly have left her quiet, without any further mention of marrying her; but they had proceeded so far in this matter, that they could not retract without blame." Juliet is sent to her father's villa with two aunts, and here after supper she takes the powder in water, which soon renders her like one dead. In the morning she is found on her bed, and one of the first physicians in Verona pronounces her quite dead, so that she is at once buried." Friar Lorenzo, in the meantime, had gone a little out of the city to transact some business relative to his convent, and had given Juliet's letter, which was to be sent to Romeo, to a friar who was going to Mantua, and who, being arrived in that city,

and calling two or three times on Romeo, and unfortunately never finding him at home, nor being willing to deliver it into any other, kept it. Romeo, on hearing of Juliet's death from Pietro, disguises himself as a peasant, and with a phial of serpent's water in his sleeve, set off for Verona. He goes straight to the tomb, where he sees "his beautiful Juliet lying amidst the bones and rags of many dead bodies." He bewails her loss, and after taking the poisonous water, ardently embraces his wife, who returns to life to find herself the most miserable of women. Romeo dies soon after, and Juliet, holding her breath for a long space, sends it forth with a loud cry, and falls dead upon the dead body of her husband. Lorenzo, who has come to see after Juliet, is caught by the watch, and when he is brought before the Prince he tells a false story. He would have been believed, had not some monks who wished him ill exposed his lies, and he is forced to tell the truth. The story ends with the reconciliation of the two fathers, "so that the long enmity between them and their families, which neither the prayers of their friends, the threats of their Prince, detriments received by it, nor time itself, had ever been able to abate, through the unhappy and affecting death of the two lovers was terminated."

Some critics have been hardy enough to affirm that Shakespeare was misled by the poem into making his play end as it does; and they further assert, that, had he seen the Italian tale, he would have brought Juliet to life before Romeo dies. Surely this exhibits blindness to poetical beauty and a total misunderstanding of Shakespeare's art. A conversation between the lovers in the vault is unnecessary, as it would not help on the action of the piece, and it would at once take off half the beauty from the parting scene. Garrick, who, with tasteless ingenuity, improved Shakespeare's play for the stage, struck out the character of Rosaline, and made some of the passages relating to her do duty for Juliet, and also revived Juliet before Romeo's death.

Lope de Vega wrote a tragi-comedy on the loves of Romeo and Juliet, entitled *Castelvine's y Montesos*,* which play is of

* Translated and privately printed by Mr. F. W. Cosens in 1869.

great interest, as showing how changed a plot may become owing to the different treatment it undergoes. In many instances the incidents can be recognized, but the final result is entirely original. The hero has a Leporello-like attendant, who makes the tomb-scene amusing. Julia's potion ceases to act when Roselo comes to her, and as he does not take poison the two lovers are happy in the end.

I have now noticed some of the chief sources of the story of Romeo and Juliet, and I will, in conclusion, refer in the briefest possible manner to the treatment that Shakespeare's own play has received at the hands of those who esteemed themselves better judges of what a play should be than the great author himself. James Howard altered Romeo and Juliet into a tragi-comedy, and Sir William Davenant's company acted on alternate days the tragedy and the tragi-comedy. A little later, Otway hashed up a part of the play with a plot taken from Plutarch and Lucan, and he called his mixture *Caius Marius*. Theophilus Cibber, Garrick, Thomas Sheridan, Lee, Marsh, and others, have tried their hands at "improving" Shakespeare's play, but it is not necessary to follow the intricacies of their tasteless alterations. It is sufficient for us to know that we have the work as it came from the master hand, and that their puny efforts to injure it are now forgotten.



The Domesday of Colchester.

By J. H. ROUND.

PART IV.

CHURCHES.—Though Mr. Freeman had the good fortune to find "several churches" in the Survey,* I have failed to discover more than two, that of St. Peter, within the Walls, and that (of St. Andrew) in the hamlet of Greenstead. But that there were other churches, or at least chapels, we may very fairly assume.†

* "The Survey mentions several churches" (*Arch. Journ.* xxxiv. 69).

† "There can be no doubt that a large number of churches or chapels, though many but of small extent, did exist at the time of Domesday" (*Domesday of Wilts.* lxvii.).

Seven priests occur among the burgesses, and possibly connote as many chapels.* Ipswich again, though no larger, had nine churches.† At Norwich there were twenty churches and forty-three chapels.‡ Evidently the Survey did not profess to record the churches as such, but only those which possessed some financial interest.§ And at Colchester there is special evidence, though indirect. "Siric (Sigeric) the Priest" appears, only ten years later,|| with his "little wooden church of St. John the Evangelist," and six years after that,¶ the chapel of St. Helen is spoken of, as if of some standing.

But to return to the two which are entered. Greenstead has been noticed above, and that of St. Peter appears thus:—

"In Colecestrā est quedam ecclesia Sancti Petri quam tenuerunt ii. presbyteri, T.R.E., in elemosina regis cui adjacent ii. hidæ terræ. . . . De hac elemosina reclamat Robertus filius radulfii de hatingis (sic) iii. partes et eudo dapifer tenet quartam," &c. (ii. 107b).

This case has been selected in *The Norman Conquest*** as an instance in which "the right of a church to alms is disputed." But in this Mr. Freeman is mistaken. He has overlooked the fact that, on the previous page, Eudo is credited with the ownership of a fourth part of the church†† which carried with it, as a matter of course, a fourth part of the glebe. Church and glebe were in fact inseparable,‡‡ and the term "elemosina" includes them both. Robert de Hastings,§§

* "The officers of the Exchequer who abridged inquisitions considered the entry of the one as in most cases implying the existence of the other" (*Introduction*, ii. 189). Yet, observe at Derby, "i. æclesia cum vii. clericis" (i. 280).

† ii. 290.

‡ ii. 116.

§ "A few cases are named, but they are invariably those in which some land belonged to them as an endowment, which lands were subject to geld. Where such glebe lands did not exist, the mention of churches in Domesday is to be regarded only as incidental" (*Domesday of Wilts.* lxvi.). So at Ipswich, "I. æclesia scæ mariæ de xxvi. ac," "I. æcliam sci augustini de xi. ac," &c. (ii. 290). So, too, Eyton *Dorsel Domesday*, 42.

¶ 1096, *Monasticon*.

¶ 1102, *Ib.*

** Vol. v. 805-806.

†† "Cum quarta parte æcclesie sancti petri" (ii. 106 b.).

‡‡ As is illustrated by the formula "*cui adjacent*." So, "una hida quæ jacuit in ecclesia S. Pauli" (i. 209). So too "una ecclesia . . . in qua jacent . . . v. bovæ terræ" (i. 280).

§§ This entry supplies the missing link in the origin

therefore, instead of disputing the rights of this church, was in fact claiming the three-fourths share of the church itself, which would carry with it, as of clear right, three-fourths of the glebe.*

The church and glebe, as was not unusual, had formerly belonged to two Priests.† Such a case seems to hint at a married clergy, transmitting hereditary benefices.‡

It should perhaps be noticed that the present churches within the walls must all have stood on Roman *vici*.||

MILLS.—Four mills are mentioned in the Survey.¶ The one at Greenstead was still standing in 1648 (as shown by the "Siege-map"), but has long since disappeared. The other three are undoubtedly identical with "North Mill," "East Mill," and "Middle Mill," the three water mills below the borough. But their respective ownership must remain conjectural.** We only learn that the Bishop's Mill had not been long erected, and that it had added notably to the value of his estate.†† Of North Mill there

of the Hastings family. But though the omission of the "s" is patent, Morant, Marsh, Ellis, and even Mr. Freeman himself, have failed to detect the true reading.

* Cases in which churches were robbed of their glebe, will be found at ii. 2, and ii. 42 (Swegen), and at ii. 116 b. (Wiheonoc); but this was by open violence, and under no pretence of claim.

† *Domesday* passim. The best instance is at Huntingdon, "ecclesia S. Marie . . . et terra qua ad eam pertinet fuit ecclesiæ de Torny. . . . Rex E. autem dedit eam Vitali et Bernardo presbyteris et ipsi vendiderunt Hugoni. . . . Hugo vero vendidit eam II. presbyteris de huntedune et habent inde sigillum regis. E. Eustachius modo habet sine liberatore," (i. 108). This important passage illustrates (1) the sale of benefices; (2) the inseparability of church and glebe; (3) their joint seizure by the Normans.

I suspect that (as we saw at Lammarsh) the shares of St. Peter's had been *unequal*, and remained the same when granted to the Normans.

‡ Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, i. 233.

§ Eight churches and one chapel.

¶ It has recently been suggested that the sites of Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church were determined by the same consideration.

¶ "Wherever a mill is specified, we generally find it still subsisting" (*Introduction*, ii. 122).

** One belonged to the Bishop, one to St. Peter's, and one to Leofleda (see above).

†† *Modo* 1 molendinum. Tunc et post valuit xl. solidos. *Modo* 1 (ii. 11). The value varied greatly. The Crown Mill at Huntingdon yielded 68 shillings!

remains but the tradition. East Mill is still at work, and was a post of importance in the famous siege,* as was also the Middle Mill. The latter, soon after the Survey, was taken possession of by the Crown for the benefit of the Royal Castle.† Adjoining it is still "the Mill Acre," one of the primitive lots which formed the King's Meadow.‡

MANORIAL HOUSES.—Manors are constantly found in *Domesday*, to the possession of which is attached that of one or more town-houses,§ situated almost always in the chief town of the county. Of this the *Domesday* of Colchester affords an excellent example. On collating its entries with those in the county I find the list is as follows:—

The Abbess of Barking held three houses in right of her manor of Wigborough;|| the Abbot of Westminster two, in right of his manor of Feering;¶ the monks of St. Andrew one, in right of Mersea (of this Waleran had

* *ANTIQUARY*, i. 21.

† So at Povington, "*Hujus Manerii Molinus calamniatus est ad opus Regis*" (i. 80 b.), *i.e.*, for the Castle he was founding at Corfe (*Dorset Domesday*, 42). The Middle Mill was hence also known as the King's Mill, and a third of it was granted by Henry I. to St. Botolph's, just as the King's Mill in Canterbury was granted by Stephen to St. Augustine's (Batteley's *Somner*, App. vii. a).

‡ So in Charter of 982 A.D. quoted by Kemble. "The mill-stead, the mill, and so much of the mark land as belongs to 3 hides." In the *Agricultural Report for Wilts* (p. 259), quoted by Jones (*Domesday of Wilts*, xlv.), a Mill-ham (the equivalent to the *Domesday* phrase *sedes molini*, by which is designated the miller's homestead and portion of the meadow attached to the mill) is defined to be "a narrow strip of ground by the side of a river."

§ This is a point of some importance, as Mr. Coote assumed (pp. 377-380) that the estates originally belonged to the houses (according to the Roman system), but that under the later Anglo-Saxon Monarchy, the houses came to be regarded as belonging to the estates. He thus traces it to a Roman origin. But though he finds plenty of evidence for the "later" practice, he only has one (in 832) of the "earlier," and even that is not a case at all, being only an instance of a few acres on the outskirts of Canterbury forming the share of the common land belonging to a lot house (see case at Nottingham in my *Archæic Tenure*), with its rights in the common wood (*communione silve*). Thus his argument wholly fails. The Romans, in short, subjected the country to the town, but the English the town to the country.

¶ Huic manerio pertinent iii domus in colecastro (ii. 18, cf. ii. 107).

|| Granted by the Conqueror (ii. 14, 106 b).

despoiled them);* Otto *Aurifaber* three, in right of Shalford; Ralph Peverel five, in right of Terling;† Ralph Baynard one, in right of Tolleshunt;‡ Swegen of Essex one, in right of Elmstead;§ Geoffrey de Magnaville two, in right of Ardleigh; and Earl Eustace one (*burgess*), in right of Rivenhall. To these must be added four houses within the *burgus*, two of them belonging to St. Peter's land in the *civitas*, and two to Godric's. But these stood on a different footing; every one of these houses was held subject to *consuetudo*.

MONEYERS.—The financial entries at Colchester are, though full, so obscure as to be almost unintelligible. It is clear, however, that there were moneyers, T.R.E., paying annually four pounds. It is also clear, from the Borough Oath-Book,§ that the *firma burgi* in 32 Henry II. (compare Pipe Roll, 2 Henry II.) had been lessened by £4 in default of *four* moneyers.|| We may assume then that four was the standing number, though it cannot be proved from the Survey. In any case, coins of William have been found, stamped with the names of four¶—namely, fifty of Wulfric (PULFRIL), twenty-two of Aelfsige (IELFSI), sixteen of Wulfwine (PULFPINE), who had coined also before the Conquest,** and eight of Derman (DIRMAN.)††

In addition to the moneyers' tribute, "the Burgesses of Colchester and of Maldon"

* Est in colecestrā i domus quæ pertinuit huic terræ. Waleran eam abstulit (ii. 22).

† *Ibid.* ii. 107.

‡ Sueno i domum, &ca (ii. 106 b.) cf. ii. 48. Alme-stedam tenuit Robert filius Wimaræ. Modo Suen. (This proves him to have been Swegen of Essex.) The next house had also been Robert's, but was not Swegen's. I have detected a new grandson of Swegen in "Walter son of Robert Suein," of the St. John's chartulary. This suggests that Henry de Essex was son of Robert, and grandson of Swegen (see *Norman Conquest*, iv. 736-738).

§ Morant's *Colchester*, i. 46.

|| In some towns the moneyer seems to have paid £1 a year, and in others one mark (13s. 4d.), and £1 extra *quando moneta vertebatur*. The latter was *extra firmam*.

¶ *Archæologia*, xxvi. 96.

** "Wulfwi on colncester" (penny of Harold), *Archæologia*, iv. 363.

†† Deremannus, i domum (Burgess Roll in Survey). Compare *Norman Conquest*, v. 791. A moneyer's house was a good one. "Suetman monetarius i domum liberam reddentem xl d. (i. 154.)

paid £20 for the privilege of their mint (*pro moneta*.)*

FINANCE—

Est autem consuetudo ut unoquoque anno quinto decimo die post pascham reddant burgenses regii duas marcas argenti et hoc pertinet ad firmam regis. Præterea de unaquaque domo per annum vi. denarios, quæ reddere potest ad victum soldariorum regis. vel. ad expeditionem terræ vel maris; et hoc non est ad firmam. Et hoc sit si rex soldarios habuerit vel expeditionem fecerit.

Et propter hos vi. denarios tota civitas ex omnibus debitis reddebat T.R.E. xv. l. v s. iii. d. in unoquoque anno. De quibus reddebant monetarii iii. l. T.R.E.

Modo reddit iii. l. et vi sextarios mellis vel xl solidos iii. Et præter hoc c solidos vicecomiti de gersuma. Et x s. et viii d. ad prebendarios pas-cendos. Et præter hoc reddunt burgenses de Cole-cestre et de Melduna xx l. pro moneta. Et hoc constituit Waleramus et advocant regem adtortorem quod condonavit illis x l. et tenens Walchelin episcopo querit ab illis xl l. (ii. 107, 107, b.)

By thus dividing the entries we make them somewhat clearer. To begin with those which are least obscure, the £40 spoken of at the close was the true *firma burgi*. This is proved by the Pipe Rolls.† Hence, Walchelin was then a *custos* of the town,‡ and held it at ferm. If *tenens episcopo* be rightly translated "holding it from the Bishop," the Bishop of London must have held it from the Crown,§ and sub-let it to Walchelin, but I am inclined to believe that both at Ipswich and Colchester, the town was already held at ferm from the *custos* by the *corpus burgensium* themselves, and that this Walchelin was merely the Bishop's secular agent. Here again the mysterious Waleran|| confronts us, and the entry, as shown by the analogy of Ipswich¶, proves that he must have been the former *custos*** and, as such, arranged the ferm. He, also, had reduced it by £10.

* So at Gloucester, "de moneta habet rex xx lib." (i. 162) and Ipswich, "et monetarii reddebant T. R. E. iv. lib. pro moneta, modo debent reddere xx lib. (ii. 290).

† *Firma Civitatis Colecestræ*. (Pipe Roll, 1130.)

‡ The town and castle were long after committed to one *custos*, who accounted for the *firma burgi* till the reign of Henry II.

§ As did his successor in 1216.

|| He turns up at Norwich, "vastati . . . par-tim per Walerannum" (ii. 117b.)

¶ Et Roger vicecomes dedit totum ad firmam pro xl lib. . . . non potuit habere censum, et ex hoc condonavit lx sol. Modo reddit xxxvii lib. (ii. 290 b.)

** Possibly till his death shortly before the Survey. He may, when *custos*, have seized the monks' house.

But, this being so, why is the ferm, higher up, given at "£80 and 6 sextaries of honey?" This, I confess, seems inexplicable. The *gersuma* was here a fee to the sheriff.* It is singular that the ten and eightpence to the prebendaries was just half what Norwich paid.† There remains the question of the military service. Mr. Freeman has called attention to the historical importance of that entry:—

The borough had clearly been, before the coming of William, allowed to make a money composition for military service in the *fyrð*. . . It is possible that we have here the key to the fact that so many English burgesses of Colchester remained undisturbed. . . Here is a point which touches the general history of England" ("Arch. Journ. xxxiv. 69).

We must, of course, accept the explanation of so eminent an authority, yet there are one or two points which may tend to modify this view. (1.) Such commutations were only payable when the *fyrð* was actually called out.‡ At Colchester, on the other hand, by a solitary exception, it is most carefully specified that the payment is to be *annual*. (2.) The rate of sixpence a house appears to represent the ordinary *gafol*,§ and not to have formed a special imposition. The expression *non est ad firmam* can be exactly paralleled at Huntingdon and at Stamford, in both which cases the *gafol* did not form part of the ferm.|| (3.) The *soldarii* here, as Mr. Freeman reminds us, were "doubtless the house-carls."¶ But though Exeter contributed to the support of the house-carls,** this did not exempt her from service in the *fyrð*. (4.) If it be urged that

* *Gersuma* did not mean "the Queen's Gold" unless qualified by *regine* (as at Worcester and Oxford,) At Edesham the £5 *de gersuma* was paid to the Archbishop.

† Norwich paid £1 1s. 4d. and Ipswich 8s.

‡ *Quando rex ibat &ca* (i. 154, 230) *cunte rege* (i. 238) &ca. &ca.

§ The usual *gafol* in towns was about 7d. a house, so this arrangement was a favourable one. We are told that all the houses paid *gafol*, and it was evidently here not included in the ferm (see below).

|| De toto hoc burgo exhibant x lib. de Landgable T.R.E. . . . *Præter hæc* habebat rex xx lib. et comes x lib. de firma burgi (i. 203). *Modo dat ad firmam* L lib. De omnibus *consuetudinibus* regis modo dat xxviii. lib. (i. 336). Compare Cambridge, *De consuetudinibus* hujus villæ vii. lib. per annum, et de Landgable vii. lib. et ii. oræ et ii. den. (i. 189).

¶ So in Exon Domesday *adopus militum* is rendered *ad solidarios*.

** *Norman Conquest*, iv. 147.

there is no entry specifying the contingent due to the *fyrð*, it may be replied that such entries only occur where a special numerical composition has been made,* the service in ordinary cases being simply that of the Hundred, and, as such, needing no specification.† (5.) This portion of the Crown dues may have been permanently appropriated to the support of the household officers,‡ just as the whole of them were, four centuries later.§

These objections may not be insuperable, and it is possible that Mr. Freeman may be able, from his wider knowledge, to dispose of them. Yet they impel us to receive the theory with caution, though at first sight plausible and ingenious. The paragraph which follows can only be made intelligible by reading *præter* for *propter*.|| It then becomes the usual statement of the *firma* T.R.E. This was £15 5s. 4d. It had thus, we see, been largely raised, a fact which throws some doubt on William's leniency to the burgesses.¶

Of the actual ferm, T.R.E., the moneyers contributed £4, and the king's burgesses £1 6s. 0d.** The rent of the king's demesne lands may possibly be put at about £3, and there would remain £7 to be accounted for. This may have chiefly proceeded from the *consuetudo* on the land.††

We now come to the Danegeld. Of this the mention is only incidental, for Colchester,

* There is no entry at Ipswich or Norwich, nor at Chester, &ca.

† As there were twenty hundreds in Essex, Colchester would have contributed one-twentieth of the county force. It is strange that so late as 1585, it contributed eight men out of 150 levied on the county and thirteen (out of 250) in 1588.

‡ See Hale (*Domesday of St. Paul's*, xxxviii.) on "the appropriation of Manors," *ad victum*.

§ *Rot. Parl.* 1485, 1495.

|| *Propter* is a most unlikely construction, and is actually negated by the *de quibus*.

¶ Mr. Freeman argued that their composition for *fyrð* saved them from the guilt and from the penalties of treason.

** These *duæ marca* may be referred to in the expression *non reddunt consuetudinem nisi de suis capitibus*, which suggests that they were raised by a poll tax (compare the expression *per capita* in Fitz Osbert's rising, 1194).

†† That there was a special *consuetudo* on the land (as in any rural manor) is proved by the case of the Lexden hides and by the entry "de terra sua et de huda . . . non est reddita consuetudo" (ii. 106). This must have been distinct from the *house-dues*.

as I have shown, being rated as a Hundred, paid geld as for a hundred hides. It would seem, however, to occur twice as *scot*.* In the case of the Lexden hides *geld* is clearly meant by it,† and also, we may fairly assume, in the Bishop's fee. It should be noticed that the *auxilium* which replaced the *geld* ‡ was £20 in 1130, and on all subsequent occasions.§

Lastly, I would repeat, of these financial entries, that my elucidations can only be regarded as tentative, and that further explanation would be most welcome.

CONCLUSION.

What light has our inquiry thrown upon the origin of our most ancient towns? Perhaps the most salient feature revealed in the Survey of Colchester is the stamp of a primitive rural community imprinted on a walled and populous town, a former Roman *colonia*. We have there seen, still existent, the traces of an earlier and simpler life, of a village

ὄθι ποιμένα ποιμήν
ἡπίει εἰσελάων,

where a little clan of ploughmen and shepherds held in common the land around them, field and pasture,|| wood¶ and mead. Whence are we to trace this village life? May we

* So at Ipswich, et cccxxviii. mansiones vastatæ sunt in burgo quæ T.R.E. *scottabant* ad geltum regis. (Being *vastatæ*, they no longer paid geld.) But though *scot* may at times mean geld, it does not always do so.

† So at Lincoln. "Duæ vero (carucatæ) sunt in geldo cum burgensibus" and at York, "in geldo civitatis sunt iiii. carucatæ terræ" (i. 298). The grievance of the burgesses which (as I have shown under "Lexden") was wholly misunderstood by Mr. Freeman, is well illustrated by the case of Shrewsbury, where the same *geld* was exacted, though the rateable area has been lessened (i. 252).

‡ *Hist. Norm. Conq.* v. 440.

§ See Pipe Rolls. This would represent four sh. on the hide (compare *Const. Hist.* i. 581). May this possibly throw light on the "obscure" Danegeld quarrel of 1163 (*Const. Hist.* i. 462) by hinting that there were two rates of two shillings each?

|| Though the pasture actually in commonalty was not large at the time of the Survey, yet the great extent of the "Lammas lands," long held in semi-commonalty, preserve unmistakable traces of the village community.

¶ "The King's Wood," must have once been the common wood of the community, before the King became its Lord.

carry back our thoughts to the Celtic clan, clustering around that great Mai-dun, which, I believe, we may dimly picture to ourselves crowning the steep hill-side? Surely we must deem that a Roman *colonia*, the oldest of all, and one of the most populous, must have supplanted so effectually that earlier polity, as to present to the incoming English the mere wreck of a city community. But how are we to reconcile this undoubted fact, the settlement of Colchester on the mark system, with the antipathy of the early English to life in a walled town? Did the original village community establish itself without the walls, down by the stream, in the "Middle Borough?" Yet, if so, why was the Roman *fossa* chosen for their common pasture? * Again, how did these shepherd-kings treat the surviving citizens? Did they employ them as Helots or Gibeonites, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," or did they merely keep them aloof as was the fate of the *Pfalburger* of Augsburg? The analogy of Exeter would seem to favour the latter hypothesis, though at Colchester the distinction of race had earlier merged in that of class.†

Another problem is suggested by the fact that Lexden, though then lying, at least for the most part, within the extra-hundredal Liberties of Colchester, had given its name to an adjoining Hundred. Was it originally the *chef-lieu*, or rather the trysting-place, of that Hundred, before Colchester was of sufficient importance to be marked off as a Hundred of itself? In any case, there can be no doubt of the one important fact that "Old English Colchester" was a territorial district—not a mere walled town, but an entire *Hundred*, in the sense of "a greater mark."‡ And thus, through the medial stage of the Hundred, our oldest towns had their true origin in the mark, and not in the *burh*.§

* This seems to point distinctly at life within the walls.

† *Norm. Conq.* (1st ed.) i. 308. Surely (unless we are to accept the very rash hypothesis of the butchery of the city populations), this explanation affords a *via media* in this difficult question. What happened later at Exeter may have happened earlier at Colchester, and the vanquished may have survived as a subject population to emerge as a subject class.

‡ *Const. Hist.* i. 99, 403.

§ "The common lands of the *burh* testified to its origin in a state of society in which the mark system

But we have yet to consider one factor of the problem—the king. How and when did he become Lord of Colchester? This question, which is equally applicable to most other of the English towns, is not easy to answer, for it involves the further question: how had the settlement been founded? On royal demesne, or on folkland, or as a free township? Now we are told by Professor Stubbs that the royal “property in land may fall under three heads,” (1) “private estate,” (2) “demesne of the Crown;” (3) “rights over the folkland,” which “merged in the crown demesne” after the time of Ethelred* (or, indeed, Alfred).† Unfortunately, Mr. Freeman’s view is so coloured by political prepossession as to be irreconcilable with that established by Professor Stubbs. He ignores the existence of Crown demesne, and sees only private estate, and administrative rights over the folkland. He also long post-dates the conversion of the latter into *Terra Regis*.‡ But, on either hypothesis, the theory that these communities were “founded on the folkland” seems self-contradictory.§ For if they were *free* communities, they would not have been “founded” by any one, and certainly not on the folkland (which was granted out to *individuals*), and if *dependent*, they would have had a private lord, and not have passed into the hands of the Crown. Colchester, then, must have first stood on original Crown demesne, or must have been a free community.

The unfailing evidence of the land points to the latter conclusion, both in the peculiar traces of commonage, and in the special division of the King’s meadow. The King was clearly an extraneous factor of wholly subse-

quent introduction. On the other hand, we have evidence from the same source that Colchester had been a Royal Lordship for generations before the Conquest.* This is shown by the shape of the demesne lands, over which no man had built even to our own days. They must have been marked off at a comparatively early period, before houses had begun to cluster thickly within the walls. We shall probably, therefore, arrive at the conclusion that the change in the *status* of Colchester was effected during the latter portion of the old English period. It was but a phase of that process of development, by which, as Professor Stubbs has ably shown,† the foundations of a future feudalism were laid upon a free society. And its chief agent was jurisdiction. When every man had to seek a Lord, and when the King became Lord of all those who had no other, the fate of Colchester and of like communities was inevitable. Too powerful to fall a prey to any private Lord, they passed, without a struggle, into the hands of the King himself. And so it was that their ancient liberties were overshadowed for a while in gloom, but only to emerge once more intact when sturdily wrested, inch by inch, from the grasp of their Lord the King.



Paganism in Modern Christianity.

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It is impossible to contemplate the mode of English thought, and the various idiomatic ways of expressing thought in English at the present day, without being referred back at every step to the manners and customs of our forefathers, as affording the safest light in in-

* *Const. Hist.* i. 142.

† The folkland was virtually becoming king’s land from the moment that the West Saxon monarch became the sole ruler of the English. *Const. Hist.* i. 193; *ib.* i. 103.

‡ “After the Norman Conquest . . . these two kinds of possession got confounded,” i. 94 (1st ed.).

§ “Where such communities were . . . founded on the folkland.” *Const. Hist.* i. 93.

* Compare Larking on the *status* of Dover (*Domesday of Kent*, 15.) The Manorial Houses being all subject to Crown rent, it seems probable that they were a somewhat late addition to the manors, at a period when town-life began to have charms for the rural Theng.

† *Const. Hist.* i. 184–191.

vestigating the true meaning of sayings and observances not very clearly understood, but religiously preserved by us. In pursuing such an inquiry we are struck by observing that, in the majority of these cases of difficulty, we are led to seek their explanation in some other source than corrupt Norman-French, or still more corrupt Latin literature.

As our vocabulary contains more than two-thirds of pure English words to one-third of words taken from other and very varied sources, while the backbone of the language remains sturdily Saxon, so the mode of thought animating the English mind in the Victorian age is, to the full, as Scandinavian as it was before the first Goth flung his *gár* or javelin at the gates of Imperial Rome. Now, as the ideas which our warlike ancestors entertained on religious subjects were drawn from the Scandinavian creed, a very perfect and elaborate system of Paganism, it would follow, from the above remark, that certain fundamental notions—not only mere words and phrases, but thoughts, opinions, and feelings—still lived on, after the reception of Christianity by the Scandinavian conquerors of Britain; and, Pagan though they be, they have not been expelled at all. They have been clad in Christian guise, it is true, but their origin is purely Pagan, and Pagan they remain.

Thus, even at the very centre of modern English refinement, Religion, we find, not *traces* merely of Pagan thought, but Odinic customs which have proved too strong for all reformers, from St. Augustine downwards.

A Christian grandfather who invites his children and his grandchildren and another generation beyond that to share what is emphatically considered to be Christian cheer, provided for them at his hospitable board, at the most emphatically Christian period of the year, Christmas, docs, on identically the same day (allowing for the slip in the calendar) as nearly as possible the same thing that his Pagan ancestor did some centuries before the Christian era! Nor has the mighty arm of the Church been able to banish the Pagan name for this Pagan feast from our truly Christian island, for Yule-fires, Yule-logs, and Yule-tide are

favourite Christmas terms in many parts of England, the word Yule being *known* in all.

This ancient name for Christmas is still used throughout all Scandinavia. The Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians wish each other a "Glad Yule," as we say "A Merry Christmas to you!" This alone would serve to draw our attention to Scandinavia, even if no other reason existed for searching there for the origin of our great Christian feast. The grand storehouses of Pagan lore, as far as the Northern nations of Teutonic race are concerned, are the two Eddas, and if we refer to the part or chapter of Snorri Sturlson's Edda, known as *Gylfa Ginning*, we shall find the twelfth name of Odin, the Father of the Gods, or Allfather, given as *Jälg*, or *Jälkr* (pronounced *yolk*, or *yulg*). The Christmas tree, introduced into Russia by the Scandinavians, is called *ëlka* (pronounced *yolka*), and in the times just preceding and just after the conquest of Britain by the English, this high feast of Odin was held in mid-winter, under the name of *Jälka tid*, or Yule-tide. It was celebrated at this season, because the Vikings, being then unable to go to sea, could assemble in their great halls and temples, and drink to the gods they served so well. Another reason was that it fell towards the end of the last of the twelve mystic *monaths* that made up the mythological as well as the cosmical cycle of the year, and was, therefore, appropriately designated by the *last* of the names by which Odin is called in the Edda.

The brightest of the gods, "the White God" Baldur (Baldr, or Balder), was the purest of the sons of Odin; and, as the service of this deity is identified with that of his father, it will be necessary in arriving at a clear conception of the origin of Christmas and the observances connected with it, to give a brief view of the myth of Baldur. He is said to have been greatly beloved by gods and men. His face shone with splendour, and his pure brow "was called the sun." He was gentle and good, though brave and warlike. The spouse of this deity was a mortal called Nanna, who was greatly respected by the Aesir for her beauty and virtue, she was permitted intercourse with both worlds; in short, not to speak irre-

verently, she seems to have been a sort of mythic impersonation of what subsequently came to be styled "the Church."

We are told that when Baldur was born he was accompanied into the world by a twin brother called Höder, who had the misfortune to be born *blind*. This is physically significative of the fact that darkness and light are inseparably correlative; morally, of the law that evil is the perversion or rejection of good. The Sagaman observes quaintly on this myth, that "All evil is born blind." This twin brother of Baldur, Höder by name, is the cause of all dissensions among men, and creates discord wherever he goes. He is disliked by the gods, who are bold and hardy warriors. Among the twelve Aesir, however, there is one who admits him to his friendship. This is the calumniator of the gods, *Utgård Loki*, the evil genius of Valhalla; to him no honours are paid, no altars erected. He is the one of the twelve who is a traitor! At the birth of Baldur it was foretold by the Fate of the Future, Skuld, that Baldur should fall by a mortal weapon unless all created objects should swear a solemn oath never to injure him. Nanna, being of mortal origin, was despatched to earth for the purpose of winning the desired promise from every created thing. Her known virtue and goodness had already gained her the goodwill of every object, animate or inanimate, that made up the world; but when her eloquence, combined with her beauty, was brought to bear on all "trees and flowers, stones and metals, earth and water, fire and air," they all most readily gave the required promise, save and except the mistletoe, which, being a parasite of the oak, had been overlooked when the oath was exacted from that tree. Some say that Utgård Loki sat near the bough, in the shape of a white crow, thus hiding it from the view, and that afterwards, in punishment, the crow has always been black.

The mistletoe having been thus omitted, Utgård Loki had no difficulty in maturing his plan for the destruction of Baldur. He speedily shaped an arrow of this wood, and, disguised as an old woman, prevailed on Nanna to take it with her to Valhalla to be rendered resistless in war by being discharged at Baldur; who, in consequence of the vow,

had become insensible to the effects of any blow from any weapon. The gods had invented a game, in which they discharged their various weapons at him. Baldur was placed with his back to a tree, which has in consequence become immortal. This tree can never fade, but remains ever green, and is known as the holly tree. Nanna, taking the opportunity afforded by this game, presents her arrow. Each of the gods, anxious to please so good and so popular a personage, wishes to discharge her shaft, when Utgård Loki points out that, owing to his misfortune in being born blind, Höder has never tried his hand when Baldur has played target. The gods yield to the justice of this statement, and Höder is permitted to take up his position, bow in hand, with the fatal mistletoe shaft. Loki, standing behind him, directs his aim. The shaft, on its way to the heart of Baldur, is seen by Odin's war bird, the cock, which, flying up from the ground, tries, in vain, to intercept it. On flies the shaft and pierces the White God's breast, who falls against the holly tree, which ever since bears drops of his blood, in the shape of red berries amid the leaves.

Hela, the goddess of the Under World, claims her rights—the dead must be hers, god or mortal; and now a warm debate arises as to whether this right can be evaded or set aside altogether. At last Hela consents to waive her claim if all created objects will agree to weep for Baldur.

Again is Nanna despatched to Middle Earth, and again do her beauty and eloquence succeed in winning from "hearts of stone," from "stocks, trees, animals, men, streams, seas, hills, metals, and flowers," the promise to weep for Baldur; all save and except a little flower growing near a stone, upon which stone Utgård Loki was sitting in the guise of an old woman, whose flowing robe hid the flower from Nanna's eyes. Nanna had taken the mistletoe shaft to collect the tears on, and he who looks will find them there in the form of little white berries.

The absence of the tears of the little white flower (which has since become blue from sorrow, and was heard to murmur something—was it "Forget me not"?—as Nanna passed) gave Hela fresh right to Baldur's body, and

she would have borne it off to her drear domain for ever, had not Odin stepped in with a compromise, and decreed Baldur should remain half the year in Valhalla, and half the year with Hela. To this Hela agreed, and the bargain was concluded.

The cock that endeavoured to save Baldur's life at the risk of his own, was now appointed his special attendant. It heralds his approach, and awakens Jostra (Oestra, Eostra, English Easter), who keeps one of the four gates of the universe. She was connected with spring, and sister to Hertha (Jorta, Earth). She strews Baldur's path to Valhalla with flowers, and the gods throw flowers to the cock. Eostra opens the east gate, and Baldur rides up the rainbow in majesty. This beautiful Dawn myth is quite sufficient to explain why the name of Easter retains such a firm hold on the minds of Teutons and Scandinavians. It *could not* pass away.

Two or three months elapse, and the festival of the White God is celebrated under the title of "White-sun-tide" feasts; while on Midsummer's day, being the day on which the sun does not set in the North, but is seen at midnight, fires are lighted in Baldur's honour, which are called his "bale fires." This custom is still observed in some parts of England; only, instead of fires to Baldur, they are now said to be in honour of St. John.

It is not our purpose to explain, or to attempt to explain, the inner teachings of this myth. We have adduced the facts of the story to show that all the salient points of our *Christmas* observances are decidedly Pagan. The very roast beef and plum-pudding are remnants of sacrifices to Odin. The ox was slaughtered and offered up to him, parts being partaken of by the priests and people present. The blood of the slaughtered animal was mixed with meal into a sort of cake of a *hemispherical* form, representing the Cosmos. There were many ingredients, and this cake was our plum-pudding in embryo.

The name of the Ember Weeks is known to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *ymb irren*, to run round, alluding to the return of certain festivals. We are inclined to the theory that it refers to the mad war-dance of the Odinic warriors round his altar, which was

performed with extreme fury and piety throughout all Scandinavia.

The names of the days of the week are as sturdily Pagan as ever they were. In certain notes in his version of the Frithioff's Saga Tegnér explains the mythological combats referred to in the Edda as symbolical of two degrees of thought—namely, the cosmical and the ethical. In the cosmical degree they represent the contest between winter and summer, night and day, cold and heat; while in the higher sense they point to the struggle in the soul between evil and good, hatred and love, sensuality and wisdom, &c. On this system the myth of the Week would denote the progress of life in man's heart, from the glorious innocence of childhood to the darker day of death; from the beginning of creation to the decline of the gods; or, again, from sunrise to sunset. Finn Magnussen holds to the cosmical theory, while Mallet inclines to the ethical view.

Doubtless there is truth in both these theories. In all probability one is the exterior sheath of the other system. That such mystic or interior sense is contained in all mythologies may be seen from the veneration paid to the number twelve, which clearly means more than mere *number*. Let us take the signs of the zodiac, for instance. These correspond in number to the list of months in the year, houses in Valhalla, gods in Olympus, Redschis in Brahmapatam, tribes of Israel, the Apostles, the gates of the New Jerusalem, which were twelve pearls, &c. The number twelve is sacred in all Aryan and Semitic teachings, and seems to point out what is complete or full. In the same way seven is very sacred in all systems. The days of the week correspond in number to the "ages of man," or seven stages in the advance towards perfection. Shakespeare's Seven Ages are in wonderful harmony with portions of the view which we have been led to take of the myth of the Week. The result of careful comparison of the arguments of Tegnér, Finn Magnussen, Geijer, and other writers on Odinic mythology, has been to reduce this subject within the following limits:—

Sunday is the day devoted to the goddess of the Sun, Frigga, the genetrix of nature,

aply congruous with the idea of the birth of man, in innocence, to life and light. In all Teutonic nations the sun is feminine as being the nutrix and life-giver of all things. The sun is also representative of glory attending the warrior through life, and rising again after his death, causing him to beam on through eternity. Such is the bright beginning of human life.

The Moon, in all Teutonic languages, is a male deity, a warrior subject to many changes indicative of the phase passed through in youth. He is bright and beaming, but somewhat melancholy withal. His influence on the tide shows that a true warrior should subdue the elements, especially water. Therefore he leads youth to clear streams to practise swimming, to the sea to launch his bark, and in many ways prepares him to become introduced to the Warrior-god, Tyr or Tys. This novitiate period is therefore called Monday, as being under the superintendence of the Moon-god.

Tuesday, the day of Tyr, Tys, or Tuis (called by Tacitus *Tusisco*), softened, or rather changed, in modern German into *Tiensdag*, or *Dienstag*, is, in Scandinavian, *Tystag*, and in English, Tuesday. The state of adolescence is now past, and the "battle of life" begins. The young soldier is entrusted with sword, shield, and spear; he goes forth to war, he is a man—a *Heer*-man (mispronounced by the Romans and Russians *Ger-man*), or man of war, one of the *Heer*, or host. His privilege is to accompany some chief, or Jarl, on a daring enterprise on land, or to follow the fortunes of a Viking "over the ocean." At this period the warrior does not assume the eagle's wings in his helm-hat; and, unless it were an heirloom in his family, he had no right to give a special name to his sword, though, if it were, the name would of necessity come down to him with the weapon.

Wednesday represents the state of mature, full manhood, with dauntless courage combined with wisdom, such as is predicated of Odin, the King of gods, the chooser of the brave and wise. This all-wise, all-powerful deity is the culminating point of the mythological teachings and the centre of the *Valhalla* group. Once in his varied ex-

perience he escaped from the hold of a giantess in the guise of an eagle. Therefore he wore eagle wings in his helmet, and his chiefs wore them as their distinguishing badge. The soaring aloft by the aid of the wings of the eagle is a highly poetic symbol, showing how wisdom should soar above the thralldom of the low and sensual, typified by the Giants in general who were called *Eoten*, or *Joten* (the *eat*ers), in allusion to the sensual, low condition which they represented, and which was always in combat with the higher, nobler, purer *Aesir*. Under these circumstances, the centre day of the week would very naturally be his by every sort of right. And, strange as it may seem, *one* Wednesday, or Odin's day, specially devoted to him, under the name of *Ash* Wednesday, has, under the same designation, been regarded as ultra-Christian. It is one of those festivals which had become too much identified with *life* to be yielded up at the command of the new priesthood, and, being specially typical, deserves special notice. The ash plays a very important part in Scandinavian mythology. As a tree it is Odin's, most emphatically; its wood is the most noble of wood, as being the material for the shaft of the spear and javelin, for the oar and mast. But beyond these more material values, the ash has a mystic sense which renders it at once the most important among trees. The name ash means (as do those of many other trees) *man*, for when the sons of *Bör*, who were sons of Odin, fashioned the first man and the first woman, they made them from a piece of the ash. Hence the first man was called *Aska* (*ash*) and his wife *Embla*. Further than this, the ash represents the Cosmos on a large scale, and *man* from a less general point of view. The *Mundane Tree*, or Cosmos, is called *Yggdrasil*; its roots form the lower regions, and stretch to nine worlds. Here, too, is *Hela's* dominion, whence our word "hell" as a name for the lower regions. Earth is an extended circular plane, through the centre of which the trunk of the ash passes at right angles with its diameter; the boughs of the tree support the earth, just half-way up the trunk, for which reason the abode of men has received the name of *Middle-yard*, or garden (*Mid-gård*). Around the earth is ocean, with its streams

Ellivagr, and in this ocean the Mid-gård serpent, one of the monstrous progeny of Loki, is confined with its tail in its mouth, forming a ring. It shall remain until the last day, when the heavens and earth shall pass away, and new gods reign in Valhalla.

Because the middle day of the week was denoted by the name of Odin, and the middle of the week had been devoted to Mercury by the Greeks and Romans, it was concluded by them that Odin *must* be Mercury! The phase of proud manhood now passes into middle-age, warlike, unbroken, fierce in its conflicts with sensual and worldly delights, but brought nearer to them in its actual strife and symbolized by Thursday, a corruption of Thunners dæg, German Donnerstag—a day devoted to Thor, the Jupiter Tonans of the North, and thus corresponding to the *dies Fovis* of Roman myth. The Scandinavians retain his name in their nomenclature, which is Thor's day, the day of Thor, while we have retained only his chief attribute of thunder in the name of our day. It has a grim signification, indicative as it is of storm and strife. Thor descends to the Giants and meets them on their own ground. And here it would seem as if in all mythology there were a sort of prophetic perception of what had to be completed in a holier, higher form in the mighty works which Christianity has taught us to contemplate. Let us not be accused of irreverence when we fancy that there are such traces of prophetic truth in these wild poetic teachings! But when Odin, in a wondrous weird song, tells his worshippers that he hung from a cursed tree three times three days, and saw the bitter evil of man! when the God-principle (under another name) descends into Jotunheim to combat the Giants, we are rather awe-struck at the evident harmony in some parts of what we know to be true and what we have long ago rejected as false.

We now come to Friday—the day of Freiya, the goddess of Love in the Northern scheme; but, far from resembling the Venus of the South, she presides over legitimate nuptials. The Scandinavian warrior was not allowed to enter the married state until he had served his country in arms, had earned his right to the eagle's wings at least; so that he never married before thirty at the youngest.

Any illicit connection with the other sex was punished with cruel severity; and to this cause the Romans attributed the superior strength, height, and agility of their Northern enemies. The idea of the peace of family life being a reward for the dangers and conflicts of the Odin and Thor periods is charming, and evidently lies at the bottom of much of what we read in the later Middle High German tales of the Minnesängers, or Bards of Love. On the other hand, there is a reverse to the picture, presented by, I *think*, Afzelius, which is, that part of Freiya's time is passed in weeping for the woes to come, and man, having subdued the giants of his sensual nature, in entering the rose-coloured domain of Love, prepares his own decay and fall. Therefore, Friday should be a day of tears and fasting, as preparatory to the last, the day of terror, death, and doom—the day of Surtur, who will arise from Muspelheim, and cause the Twilight of the gods.

Saturday was viewed, in a vague manner, within comparatively recent times in Scandinavia, as an unlucky day. It is *not* the day of Saturn, nor could it be so to people who had had no intercourse with Greece from whence to derive a Hellenic myth. Sharon Turner derives the name from the god Sættur, whom he identifies with Crodus in a very able manner. According to his theory, the day means a *quasi*-Sabbath, or day for settling down. The name, Sættur's day, seems a corruption from Surtur's day, or the day on which Surtur comes from Muspelheim. The gods engage the monsters; the end of all things is at hand; the old heaven and old earth pass away, and a new Sunday is looked forward to, which the seer tells us "shall not pass away."

The connection of the end of the world with the end of the week, upon the system here laid down, is patent; and certainly, if the myths were so understood by all the Odinic priesthood, there is no cause for wonder at the tenacity of life in the names handed down to us. The Mundane Tree is most remarkable, as showing us the relative positions of gods and mortals; while the flat surface of the Midgård (the Middangard of the Anglo-Saxon writers) shows that the knowledge of geography possessed by the Scandinavians was very similar to that

possessed by the Greeks, who placed their Mount Olympus in the centre of a disc, at the circumference of which were the rocks and ocean. The Scandinavians, as before remarked, held the ash tree sacred, and this was the support of their Cosmos. At the foot were nine serpents, who perpetually gnawed at the nine roots, which were as perpetually refreshed from the pure waters of nine streams—emblematical of sensuality (the serpents) destroying man (the tree), who is regenerated by pure truth (the water of the streams). At the top of this tree is the mountain Valhalla, with the *twelve* halls of the *twelve* gods, and the plain Idavöllr, where the champions combat. The bridge Bifröst, known to mortals as the rainbow, leads from Valhalla to earth. On the summit of Valhalla is Odin's throne. No priestcraft, or in fact any other power, could change *our* names for the days of the week, which were retained in spite of all the efforts of Saxon, Norman, and Puritan to get rid of them. On the fourth day of the week the grand doctrine of the ash tree (Yggdrasil) was, once a year, solemnly expounded to the "sons of Odin," who looked forward to Ash-Wednesday as eagerly as the modern Germans do to Easter.

In support of this theory of the Myth of the Week being the outcome of Eddaic theology, we beg to call attention to the order in which the creation is mentioned in the *Völuspå*:—

1. The first activity recorded is, "The sun shone round the south, and the earth produced tender green things."
2. Then the moon threw his right arm round the sun, and controlled the steeds of heaven.
3. Then follows the creation of the dwarfs, the elves, and man.
4. Odin's ash is created; and the three Nornas, or Parcæ, Urda (past), Verdandi (now being), and Skuld (that which shall be), arose. The "Love-of-Gold" arises, and Odin's work begins with war against her. This was the first war.
5. The story of the death of Baldur, and the commencement of war with the Giants.
6. Frigga (not Freiya) weeps, and a beautiful, but intensely mythical, description of future woes is given.

7. The advent of Surtur from the south in consuming flame, the destruction of the present heaven and earth, and prophecy of a new state of things.

The above is a very rough abstract of the *Völuspå*, as given in Sæmund's Edda, the edition used being Grundtvig's, published in Copenhagen (1874). The best English translation will be found in Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*. It is curious that in this poem Thor is not mentioned by name, though the circumstances producing his wars with the Giants are given. He is mentioned in the Edda attributed to Snorri Sturlson as the directing genius, for the gods, of these wars.

It is a remarkable fact, which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere very specially pointed out, that the conversion of the English was, in all respects, different from the conversion of any other Pagan race. They were the first proselytes of Rome who had not been previously subjugated by the Roman sword, and then made to adopt the creed of the conqueror as a consequence of subjugation. The Goths and other Teutonic tribes had humbled Rome. St. Augustine came here like a true missionary, and was not backed by armed legions to compel belief. The English held public meetings on the subject, and many highly characteristic anecdotes are told of their debates. They were not in a hurry: and when baptized and thoroughly initiated into the new faith, they always appear more ready to *fight* for their opinions than to follow the simple and peaceful rule held out to them. The fact is, that the good fathers were obliged to temporize with these unruly but hard-headed thinkers, and therefore they yielded many points of external observance. Retaining Pagan festivals, but disguising them, as it were, under Christianized appellations, they contrived not to offend the haughty warriors, who, from pride of race, would never have allowed the institutions of their forefathers to be abolished. On the other hand, the mythical and mystical notions wrapped up in the Eddaic teachings had prepared the way for a still higher form of abstract thought; and it would appear that the doctrines of the Incarnation and of victory over the hells were special favourites with the warlike

Anglo-Saxon. Again, he was moral in his life; he venerated the sex to which his *mother* had belonged, and regarded the priestess of the old creed with simple and very honest awe. This system, widely differing from the loose and vicious ideas held by most of the Romance nations on this delicate point, prepared him to receive with favour the pure and holy teachings of the Christian Church; and the fathers, by becoming acquainted with the Pagan Saxon's creed, adroitly managed to point out those portions of it which seemed prophetic of Christianity. Hence, the desire of retaining much that we have retained and do retain now.

As the Anglo-Saxons became more and more imbued with the Christian doctrines, they gradually abandoned their Pagan nomenclature. Elves give place to angels and good spirits; dark elves and dwarfs change into devils and fiends, as do all the *dramatis personæ* of the supernatural drama that had been enacting in the woods, streams, and air around our ancestors. The heroes vanish, to be succeeded by saints, differing only in name from their predecessors—for St. Swithin, St. Guthlâc, and St. Dunstan are as stalworth War-men as Hyglac, Beowulf, or Æschere; and the combats of these Christian Hjelldr, as exemplified by the battles of St. Guthlâc with the devils at Croyland, or of St. Dunstan with the archfiend himself, differ in no essential point from those of Beowulf or other heroes with the Nickers and the Grendel.

Thus the new Faith did not utterly crush and stamp out the old, on account of the peculiar retentiveness of the English mind, and the difficulty in erasing from it impressions once deeply set. We propose to give an example of the manner in which the old Faith pervades the new in an instance where we are least prepared to expect it to appear.

The grand epic of Beowulf had been brought in its Pagan state from Scandinavia, and had retained its heathen character in Britain until after the Christianization of England, when it received various touches from Christian scribes to bring it into harmony with the teachings of the Church. This took place, in all probability, on account of its extreme popularity, for of other Pagan epics only fragments have been found, and others again are only known to us from quotations

from, or references to, them in later works. The parchment on which these heathen English poems were written was either cleaned with pumice for the reception of saintly legends, or was cut up to bind other MSS.; hence between the heroic epic of Beowulf and the miraculous Christian epic known as Cædmon's Song we have nothing entire. But these two poems are in themselves sufficient to render us proud of the English name.

Cædmon's Lay is an account of the Creation, and the principal events in the Old Testament down to Belshazzar's Feast and the Destruction of Babylon. This occupies the first part of the poem, while the second gives an account of the Rebellion of the Hells, the Descent of the Saviour, and the Redemption. The mode of treating the subject is perfectly Scandinavian; the battle scenes are painted with great force and vigour, and with the same relish for the fray that animates the Scaldic verse of the olden time. The ring of battle sounds in the clanging lines just as in Beowulf; and the Prince of Darkness puts on his "grim helm" with all the air of a son of Odin. The speeches of the archfiend are as like the harangues of the heathen warriors "as two peas," and where epithets are not readily found in the Sacred Writings to express the feeling of the poet, they are freely borrowed from the Edda! Hence the military parade in Heaven, the *yawning gulph* or *gynning-a gap* by which chaos is rendered in the Edda and in Cædmon, with many other particulars. The poet is a Christian, but he had been familiar with heathen thought and poetry, which underlie the whole. Lucifer is the Utgård Loki of the old system; he is even called by the same names—"Godes and saka," the denier of God (here, however, God is singular, not plural), and "Feonda aldor" the "Prince of Fiends." The site of man's sin is the Mid-gard, or Middan-yeord—*i.e.*, middle earth. Hell is the name of the *place* below, instead of the impersonation of the lower world; but the most Scandinavian touch of all is the tender and loving manner in which the poet treats Eve. That "crown of women," that "fairest of all that is fair," that "light of the Welkin" (*leoht under wolken*), "that bright form," "the tender one," &c.

The MS. of *Cædmon* was first given to the world in 1655 at Amsterdam, where Milton resided some time before he became blind, and it has been shown that he, in all probability, was greatly indebted to this edition and translation into Latin of the poem. His military heaven is perhaps more Scandinavian than that of *Cædmon*, and his Deity more Odinic, but the similarity of the mode of treating the subject is too striking to escape notice; and, however it came, the influence of the Saxon poem is as plainly to be traced in the work of our own stern Puritan, as that of the old Scaldic Sagaman is seen in the Biblical story of *Cædmon*. This teaches us that, where Milton departs from the story of the Bible, he is under the influence of Scandinavian Paganism, although, in principle, the most bitter foe to Paganism of every form,—even to the “disparaging of mince pies and plum porridge.” His reading was essentially classical, and he very likely read the Latin translation of our *Cædmon*, rather than either the original or the Dutch version.

As Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* are in the hands of all students of English theology, they have, rather than his prose works, done much to give a tone to English religious feeling, and these poems are full, at second-hand it is true, of Scandinavian myth, much in the same way as the festivals ordained by the Church are derived from the same source!



Harley, Earl of Oxford, 1714.

THERE has always been much of mystery in the character of Harley, and in the story of his life. He entered Parliament as a Whig, returned for the Cornish borough of Tregony; he came to the front as leader of the moderate Tories in Marlborough's Coalition Ministry; dismissed from office, along with Bolingbroke, most unwillingly by Anne; her consent being with difficulty extorted from her, he was almost immediately replaced as the head of a new Tory Ministry. The succession was then the real question of the day; a question which, with the failing

of the Queen's health, turned all politics into faction and intrigue. Harley undoubtedly kept up a correspondence with the Pretender; a delusive correspondence, according to historians, on the one side, who contend that he never thought of any other as successor than the Elector of Hanover. Bolingbroke, succeeding in getting him dismissed, became Premier July 27, 1714, and the Queen died on August 1. George I. was proclaimed; Bolingbroke fled to France; Oxford was sent to the Tower, and after two years' imprisonment, brought to trial, and in the end acquitted, or rather released; for the two Houses quarrelling as to the mode of proceeding, the Commons took no part in it. In the new House the Whig interest predominated. Harley remained in retirement, the friend of men of letters, and himself the founder of a collection of books and manuscripts which yet perpetuates his name.

Sir George Cornwall Lewis, besides the credibility of Roman history, and the like higher matters, interested himself in the pedigree of his Radnorshire family, abandoning, indeed, all the generations prior to the introduction of surnames in Wales, and beginning with about 1350, in the reign of Edward III. By the name of “Pedigree of the Family of Lewis of Harpton,” he privately printed his brochure thereon; and it is by permission of the present head of the house, Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, that we here print from it two letters, still preserved at Harpton, which Sir Cornwall had chosen out, and added to the “Pedigree.” The selection of these by him puts a value on them, besides that they are evidence of the state of political and private feeling at the time of the Harley impeachment. The Harleys, Radnorshire people like themselves, were on intimate terms with the Harpton family. Early in 1714, the Earl of Oxford, then Lord Treasurer, sent his cousin, Mr. Harley, on a mission to the Court of Hanover with warm expressions of duty and attachment. The Electress Sophia was living when he was there, but died in May; the death-blow given, as it was said, by Queen Anne's refusal to receive her or any of her family. Thomas Lewis, then twenty-four years old, accompanied Mr. Harley as a member of his mission, and on Mr. Harley's return the

Earl of Clarendon and Lord Paget were appointed ambassadors to Hanover. The following letter, written to Mr. Thomas Lewis at London by his father, is one of those chosen out by Sir Cornewall and appended to the "Pedigree":—

14th February, 1713-(14.)

DEAR SON,—In answer to your former letter, I enclosed one last post to Mr. Harley, in which I would have omitted some things, had I known the progress you had made in that affair. I presume they did not think my consent would be so easily had, considering the expense and short warning; but that I would have chosen a small post for present advantage, to take the burthen of your education off my hands, than trust to those uncertainties. But this I have complied with, to let you find my readiness to promote your welfare to the utmost of my power, hoping I shall have no occasion ever to repent it. The only way you have to furnish yourself with money is by parting with what I have in the South Sea, and paying £30 to the gentlewoman, and returning me the rest that is spare. You must, if you go, advise with them where and upon whom to take bills of exchange upon the least discount, for to carry ready money all will not, I think, be proper; and be advised of all other matters that you are a stranger to, that you may not be disappointed, or be troublesome to Mr. Harley in any improper thing. Be sure to take care of your conduct in words and actions, and get acquainted with some prudent, knowing person of the retinue, whose conversation and advice may be useful. Keep a diary of all you see or do or hear, whilst you are abroad, and get as much of the languages as is possible. Take some maps and geographical books of the countries you pass through, and also of the laws, customs, government, and the product or manufactory of each particular place; and spend not an idle hour without getting some useful information or knowledge of useful things; that when you return, they may find you have spent your time well, and that you are of an industrious temper, and fit for business. Send your letters in Mr. Harley's packet, and write only your private business, and do not meddle with public matters, but only by observation. Carry yourself respectfully to Mr. Harley, and always speak honourably of him. Your conduct and behaviour is now to be tried, and may ruin or make you. I cannot tell you now half my mind, but leave you to God's direction and good providence. Let me hear every post before you go. Take leave of my Lord Treasurer, and thank him for all favours. Wish him all imaginable prosperity, and the like to the Auditor, to whom I will write a letter of thanks, if you think fit. We are all well, and under some concern at this sudden expedition, and give you our blessing and love.

I am your loving father,

THOS. LEWIS.

My service to cousin Weaver, to whom I have written this post.

P.S.—Let me hear particularly what ease you will have in your expenses by going now, and whether they offer any advantages; for I suppose you cross the

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sea in the Queen's yacht, and provision is there made aboard at the Queen's charge; and that after he will keep a table, and treat the gentlemen on the same account; so that your pocket money and clothes may be all that is wanting; and, therefore, do not press too hard upon one that is so free; yet take what is sufficient. If you have time, take some physic, to avoid being sea-sick; your constitution will not bear what others may. Serve God, and put thy trust in Him, and He will bless you. Avoid dispute, that occasions quarrel among strangers.

Queen Anne died in August, 1714, two months after the Electress; and in January, 1715, Parliament was dissolved by proclamation. Mr. Thomas Lewis was returned for the Radnor Boroughs as a Whig, and in opposition to the Harley interest he contested the boroughs with Lord Harley, and was duly returned. Lord Harley petitioned against the return, but the petition, which alleged the "making of some hundreds of illegal burghesses," was not prosecuted. There is a tradition that he was influenced by some slight received from Mr. Harley during his mission. His family, however, heard that he was about to act with the party who were promoting the impeachment of Lord Oxford, carried in the House of Commons on June 9, 1715, without a division. The following letter to Mr. Thomas Lewis from his mother, has also been added by Sir Cornewall to the family pedigree; "the duke" mentioned in it is the Duke of Ormond:—

(No date.)

DEAR SON,—You cannot imagine the concern I am under. I can't eat, drink, or sleep, for fear you have a hand in [the] blood of these men. My Lord of Oxon is our neighbour and friend; be tender of his life, and do not, for any advantage in this world, give your vote against him or the Duke; and give me the satisfaction that you are not ungrateful to him, which will very much quiet the mind of your uneasy mother.

Send me down as much black silk as will make a petticoat, and I will pay you for it. Hasten your brother down. We are all well, and remember you, and long for an answer to this, which is all from

Your loving mother,

M. LEWIS.

For fifty-three years, continuously, this Thomas Lewis represented the Radnor Boroughs, and was called "The Old Burgess." He opposed the Harley family, then powerful in the county, and was a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, our first Peace Minister, be it remembered, whose saying it was, that "nothing is more pernicious than war for the country while it lasts, and when it is ended, by the cost of it."

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At the age of eighty-seven, Thomas Lewis died at his house in Soho Square, and was buried "in great funeral pomp" April 5, 1777, in Old Radnor Church, where is a vast monument, with an also vast inscription of equally great funeral pomp, and a medallion, in high relief, from the full-length portrait at Harpton Court. B. L. L.



Reviews.

Chronograms, 5,000 and more in number, excerpted out of various Authors and collected at many Places. By JAMES HILTON. (London: 1882. Elliot Stock). 4to, pp. xx. 569.

This is certainly a most remarkable book, and, we may add, a most valuable one. Mr. Hilton taking note that no work exists on the subject, says the present book is put forth to fill a void in this field of literature; and when we consider that chronograms, composed of words which convey a pertinent allusion to the event which they commemorate, give us date-particulars of an enormous range of events in the world's history, we must admit that the handsome volume before us has a right to a place among our reference books.

A chronogram is thus composed:—An inscription containing words, the letters of which represent in the Roman notation the date of the event or object to which the chronograms refer. They occur on buildings and monuments, and on medals "struck to commemorate the birth, coronation, career, or death of princes and potentates; battles, sieges, and wars, which their subjects have fought and endured for them, as well as the treaties made and alliances formed on the establishment of peace; social and local events, the founding of universities, and the like."

It will be seen that, as a handmaid to history, the subject of chronograms is an important one. To place an example before our readers, taken from one of the most interesting chapters of the book. "A collection of elegiac poems in the British Museum, addressed to various people, bears the following title:—*Bartolomaei Bilovii curarum Libri v. Elbingae, anno LIBeratorIS fIDE LIVM.*" Here the sum of the large letters gives the date of the work 1609. It may be mentioned that there are very few chronograms in English—a deficiency that Mr. Hilton has himself very ably managed to lessen by the construction of many very good examples, and this feature of the work is by no means the least interesting.

Our readers will judge from the above example how very frequently a chronogram will give important information when, apparently, there is no other evidence of date. Mr. Hilton gives some interesting examples of this. As specimens of patience and ingenuity there is nothing to equal chronograms throughout the range of literature, except perhaps the laborious skill which Mr. Hilton has devoted to his work as their historian. What this must have cost him is known, and can be known, only to himself. There is nothing

left undone to make the work well worthy of its object, and the careful and valuable index thoroughly completes a volume which will always be reckoned among the choicest of our curiosities of literature, as well as a ready handbook to the dates of many out-of-the-way though curious matters.

The Transit Instrument as applied to the Determination of Time. By LATIMER CLARK. (London: Published by the Author, 1882.) 8vo.

It will not, perhaps, be easy to find an excuse for noticing this little treatise in the *ANTIQUARY*, unless it be held excuse sufficient that its author and publisher have been good enough to send it us for review. It may be that, as Mr. Clark intends his instructions for the unlearned, he may have considered a publication which makes no special pretension to astronomical knowledge, to be a desirable tribunal for his book to be brought before. We at all events acquit him of any notion of presuming on our ignorance, and thereby extorting an opinion unduly favourable. Not but what it might be possible to find matter of antiquarian interest even in a subject so unpromising. The instrument was invented in 1675 (not seventy years later than the invention of the telescope itself), by the Danish astronomer, Roemer, though he was not able to set one up till thirty years later. This first instrument did not long survive its inventor, for it was consumed in the great fire at Copenhagen in 1728; Roemer himself having died in 1710. With his instruments, too, were burnt the records of the observations which Roemer had made, only sufficient being saved to show, as Mr. Grant tells us in his *Physical Astronomy*, that they were hardly inferior to those of recent date. Having thus shown our familiarity with our own side of the question, we will seek no further excuse. We will even admit that it is quite unjustifiable for us to drag in these references to the ancient history of astronomy, by way of apologizing, for what in truth needs no apology, the introduction to our readers of a very convenient and useful little book. Not being—as above stated—expected to assume astronomical knowledge, we may admit that we were much surprised at the simplicity and apparent ease with which the observation of a transit can be made with sufficient accuracy to give the unskilled observer true time within a fraction of a second. Mr. Clark gives instructions which, he says, will enable anybody to do this, and the object of his book is to induce dwellers in the country to employ the transit instrument as a means of setting their clocks and watches. There is no doubt that any one who will try the experiment may become a blessing to his village, by bringing about an approach to uniformity in what we may term reputed local time.

Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.
Session 1881.

It is not too much to say that this is one of the most industrious as it is one of the most valuable of the local field clubs in the country. The amount of good such societies do in the cause of archaeological research is not easily to be estimated, and should not

be lost sight of by those who take an abiding interest in the antiquities of our land. Mr. Hardy has drawn up in the present volume a careful and graphic account of the rambles of the club, and many and often are the times we have to pause to gratify our temptation to wander in thought away from the library where we read to the fields and places where Nature speaks for itself. Besides this report there are some extremely interesting papers on antiquities, one or two points from which we must notice. A paper on the discovery of horses' heads by Dr. E. C. Robertson is particularly valuable. At the installation of kings in the east a sacrifice of a horse was made. Wheelboy relates that "a horse of a particular colour was let loose for a year to wander at its will; at the end of the year it was brought back triumphantly to his own city, when the animal was sacrificed, and there was a grand feast, at which the roasted flesh of the horse would be eaten as an imperial dish." Tacitus asserts a similar practice among the Germans. The horse is represented on many British coins, and we think it worth while



reproducing the woodcuts illustrating three of these. On the first there is the horse, the head drawn down to resemble a bird's bill. On the second there is depicted the horse with wings. On the third the horse has a human face. Dr. Robertson adduces these and many more interesting facts to show that the cult of the horse was extensively known in these islands, and the extraordinary find of three horses' heads in a small chamber in the spire of St. Cuthbert's Church, Elsdon, immediately over the bell, Dr. Robertson rightly concludes belongs to the same class of thought. Another paper on Elsdon Mote Hills, by Mr. Thomas Arkle, attracts particular attention, as it adds another example to a very important subject relative to the primitive life of our ancestors, and it is given additional value from the ground-plan illustration which accompanies the article. Other papers of note are, "On a Polygonal Grinding Stone found in Lamberton Moor," and "A Sculptured Stone at Innerleithen," both illustrated.

The Customs, Superstitions, and Legends of the County of Stafford. By CHARLES HENRY POOLE. (London: Rowney & Co.) 8vo, pp. 124.

This little pamphlet does not bear out its somewhat pretentious title. It is simply a collection from literary sources of some of the folk-lore of the county, and though we by no means wish to discourage such eminently useful work, we think it should stand upon its own merits. Mr. Poole's book will be useful to collectors of folk-lore, though scarcely so to the scientific student.

The Life and Correspondence of the late Samuel Hibbert Ware, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c., Secretary and Vice-President of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, Author of the "History of the Foundations of Manchester," "The Philosophy of Apparitions," &c. By Mrs. HIBBERT-WARE. (Manchester: J. E. Cornish. 1882.) 8vo, pp. xxiv. 586.

We have here a striking instance of how much fame a man may lose by changing his name. Dr. Hibbert-Ware was well known in Manchester, but probably few recognized in the local celebrity the more widely famous Dr. Hibbert who wrote on the theory of apparitions. Henceforth, however, there will be no excuse for this ignorance, for Mrs. Hibbert-Ware has set forth in the handsome volume before us the chief incidents of her father-in-law's life in a lively and instructive narrative that cannot fail to interest all who take it up. Samuel Hibbert was born at Manchester, on Sunday, April 21, 1782, and his early life was spent in the old city to which he was ever deeply attached, and every nook and corner of which were known to him. He was educated at the Manchester New College, where his progress was highly satisfactory, and he subsequently received a lieutenant's commission in the 1st Lancashire Militia. His literary tastes were early excited, and we learn that he offered a play in three acts to the manager of Drury Lane Theatre, entitled, *The Romance of the Apennines*. In 1813 he made a radical change in his mode of life, and matriculated at the University of Edinburgh. In 1815 he quitted Manchester for Edinburgh, where he remained for many years. Two years after he graduated as a doctor of medicine, but possessing however an independent fortune he did not practise his profession, but devoted himself entirely to science and literature. In 1817 during a visit to Shetland he discovered the existence in those islands of chromate of iron. This discovery attracted much attention, and in 1820 the Society of Arts voted him the Gold Isis Medal, in testimony of their appreciation of its importance. Subsequently he discovered another valuable mineral in Shetland. In 1824 Dr. Hibbert was elected one of the secretaries of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and in the same year appeared the book by which he is best known, *Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions, or an attempt to trace such Illusions to their Physical Causes*. Mrs. Hibbert-Ware tells an amusing anecdote of the author. He was travelling in the mail-coach with a lady when their conversation happened to turn on this book. His companion asserted her belief that the author was no better than an infidel; he however so explained parts of the book that she somewhat modified her opinion. When the coach had completed its journey the lady asked his name, and her confusion and astonishment was great when he replied, "Dr. Hibbert, madam." Although settled in Edinburgh he did not forget his native place, and in 1830 he brought out his important work, *History of the Foundations in Manchester of Christ's College, Chetham's Hospital, and the Free Grammar School*. We must, however, hurry over the later occurrences of Dr. Hibbert's life. In 1837 he took the name of Ware, which was the family name of his mother. He settled in Manchester, and was in 1843 one of the first council of the Chetham Society, for which association he edited

Memorials of Lancashire of 1715. On the 30th of December he died in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Thus ended the life of a worthy of whose fame literary men may well be proud.

Mrs. Hibbert-Ware has told her story well, and although the hero always assumes his proper place in her pages, she has managed to illustrate the circumstances of his life with much valuable illustrative matter. The early chapters on social life, and the cost of living at the end of the eighteenth century, are particularly interesting.

Miscellaneous Writings of John Spreull (commonly called Bass John), with some Papers Relating to his History, 1646-1722. (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1882.) Sq. 8vo, pp. xi. 132.

John Spreull's fame is not very wide, but this handsome reprint of his writings will help to make the man more known. His chief work is an early Political Economy tract, entitled *An Account Current betwixt Scotland and England Ballanced* (1705), in which he not only deals with the interchange between England and Scotland, but also shows what products Scotland possesses to balance the products of other countries. The tract is full of valuable information, and Mr. J. W. Burns, the editor, and the representative of John Spreull, says that he found in *A New General Atlas*, published at London in 1721, most of the information relating to Scotland, taken from this *Account Current*. The next tract is his *Representation*, in reference to a seat in his parish church in Glasgow, which he appears to have found a difficulty in obtaining. Spreull was born in 1646, and during the reign of our James II., he got into trouble, and was for a time imprisoned on the Bass Rock, from which he took his nickname. A full account of his troubles is reprinted from Woodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. This volume is illustrated by a portrait of Spreull, from a painting by Kneller, and several facsimiles of hand-writings.

Contested Etymologies in the Dictionary of the Rev. W. Skeat. By HENSLIEGH WEDGWOOD. (London: Trübner & Co. 1822.) Small 8vo, pp. viii.-193.

This is a delightful little book, as all who know Mr. Wedgwood's mode of treating the history of words will naturally expect it to be. There are over two hundred words whose etymology, as set forth by Mr. Skeat, he disputes. There is no preface, and therefore we are left in ignorance whether or not Mr. Wedgwood generally agrees with Mr. Skeat's account of all the other words in the English language. We suspect that this is not the case, because these two distinguished etymologists work upon such different principles. We cannot discuss here the various questions which arise, but must refer our readers to the book itself, which will amply repay careful study. We may, however, just note one entry, which refers to a word in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, about which there has been a considerable amount of disputation—Bully-rook. Bully does not originally mean a boisterous fellow, but it evidently is the same word as

billie, explained by Jamieson as a companion, comrade, lover, brother, fellow, young man. The bad sense was apparently acquired from the conduct of boon companions. We wish Mr. Wedgwood had added something explanatory of the rook (or rock).

A Register of the Scholars Admitted into Merchant Taylors' School, from A.D. 1562 to 1874, compiled from Authentic Sources, and Edited with Biographical Notices. By the Rev. CHARLES J. ROBINSON, M.A., Rector of West Hackney. Vol. I. Printed and published for the Editor by Farncombe & Co., Lewes. 1882. Royal 8vo, pp. xvi. 390.

Last month we noticed Professor Mayor's important Register of the Admissions of St. John's College, Cambridge, and now we are called upon to review a Register of one of our most famous public schools. This is well, and we hope many more such books will follow. How valuable lists of names of this character are to the historian, the biographer and the genealogist we need not tell the readers of the *ANTIQUARY*. Mr. Robinson, although he modestly contents himself with the title of editor, is justly entitled to that of compiler, for he has not had one continued register before him which needed only to be copied and annotated. He has had to consult the minute books of the Court of the Merchant Taylor's Company, and a MS. list of the Fellows of St. John's, Oxford, for records of the school before the year 1607. The Register opens with the famous name of Edmund Spencer, and seventh on the list is Lancelot Andrews, afterwards the saintly Bishop of Winchester. One very valuable feature of these lists is the information given as to the social position of the fathers of the boys, which shows the greater mixture of classes in the early years than at present. By the Statutes the number of boys to be taught in the school was fixed at 250, of which number 100 were to be children of poor parents, unable to pay for education, 50 of a little higher grade, and the remaining 100 the children of rich or means (*i.e.*, middle-class) men. Sometimes there were less and sometimes more, according to the ability of the head master. As we turn over the pages we notice that the entries between 1644 and 1661 are much fuller than those in earlier and later years, and we find that these are taken from the Register which is now preserved in Sion College, kept by William Dugard, who was head master during that period. Not contented with stating that a boy is the son of —, he further states whether he was only eldest or second son, and so on. Also he gives the date of birth and usually the place of birth. Evidently Mr. Dugard was a born genealogist. The list of head masters contains the names of many distinguished men, and Richard Mulcaster, who was one of the earliest of spelling reformers, heads it. Mr. Robinson has annotated the Register, and given much valuable information respecting some of the boys, but, naturally, of the larger number little or nothing can be said. This volume comes down to 1699, and a second volume will complete the register. A full index to all the names given in this volume is added at the end.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Archæological Institute.—November 2.—Lord Talbot de Malahide, President, in the chair.—The Rev. H. Whitehead sent a Paper on an ancient paten from Hamsterley, Durham, which was exhibited. Mr. R. S. Ferguson sent a Paper on a parchment pedigree of Raby Coat, Cumberland, which also was exhibited. Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie read a Paper, the first of a series, on the Domestic Remains of Ancient Egypt. The Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, sent some notes on the discovery of three tree coffins in Grimsby Churchyard, which he thought were probably either of the Saxon or Danish period. Precentor Venables laid before the meeting a sketch of a Roman sepulchral inscribed stone recently found in Hungate, Lincoln, with notes upon it by himself and the Rev. J. Wordsworth. Mr. Stuart Knill exhibited a drawing of excavations in Leadenhall Street, showing considerable remains of a Roman pavement lately discovered. Mr. J. H. Middleton exhibited a drawing of a chalice at Little Faringdon, *circa* 1470. Among other objects exhibited were a bronze mortar, lately found at Colchester with Roman remains, by Mr. E. Peacock; a British urn of great size, fragments of two others, and a quantity of bones, discovered a short time ago at Acton, by Mr. Hedges; a beautiful knife handle, decorated with *midli* of Italian character, found in the moat at Kirkstead, Lincolnshire, by Mrs. Cartwright; five old swords by Mr. H. Hems; drawings of the font at St. Peter's, Ipswich, by Miss M. Burton; and a drawing of the west end of Ashford Carbonell Church, Salop, showing an arrangement of a very unusual kind, by the Rev. J. S. Tanner.

Edinburgh Architectural Association.—November 10.—Mr. D. M'Gibbon, President, in the chair.—In his opening address, the President reviewed the past history of the Association. After referring to the publication of the Sketch Book as a matter deserving continued encouragement, the President gave a *vidimus* of the work cut out for the Association during the ensuing winter, and then proceeded to explain that arrangements had been commenced for the holding of an architectural exhibition, to include paintings, drawings, sketches, photographs, detailed drawings, and every kind of pictorial representation of their art.

PROVINCIAL.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—Selkirk Meeting.—October 11.—Various valuable objects connected with the town of Selkirk were exhibited at this meeting; its charters, three in number; its silver cup and famous bunch of bristles essential to the bestowal of citizenship; the weavers' Flodden flag, carrying the emblem of the shuttle; the Andrea Ferrara of the valiant town clerk wielded at the same fatal fight; the "Souters'" halbert; their oldest book of records; a fine pair of red-deer antlers; and a cranium of the ancient wild ox (*Bos primigenius*),

sent from Haining, but originally obtained in Linton Marl bog, in Roxburghshire; a "Breeches" Bible in excellent preservation, believed, from some internal tokens, to have been Archbishop Sharpe's; a Prayer-Book that had been the property of Mr. Alexander Anderson, Mungo Park's brother-in-law, who died during Park's last disastrous journey, before the final collapse. This little book had been found in Park's boat after he was drowned, and was afterwards worn by the chief of Youri as an amulet of powerful efficacy, from having belonged to the "good white man." It was recovered and brought home by one of the Landers, and is now in Dr. Anderson's possession, who has also a few letters in the handwriting of the traveller. Mr. T. Craig Brown, Selkirk, read a Paper on the "Souters of Selkirk." He suggested the probability of the trade being a survival from the time before the death of Alexander III., when all the skins from Ettrick Forest were brought to Selkirk to be tanned by the king's tanner.

Manchester Scientific Students.—October 25.

—Mr. F. A. Waite in the chair.—Mr. George C. Yates read a Paper "On Gourds and Calabashes, and their uses to Man." Mr. Yates described the calabash tree. The most useful part is the hard shell of the fruit, which, under the name of Calabash, is much used in place of hats, saucers, cups, drums, bottles and goblets, and is often used to boil liquids. These articles often constitute the sole article of furniture of the Carib Indians. The pulp of the fruit is considered in the country a sovereign remedy for several disorders, both internal and external. Mr. Yates next spoke of gourds, the rinds of which are largely used for holding liquids, and they also go by the name of calabash. The vegetable marrow appears to be a mere variety of the common gourd or pumpkin. It was introduced into Europe from Persia about the beginning of the nineteenth century, but is now more generally cultivated in Britain than any other kind of gourd. Mr. Yates concluded his Paper with an account of the uses to which calabashes are put by savage tribes. Mr. W. E. A. Axon communicated a Paper on "Beddgelert."

Inverness Field Club.—October 14.—Mr. Ross gave an account of the house at Redcastle, which he believes to be the oldest inhabited building in the North. The ancient name of this castle was Eddyrdor, and there is evidence to show that it was built by William the Lion about the end of the 12th century. In 1455, the Barony of Edderdail called Ardmannoch, and the Reid Castle, with the lordships of Ross belonging thereto, were annexed to the Crown by James II., and in 1481 (5th April) James III. granted to his second son, James Stewart, Marquis of Ormond, the lands of the lordship of Ardmannache, called Avauch, and Nethirdal, with the moorhill of Ormond and the castle and fortalice of Redcastle. Lord Ormond became an ecclesiastic, and his mother, Queen Margaret, leased the lands and house of Ardmannache to George, Earl of Huntly. In 1482, the Earl granted the lands to Hucheone de Ros of Kilravock, the keeping of Redcastle, and the lands of Ardmannachet (in lieu of payment) of the dues of the lands of Urquhart and Glenmorrisone, which he held of the Earl. Before 1492 the lands of Ardmannache and Reidcastle were taken from Hucheone de Ros of Kil-

ravock by Renzo Mackenzie of Kintail, and in the same year George, Earl of Huntly, bound himself to restore to the Baron of Kilravock his lease of Reidcastle and Ardmannacht, "in so far as reason and law will," together with the goods he had in the same. It ended, however, in Hucheone de Ros resigning the lease of Ardmannacht and Reidcastle, and the King ordered the Sheriff of Ross to distrain the lands and goods of a large number of the adjoining lands. In 1511 King James IV. granted to Henry Stewart the lands of Culcowy, Drummarge, and Muren, with the Mill of Redcastel. The estate came into the hands of the Murrays and Stewarts, and finally into the hands of the Mackenzies in 1570, with whom it continued till 1790, when the family got into difficulties; and it was sold to Mr. Grant, of Shewglie. In 1824 it was resold to Sir William Fettes, and finally to the Hon. H. Baillie, its present possessor. The Castle as it now stands has been added to and changed, so that its original form cannot be made out. It appears that the oldest portion is the south front overlooking the Frith, and that it probably constituted the keep or main tower, now a courtyard, enclosed to the north. The east front is not at right angles to the south, but they would seem to have formed two sides of a pentagon, which may have been the form of the great enclosure. This is not an uncommon form in Highland castles. It is, of course, conjectural, but, looking to the conformation of the grounds, it is not unreasonable, judging by the style of building, this south front is the oldest, and the tower and wing extending north from it the next. Of course the domestic modern buildings are easily distinguished. The pediments over the attic windows were taken from "Old Castle Tolmie," which stood at the foot of Bridge Street, Inverness, previous to the flood of 1849. On the removal of Castle Tolmie, the old gables were purchased and fixed up soon after.

Plymouth Institution.—The seventy-first season of the Plymouth Institution was opened on the 12th October with an address from the President, Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S. He dealt with the borderland between the prehistoric and the definitely historic, and gave a sketch of the conditions of Saxon Devon in the Plymouth district, under the title of "A Corner of Saxon Devon." Prefacing his more local references by an inquiry into the original Devonshire Hundreds of Domesday (all of which he identified and traced), and the lessons thence derivable, he pointed out that only two Saxon deeds referred to the vicinity of Plymouth, and that the chronicles were all but silent relating to it. For the first time, however, definite traces of the "wark" had been found in Devon, and in Plymouth itself—a remarkable fact, and one which Mr. Worth had ascertained in the course of a detailed examination of some hundreds of ancient deeds. The chief part of the address consisted of an examination of the local references in Domesday, and an elucidation of their character and value; and this was illustrated by a sketch map of the district in the Norman period, and by some elaborate tables. The changes that had taken place were distinctly marked.

British Archaeological Society.—October 31.—A visit was paid to Hampton Court and Kingston. Mr. Ernest Law gave some interesting particulars

concerning the Great Hall. Standing in the Barrack-yard, or "Outer Green Court," as it was formerly called, Mr. Chart pointed out that the Trophy gates, by which they had just entered, were erected by William III. The road ran at a peculiar angle to the palace, leading to the belief that it had not always existed there. On the right-hand side of the road there used to be some old buildings, which had been gradually demolished during the past fifty or sixty years. The palace was built upon the site of a priory belonging to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and a lease was granted by the Knights Hospitallers to Cardinal Wolsey. On arriving at the west front entrance, Mr. Chart explained that this part of the building was restored about one hundred years ago, and it was an interesting fact to mention that the old oak gates which were originally hung at this entrance, and which had been lying in one of the workshops for many years, had recently been re-hung, after undergoing thorough repair. They were of massive proportions, being five inches thick, and bore traces of having been penetrated by bullets. They were also riddled with shots. Mr. Chart next proceeded to give some interesting particulars regarding the piers on each side of the gateway, which piers, together with several others in different parts of the palace, were formerly surmounted with leaden cupolas. Of these leaden cupolas, only two now remained. The groined Tudor ceiling in the first archway was next referred to. Mr. Chart mentioned that it was erected last year in substitution of a lath and plaster ceiling. Mr. Chart next called attention to the busts (eight in number) of Roman emperors on the walls of this part of the palace, and said it had been generally supposed that they were gifts from Pope Leo X. to Cardinal Wolsey, but it had since been discovered that they were purchased. Mr. Lambert remarked that these busts came from Florence. The Great Hall was then entered. It was built, he said, in 1531, by Henry VIII., and not by Wolsey, as was often stated. It was begun immediately after the death of Wolsey, the old hall being first removed to make room for it. Between six and seven years were spent in building it, and in the Record Office there could be seen minute information as to its cost, even to the amount spent in buying candles to enable the men to work at night-time. The hall was probably now about what it was when Henry VIII. finished it, although often restored and touched up since. The ceiling was supposed to be the most elaborate in England, and resembled that in Christ Church, Oxford. After describing some of its more important features, he went on to speak of the old stone fireplace, 6 ft. square, which formerly existed in the centre of the hall, just below the lantern. When the fire was lighted the smoke and fumes escaped through the lantern. The minstrel gallery was now almost precisely as it used to be, with the exception of the tapestry and carvings on the balustrade, which were restorations. Speaking of the wrought iron gates in the King's guard chamber, the company were informed that they were the work of Huntingdon Shaw, a famous smith of Nottingham, who was buried in Hampton Churchyard. Mr. Lambert mentioned that in 1850 these gates were lying in a rusty state at the bottom of the gardens, but a deputation of archaeologists having brought the

matter under the notice of the office of Woods and Forests, the gates were afterwards brought up here and taken care of. On arriving at the Chapel Royal, some time was spent in inspecting the royal pew and other parts of this portion of the Palace. Mr. Chart mentioned that the ceiling was of Tudor design, and the carving was by Gibbons. The chapel was originally built by Henry VIII., but it was thoroughly gutted and almost re-built by Wren. One of Wolsey's great kitchens was next visited. It is situate on the north side of the palace, abutting on Tennis-court-lane. Formerly there were four kitchens, but the other three have since been altered and appropriated for different purposes, the present one being left in its original state. The fireplace is 16ft. across, and contains the spit racks which were used in Wolsey's time. This portion of the palace, as may be readily supposed, was examined with much interest.—The visitors were afterwards driven to Kingston Church, where they were met by the Rev. A. S. W. Young, vicar of Kingston, Mr. Gould, and several other gentlemen. Here a very interesting Paper was read by Mr. Patrick. The church of Kingston, he said, was dedicated to All Saints, and a church existed here at the time of the Conquest. The present building, however, had no pretensions to so great an age. The church was a cruciform structure, with north and south aisles and transepts. There were chantry chapels on each side of the chancel—that on the south dedicated to St. James, and that on the north to the Blessed Trinity. The chapel of St. Mary, which was always placed to the south of the chancel, stood still further south, and was probably part of the original church founded by Gilbert Normain. This chapel partly fell down in the year 1730, through having been undermined by the sexton in digging graves, the sexton being killed by its fall; but its total destruction was very soon completed by the parish. The church is one of the largest in the county, and the dimensions were 149ft. 4in. in length, by 82ft. 6in. width across the transepts; the width of nave and aisles being 65ft. 8in.—The coronation stone was next inspected, and Ald. Gould read a Paper on the history of this ancient relic. He said it was not unreasonable to suppose that this was a Druidical altar stone, from its form possibly sacrificial, and that as a sacred character attached to it amongst the ancient Britons, the Saxons preserved and adopted it as a crowning stone. When he came to reside in Kingston, about forty years ago, the coronation stone stood within the gates of the courtyard, close to the walls of the Baths. On the pulling down of the old Town-hall, the stone was removed to this spot for security, and old inhabitants had told him that they could recollect it under the stairs in the old Town-hall. It had been placed there after the falling down of St. Mary's Chapel, adjoining the parish church, where it had always been. The chapel perished in 1731, and with it the effigies of the Saxon kings, preserved there with the stone. In 1853, chatting about the stone with an old friend, Mr. Samuel Ranyard, it occurred to them and their antiquarian friend, Mr. Young, that if the stone on which the modern kings and queens of England were crowned was an object of national interest, the stone on which the first kings of all England were crowned was

of still greater historical interest, and they agreed that an effort should be made to give it proper place and prominence. They prepared a scheme, Mr. C. E. Davis prepared a design, their object being to have it strictly in character, but making the surroundings subordinate to the object. Over £300 was collected, and, with the consent of the Mayor and Corporation, the stone was placed where they now saw it. Its form was heptagon, Saxon columns and caps, Saxon spear-heads and panels, and it served to illustrate the union of the Heptarchy. The stone was fixed on a base of Bath stone, and on each of the seven faces the name and date of one of the kings was shown in lead, and a coin of each reign, given by Mr. Roach Smith, was inserted in a copper tube under the name. The inauguration of the restoration took place in 1854, the day being made a public holiday in the town. The opening was a Masonic ceremony, and the stone was anointed with corn, oil, and wine.

Manchester Literary Club.—November 6.—

Mr. J. H. Nodal in the chair.—Mr. H. H. Howorth read a short communication on "A Chinese Literary Paradox." He began by explaining the special difficulties which beset the study of the Chinese language, owing to the exceptional character of their written language, with its ideographs varying in significance according to construction and special use, and illustrated this by reference to the "Yi-King." A translation of this work, by Dr. Legge, has been included in the Sacred Books of the East, now in course of publication by the India Office, under the editorial superintendence of Dr. Max Müller. The Book of Changes is universally deemed by the Chinese to be their oldest book; and even Confucius declared that it would take him fifty more years of study before he could understand it. The ablest native scholars have tried to explain it intelligibly, but all have failed. Professor Douglas says that probably no book in the world has been so largely commented on as the "Yi-King," and certainly no book has kept its secret so well. As the book is a mystery, it has been treated as a book on divination. Each of its sixty-four chapters is headed with a set of six lines, long and short, arranged in a certain order, and forming a hexagram. This figure is followed in each case by sentences whose meanings are matter of doubt. The attempt to treat them as a continuous narrative, and to extract a definite meaning from them, has proved an utter failure. Here is a specimen:—"The fifth line divided shows its subject keeping his jaw-bones at rest so that his words are all orderly. Occasion for repentance will disappear." On reading sentence after sentence like this it is clear that there must be some mistake, and that the real clue to the text is lost. Following up a hint from one of the commentators, M. Terrien de la Couperie has come to the conclusion that, instead of a continuous narrative, it is, for the most part, a collection of vocabularies explaining the meaning of certain characters, whilst the remainder is made up of ethnographic and geographical lists. M. de la Couperie finds that the characters bear strong resemblance to the ideographs used by the Akkad race, who occupied Babylonia in the earliest civilization known in Asia. Among the Accadians we find similar lists of words to those in the "Yi-King;" and, further, it is known

that one branch of them was distinguished by their high cheekbones, oblique eyes, and Chinese features.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Dates and Styles of Churches—Wilts (Communicated by A. Farquharson).

Trowbridge (St. James' Parish Church).—Built by James Terumber in 1483; pure Perpendicular; chancel, north and south transepts, nave and side aisles, tower with spire 159 feet high, at west end; north, south and west porches. Registers date from Elizabeth. Living, a rectory.

Holy Trinity.—Erected, 1838, by a late rector, the Rev. D. Hastings. Early English; nave, chancel and two transepts; tower on south side.

St. Thomas'.—Erected by Thomas Clark, William Clark, and Bayfield Clark, to the memory of their father. Consecrated February, 1870. Early English; centre tower, fabric, nave, chancel, and transepts; 66 feet by 55 feet.

St. Stephen's.—Converted to present use in 1860 from a Baptist Chapel. Perpendicular.

Staverton (St. Paul's), Trowbridge.—Rebuilt on old site in 1826. Consists of a body only; no chancel or aisles.

Studley (St. John's), Trowbridge.—Early English; built in 1858; nave, chancel, and south porch.

Edington (SS. Mary, Catherine and All Saints).—Consecrated by Rob. Wyvil, Bishop of Sarum, 1361; built by William of Edington, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, who also founded the priory. Church consists of chancel, transepts, nave, and side aisles, south porch, square central tower, seven bells, oldest 1640. Transition from Decorated to Perpendicular; extreme length, 160 feet. Fine canopied altar tombs of fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Bratton (St. James').—Dated 1340; 55 feet long; chancel, transepts, nave, and side aisles; central tower, four bells, oldest 1587; Decorated style. Registers, 1542.

Steeple Ashton (St. Mary).—Dated 1480; built chiefly by Robert Long and Walter Lucas, clothiers; pure Perpendicular; fabric consists of chancel, nave with side aisles; at each end of nave aisles are chapels; tower at west end 92 feet high, south porch. Registers, 1538.

Imber (St. Giles).—Chancel, nave, and side aisles; former rebuilt in Early English style, latter Perpendicular; font, ancient Norman; tower at west end; five bells; north porch having on it the shield of Hungerford, former Lords of the soil.

Stockton (St. John the Baptist).—1170; contains examples of Norman and Early English; consists of chancel, nave with side aisles, north porch, and low west tower. Chancel 16 feet 10 inches by 18 feet 6 inches; nave 36 feet by 38 feet. Chancel separated from nave by wall, pierced by a doorway only, on

either side a squint; tower contains four bells, oldest pre-Reformation; others 1661 and 1684.

Value of Land in Warwickshire.—In the churchyard of Claverdon, a village in Warwickshire, is a monument to one John Matthews, who died in the reign of Henry VII., leaving land in the parish in trust to defray the cost of necessary repairs or enlargement of Claverdon Church. From time to time the rental of the estate has been inscribed on one side of the monument. It is a pity that there are such long gaps in the record, but, imperfect as it is, this table is of great interest as showing the rise that has taken place in the value of land in the last two and a half centuries. It must be remembered that a noble is one-third of a pound sterling. The table is as follows.—

1617	12 nobles.
1707	£12
1825	£78
1868	£130

The Old Soke-Mill, Bradford.—In early times each family was provided with a quern or hand-mill in which to grind corn sufficient to supply the needs of its members. The accompanying illustration (fig. 1) represents a hand-mill found by Mr. John

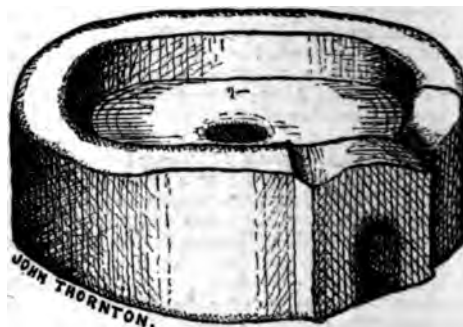


FIG. 1.

Thornton upon a small farm called the Nuke, situate near Tewitt Hall at Oakworth. This rude contrivance was, at the period of its discovery, doing duty as a water-trough, and was sunk into the ground. The dimensions are 2ft. 6in. wide and 8in. deep. The

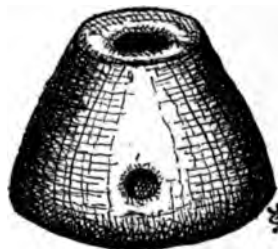


FIG. 2.

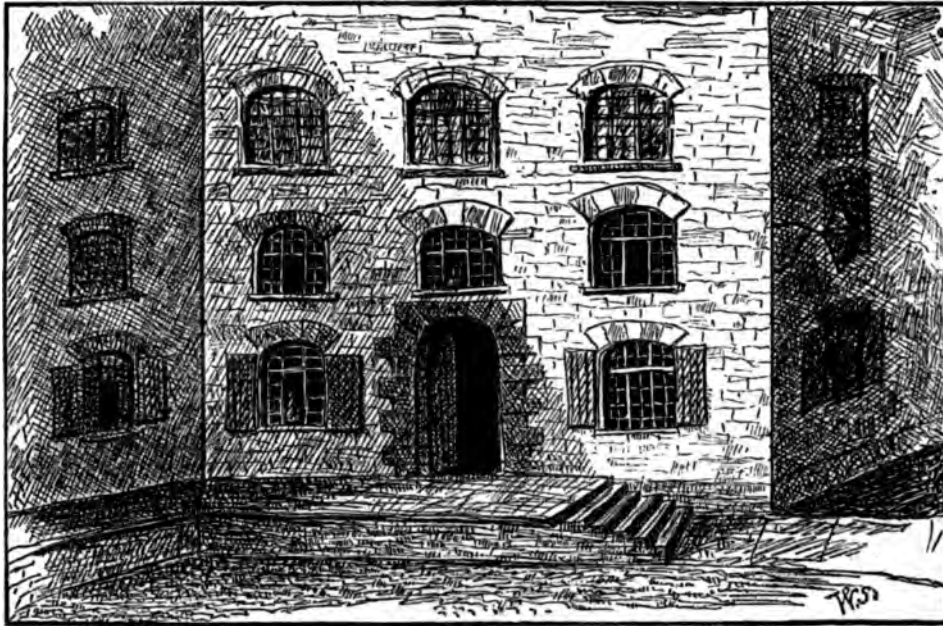
second illustration (fig. 2) represents a quern which was found embedded in the banks of the river Wharfe, near Ilkley, by Mr. Stapleton. These primitive forms of corn-grinding gave way to the water-mill. The Bradford soke-mill has lately been demolished, and the accompanying illustration (fig. 3) we are able to give through the courtesy of the Bradford Historical Society, who kindly lent the blocks to us, and from

the journal of which we gather the information now given. All the inhabitants in the manor of Bradford, living within two miles of the mill, were bound to grind all the corn, grain, or malt, used by them at the mill, and no one had the right to set up any quern, steel-horse, or hand-mill within the manor, neither had any carrier the right to fetch or carry any corn or grain to any other mill to be there ground. There is mention of two separate buildings at which suit of soke was enforced, "these two corn mills called the Bradford mills, and one mill situate in the east part." This latter mill was doubtless situated on the confluence of the streams coming down from Laister Dyke and Bowling, the former of which must at one time have been considerable. In excavating for a main sewer along Canal Road unmistakable evidence

Antiquarian News.

Langley Castle is, we understand, to be gradually restored. It is one of the grandest examples of Decorated Gothic, applied to domestic architecture, to be met with in England. It would appear to have been built late in the 14th century, and already by 1537 we find it was in almost the same state of semi-ruin that it is to-day.

A hidden treasure, recently brought to light in the demolition of an old house in the Rue Vieille du Temple, Paris, turns out to be of great value. No fewer than 7,822 gold pieces, intrinsically worth more than £4,000, were found in a copper jar. The coins



ENTRANCE TO OLD SOKE-MILL, BRADFORD.

of this was revealed. In an abstract prepared in 1795, showing the succession of the property, it is stated: "This mill was of no value to the owner, not being thought worth repairing, was scarce of any service to the inhabitants, being only an undershoft mill upon a very slender stream, and without much head of water, so that in the summer season it would not be able to grind at all. From the above causes, it is imagined that the owner at that time suffered it to go down." These few facts thus enable us to trace a continued history from primitive times to modern—from the quern-using man to the steam-power man, it might be said—and facts like these are worth preserving.



bear the superscriptions of John the Good, Charles V., Guillaume de Beauregard, Guillaume de la Garde, Raymond III., and several other local rulers, and many of them are exceedingly rare. The coins are being examined by an expert, and will be sold at public auction. The house wherein the discovery was made dated from the 14th century, and had been occupied by the Marquis d'Effiat, Marshal of France, and Superintendent of Finance.

The Wentworth Papers, by James J. Cartwright, of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, is in course of publication. Thomas Wentworth, born at Wakefield, in 1672, was the son of Sir William Wentworth, of Northgate Head, and a grand-nephew of the Earl of Strafford. After a distinguished career in the army under William III. and the Duke of Marlborough, he was appointed ambassador to the Court of the first

King of Prussia at Berlin, in 1703. In March, 1711, he was transferred to the Hague, and later in that year the earldom of Strafford was revived in him for his eminent services. He was one of the plenipotentiaries for negotiating the famous Treaty of Utrecht. In addition to the extensive correspondence required by his diplomatic positions, Wentworth carried on a large interchange of letters with his relatives and friends in England, and appears to have been most careful in preserving every document that reached his hands. These Papers, both official and private, fill upwards of 100 volumes; it is from the private, and family portion of them that the present work has been compiled. Among Wentworth's chief private correspondents were his mother Isabella, Lady Wentworth; his wife, Lady Strafford; his brother, Peter; his cousin, the famous Lord Bathurst; and Lord Berkely of Stratton; their letters contain much entertaining matter, illustrative of social, political and literary history, more particularly in Queen Anne's reign, mixed occasionally with references to Yorkshire people and places.

Notwithstanding all that has been done for the preservation of the Jedburgh Abbey within recent years, the tower seems not yet to be in a very satisfactory state, as workmen have been employed for the past fortnight in filling up with cement a number of cracks in the north wall, and otherwise repairing it, so as to prevent water getting into the masonry.

Llanrhaidr-yn-Mochnant Church, after having been closed for nearly four years for restoration, was reopened recently. The church is dedicated to St. Dogfan, and consists of one long nave, with gallery, tower, and principal entrance at the west end through the tower, two chancel aisles of three bays, that on the south nearly coeval with the nave, but that on the north perhaps earlier. The roof of the chancel is panelled in oak, with bosses at the intersections, and the wall plate ornamented with the billet and quatrefoils. In the restoration this ceiling has been cleaned and not in any way altered. The font bears the date 1663, the bells 1741, the altar table 1749, the chalice 1693, and the paten 1761. A curious stone coffin lid of an early date was discovered during the progress of the works.

It is only fitting that a great Hellenic explorer should live in an atmosphere redolent of Homer and of Troy. Such an atmosphere is breathed by Dr. Schliemann. His residence in Athens is a stately marble palace, and over its doors a golden inscription announces that it is the "Hall of Ilium." Every room in the house commemorates in some way the researches which have invested the name of Schliemann with a halo of romance. The walls are covered with objects, or pictures of objects, found at Mycenæ and Troy, with Pompeian frescoes, and with mottoes from Homer. The "Hall of Ilium" is of imposing dimensions, for its reception rooms are said to hold 300 guests. In these saloons, every alternate Thursday during the winter, Dr. Schliemann entertains a large assembly of statesmen, journalists, and professors.

While some workmen were engaged digging sand near the site of what is to be the Mansion House of Blaimore, in the parish of Glass, they came on a

stone cist, three feet three inches in length, by twenty-three inches in breadth. It contained the bones of a human body in apparently a good state of preservation, the teeth in the skull being entire, except one which was missing. After being exposed to the air for some time, the bones began to crumble down. There was also an urn quite entire. The grave was about seven feet below the surface. We understand that the workmen had before come on three stone cists while excavating, but there was nothing in them except some charred remains.

Major Davis has written a letter to the *Times* describing the result of the excavations made on the site of the Roman baths. In it he says:—I may be permitted to say that we have excavated more than sufficient to completely restore the buildings, the masonry standing *in situ* of a height exceeding 10ft. from the floor of the bath; indeed, as at Wroxeter, one of the walls has stood exposed to view little less than 1,800 years. The bath consists of three aisles, the centre being the width of the bath, vaulted by a barrel vault. This vault sprang from an arcade of clustered pilasters, giving seven arches on either side. The pilasters, 2ft. in diameter, of solid block, stand on Attic bases and plain pedestals, the side aisles, or *schola*, were arched and groined, with attached pilasters along the walls and three recesses (*exedra* or *stibadia*) 15ft. wide, on each side of the hall, two being semicircular, and the third and central, square. In the centre bay of the northern arcade is a defaced piece of sculpture, through which ran the water. Underneath the sculpture is a recess in the steps marking the position of a large sarcophagus (now lost), into which the water was first poured, and so overflowed into the bath. The entrance to the great bath is at the western end, by a doorway from a large hall, the precise extent of which is unknown, although I believe I saw its western wall during some excavations I made in 1869. Very fine fragments of architectural sculpture have been obtained, and also pieces of later and more debased character, but the remains generally *far surpass anything found in Britain*. In 1754 a large bath, but much smaller than this one, was discovered and destroyed, and were excavations still further pursued, there is reason to believe that what has hitherto been discovered is only a fractional portion of what is still buried beneath more modern buildings. Unless further funds are forthcoming, this truly great and almost national work will have to be discontinued, and the undiscovered buildings remain for a future generation to explore.

Just in front of No. 14, Trinity Square, Tower Hill, the Metropolitan Railway Company have sunk a large ventilating shaft. The mould displaced by the rude spade of the railway navvy has not been unfrequently tinged with the blood of Stuart loyalists. The house No. 14 will always be the cynosure of the antiquary and the instructed sightseer. It was here that the victims of the rebellion of 1745, notably Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, suffered the condign penalty of their fated devotion. The sheriffs hired the house for the reception of the doomed noblemen, who from its portals were led to the scaffold, "which was thirty yards in front of the house." This spot had been chosen for a scaffold and gallows in the

first year of the reign of Edward VI. The Lord Mayor of the era was as prone to contention as he was proud of these symbols of justice. He complained of the gallows having been erected by royal, and not by civic, authority. He insisted it should be considered the property of the citizens, and be maintained by them and their mayor. His persistency carried the point, and the king allowed the claim, having first excused himself for the improper conduct of his servants.

Kemberton Church has been pulled down and rebuilt. The old church was of a parallelogram form, 30 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft., not including the chancel, and took the place of a still older church, which probably was erected in the fourteenth century. In taking down the present building some very interesting discoveries have been made. The pavement of the old church was laid bare, with its rich tiles illustrating beautiful figures and animals. These tiles have been laid in the chancel of the new building. They are undoubtedly of periods extending over the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. In the stonework there were several fragments of windows (in the tracery), but they were so damaged that it was impossible to do anything with them. One of the most interesting was probably the font, Early English, probably of the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In carrying on the work at Prestwich Church, in connection with the strengthening of the tower foundations, some portions of an earlier church have, we learn, been discovered. One of the stones consists of part of a Norman string course, on which is worked the ornament technically known as the "prismatic billet." The lines are as sharp as on the day the workman finished the carving. The other fragment is part of a moulded arch, unmistakably also of the Norman period. In the present structure there is no vestige of Norman work, the building being mainly of the Perpendicular Period. It may not be out of place here to mention the very curious carvings which exist in the parapet of the tower. They are mainly on the south side, but, being high up, they can hardly be seen from below except through a field-glass. One of the scenes represents a furious combat between a fox and a goose, the fox having made a raid upon the geese. There are also figures of musicians playing on various kinds of wind instruments, a swan quietly sailing down a stream followed by her cygnets, a man holding a muzzled dog forming a water-spout, and angels bearing shields.

The reconstruction of Muckleston Parish Church is about to be taken in hand. There has been a church at Muckleston from the earliest period of local history, and in Saxon times a priest was located there. The fine old Gothic tower is all that remains of the venerable fane, the present nave and chancel being the outcome of the Georgian age. The tower is possessed of no mean historic interest. Tradition says that Queen Margaret stood upon it, and watched the fight between her forces under Lord Audley and those of the enemy under Lord Salisbury, when they met upon the gloomy heath of Blore in 1459.

A mine has been found in the mountain near Salsburgh, Austria, which gives indications of having

been occupied and abandoned at least two thousand years ago. It contains a large and confused mass of timbers, which were used for support, and a number of miners' implements. The timbers were notched and sharpened, but were subject to an inundation, and left in confused heaps. The implements were mainly wooden shovels, axe-handles, &c. Among the relics, also, was a basket made of untanned raw hide, a piece of cloth woven of coarse wool, the fibre of which is very even, and still in good preservation, and a torch, bound together with flax fibre. The probabilities are that the ancient salt-miners were overtaken by the flooding of the mine, as mummified bodies have been discovered also. The find seems to have belonged to the pre-Roman times, as the axe-handles were evidently used for bronze axes, specimens of which have been found upon the surface of the mountain. The relics are of a high order, the basket being superior even to some that were used in the early historic times.

The fine old mansion, Grafton Hall, Cheshire, had fallen into a ruinous condition, and for some years past has been undergoing careful and thorough restoration, and large additions have been made, strictly in the spirit and style of the old work. All the finely-carved panelled and moulded wainscotting have been carefully restored and replaced, and the ancient and mediæval spirit of the hall has been retained, and combined with modern ideas of convenience and comfort. This mansion-house and demesne belonged at one time to the Massys of Grafton, from whom it was purchased about the latter end of the sixteenth century, by Sir Peter Warburton, one of his Majesty's justices of the Common Pleas. Sir Peter resided about the year 1589 in a mansion in Watergate Street, Chester, called the "Black Hall," formerly known as the "Grey Friars." He rebuilt and greatly enlarged Grafton Hall, which is a stately mansion with bay windows, gables, tall chimneys and turrets, exhibiting a very fine example of the domestic architecture of the early part of the seventeenth century.

It is interesting to note that while opening the wall of the vestry of St. Mary's Church, Stockport, to examine one of the flues, there was found the ancient entrance, with steps and porch almost perfect, to the *parvis* or upper chamber of the vestry, a sketch of which was taken, and is now in possession of Mr. H. Heginbotham, J.P., for use in the forthcoming part of the History of Stockport. A certain portion of the ancient chancel, which contains an almost unique specimen of sedilia and piscina, was restored by the late rector some five-and-twenty years ago. During the progress of the work the recumbent effigy of a former rector of Stockport—Richard de Vernon—which was some years ago conveyed to Poynton Church, has been restored by Lord Vernon, and, after undergoing necessary repairs, it has been placed in the same position which it once held within the altar rails.

The town of Northallerton was in a somewhat excited state on the announcement that the youths of the place were going to "ride the stang" for a married man and a woman, who had, it was alleged, eloped, but who returned to their respective homes. The

procession started at the back of the town, near the residence of one of the alleged offenders, but as soon as it reached the main street a number of policemen made a charge at the waggon which contained the effigies of the parties, and after a fierce struggle they succeeded in gaining possession of them, and conveyed them to the police station. After the loss of their effigies the party, which numbered upwards of 600, paraded the streets carrying banners, bearing the inscription "Welcome home, Mary and Thomas," on the route they sang "Home, Sweet Home," with an original chorus appropriate to the runaways.

Captain Conder, R.E., who brought the survey of Western Palestine to a successful issue, set out upon a similar enterprise in Eastern Palestine in the spring of last year, accompanied by Lieutenant Mantell and Messrs. Black and Armstrong. A revolt among the Druses of the Hauran made it necessary to begin in the south; and in spite of difficulties arising with the authorities at Constantinople, a survey was accomplished, extending over 500 square miles, equal to that already done in the west, and which before long will be presented to the public on the scale of one inch to the mile. Canon Tristram has discovered many cromlechs and rude stone monuments. Captain Conder has discovered very many more, establishing the fact that this part of Moab was a great centre of the form of religious worship of which these monuments are the remains. Captain Conder has suggested identifications for Baal Peor, the field of Zophim, and other Biblical places previously unknown. He has collected much Arab folk-lore with tribe marks and additions. He has found a most remarkable building of Persian character in Arminan, and has brought home photographs, drawings, and plans of great value. Besides the survey in the East, he has discovered Kadesh, the capital of the Hittites, measured the Siloam tunnel, and planned what he thinks may be nothing less than the real Holy Sepulchre.

An interesting discovery has been made in the course of the excavations in the Forum at Rome. In removing the causeway passing across the area in front of the Arch of Septimus Severus, the remains of an ancient and forgotten church, now recognized as that of Santa Maria in Foro, have been found beneath the road. The church, which is of small size, was constructed within the western porticoes of the Basilica Julia and on the ancient level.

The following archaeological specimens have been presented to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society:—The skull of Theodorianus of Noruentum, taken out of a stone coffin found on the Mount about 1800, by Mr. W. Driffeld, Huntington; a Roman urn, ornamented with a hunting scene, found in Blossom Street, by Lady Clark; and two bullets, &c., found at St. Michael-le-Belfrey when it was restored by the Rev. C. B. Norcliffe, Langton.



Correspondence.

MAXWELL OF MUNCHES.

(vi. 86.)

Your correspondent will find some interesting particulars of the early history of Caerlaverock Castle, and of the family of Constable-Maxwell, in Burke's *History of the Commoners*, vol. i. p. 325, under the heading "Constable-Maxwell, of Everingham and Caerlaverock."

HIRONDELLE VOLANT.

LOUSE HALL, DEVONSHIRE AND OXFORDSHIRE.

(v. 29.)

In some "Devon and Cornwall Notes," which appeared in the May number of *THE ANTIQUARY*, the Rev. H. Friend mentions having met with the name *Louse Hall*, near Ashburton, and repeats the accepted tale respecting the origin of the name. Singularly enough, a day or two since, in examining some old books which have lately come into my possession, I found, between the leaves of one of the volumes, a curious old print, the title of which at once recalled to my thoughts Mr. Friend's note as above, and his own communications to me. The print represents an old woman, whose nose and chin nearly meet. She has on her head a tall steeple-crowned hat, underneath which is a linen cap, around her neck a frilled ruff; she has a dark dress, with white apron tied round the waist, and white cuffs. In one hand she holds a drinking cup, and in the other a larger utensil of the same character, not unlike a quart pot. A house is represented partially surrounded by trees, with a green in front, on which are various pedestrians and others, while two persons, who are seen approaching the house, have a somewhat clerical garb. Over the house is the inscription LOUSE HALL, and underneath the picture is the following inscription:—

"MOTHER LOUSE, OF LOUSE HALL, NEAR OXFORD.

You laugh now Goodman Two Shoes, but at what?
My Grove, my Mansion House, or my dun Hat?
Is it for that my loving Chin and Snout
Are met, because my Teeth are fallen out?
Is it at me, or at my RUFF you titter?
Your Grandmother, you Rogue, nere wore a fitter:
Is it at Forehead's Wrinkle, or Cheeks' Furrow;
Or at my Mouth, so like a Coney-Burrough?
Or at those Orient Eyes that nere shed tear,
But when the Excisemen come, that's twice a-year?
KISS ME and tell me true, and when they fail,
Thou shalt have larger Potts and stronger Ale."

Dividing the lines in the centre of the plate is a shield of arms, bearing "*Three lice passant*," and motto the same, crest an *ale pot*.

It is further stated that the print is "Engraved from the Original Print by David Loggan. Price 7s. 6d. Published by C. Johnson." There is no date. The size of the print is about 10 in. by 7 in. Possibly some of your correspondents may recognize it from the above, and be able to furnish additional in-

formation respecting this Oxford celebrity, and Mr. Friend (who is about to remove to the neighbourhood of Oxford) may find the means to extend his researches in that district.

W. H. K. WRIGHT,
Plymouth. Editor of *Watern Antiquary*.

CHURCHWARDEN'S (OR CONSTABLE'S) ACCOUNTS.

(iv. 231-277, vi. 85.)

I began to despair of getting a satisfactory answer to my queries till QUIDNUNC'S letter appeared in your August part.

I find on reference that he is right in his statement that the *Constable's* (and not the *Churchwarden's*) *Accounts* contain the words which puzzled me, as I have never found them in use (neither written nor spoken) elsewhere. I thank him for his correction, as well as for his lucid explanation.

I have now another inquiry to make, which should perhaps come under the heading of

"PARISH REGISTERS."

In Burn's "*Registrum Ecclesiæ Parochialis*" (London, 1829), amongst much, often amusing, and always interesting matter, I find the following extract from the Registers of Loughborough:—

"1551. June. The *Swat*, called New Acquaintance, alias Stoupe Knave and Know thy Master, began the 24th of this month."

What is the meaning of this entry?

Considering what a vast amount of *general* as well as *local* information these old Parish Accounts and Registers contain, is it not a pity that something cannot be (or *is* not) done to insure their preservation?

H. C. I.

THE GREAT CASE OF THE IMPOSITIONS.

(vi. 61-65, 132-4, 230-1.)

Mr. Hall is, I fear, disposed to make short work of me as a trespasser on his own manor. That it is his own manor I readily admit, for he has made it so by his scholarly and patient researches, for which historians should owe him a debt of gratitude. But though I would not claim for a moment to compete with Mr. Hall in the knowledge of that intricate subject which he has made his special study, I ventured to question, as I still question, whether he has not, in his righteous zeal against slovenly historians, been unduly harsh in his criticisms on the work of my friend, Professor Stubbs.

It is of the all-important negotiations of 1303 that these two authorities take such diametrically opposite views.

"In dealing with this question, Professor Stubbs has stated that the object of this 'colloquium' was to gain the consent of the English merchants to an increase in the custom on wool, woollens, and leather."—Mr. Hall, *ante*, p. 63.)

"The great object of the Crown was not to get a present advance on the wool customs, but to settle permanently the scale of the charge upon wines and merchandise—of the *parvæ* *customæ*, not the *magnæ* *customæ*."—Mr. Hall, *ante*, p. 64.

Here, I maintain, Professor Stubbs is right, and Mr. Hall as distinctly wrong. And this I prove (1) by *historical evidence*—viz., that the Crown's two previous desperate efforts, under the pressure of its financial difficulties, those namely of 1294 and 1297, had both been avowedly and indisputably directed to the same coveted object of "an increase in the custom on wool, woollens, and leather," and had ignored the "*parvæ* *customæ*." (2) By *internal evidence*—viz., that, as I have shown (*ante*, p. 133), the Crown was obviously here endeavouring to purchase this coveted concession by the grant of special privileges, and by "a surrender of its right of impost" for a limited sum, which would, in any case, be "clearly to its disadvantage," and the more so if (as seems here to have been the case) the commutation was based on a low average.* I repeat then that "the commutation of its right of undefined 'prises' on general merchandise for a defined and limited scale was, instead of a gain (as implied by Mr. Hall), an actual loss, not only (as is obvious) in money, but also, and specially, in prerogative" (p. 133). It is Mr. Hall, therefore, and not Professor Stubbs, who has "missed the point" of the negotiation, nor has he attempted to reply to me on this question, but contents himself with saying, "I cannot allow that he (Mr. Round) upsets any of my facts."

Again, Mr. Hall says of Professor Stubbs, that his "gravest mistake" is in implying that "any attempt to go beyond it (the fixed prize) could only be looked on as an unjust and arbitrary extortion" (p. 64). On this point† I proved that, on Mr. Hall's own showing, his "prize of wines" was rigidly limited (not indeed by statute, but) by prescription, and that this prescriptive limitation could be traced back to the earliest times of which we have record. To adopt, like himself, an illustration from the income-tax, those 'with less than £150 income pay nothing, those with more than £150 and less than £400 pay on one scale, and those with more than £400 on another (compare p. 64). The prize claimable from any given cargo could be determined as accurately as the tax due from any given income, and to exact more would, in either case, be "an unjust and arbitrary extortion."

As Mr. Hall admits that he "tried to prove too much," *in re* the 20s. rate, I need not remind him that he has not rebutted the original evidence I adduced from Irish records.

Again, I ventured to point out that Mr. Hall's statement that—

"In the more authentic of the two last-mentioned instruments, the Crown had reserved its rights to its

* As the prize on the prizable cask would seem, according to Mr. Hall, to have been worth "at least" 40s.; it will be seen that, taking one cargo with another, *zs.* a cask would be a favourable commutation. But, honestly (to quote Mr. Hall's words), "I should be ashamed to confess the time or labour that I have bestowed" on trying to understand his views on prize and "frectagium" on p. 65, or his explanation of them on p. 231. I can only hope that others have been more fortunate.

† I readily admitted that on the particular point of "one cask out of every two," Professor Stubbs was mistaken.

'ancient aids and prizes due and accustomed.' Therefore it still enjoyed the custom on wool and hides as regulated in 1275, and it also had the ancient prize upon wines, and a discretionary toll upon all merchandise" (p. 63), was a *non sequitur*, as its right.

"To 'the custom on wool and hides' was specially and *nomination* reserved in a *later* Article (VII.)." To this Mr. Hall can only retort—"As I mentioned no individual Article (!) of the confirmatio chartarum, I do not see the point of Mr. Round's '*non sequitur*.' " The point that Mr. Hall had here deduced, the right to the "custom" from that to the "aids and prizes," is, however, an important one on his showing, for he rightly reminds us (p. 64) that the "distinction between the custom and the prize was everywhere maintained in contemporary relations."

Lastly, it is a pity that before proclaiming so confidently—"I cannot see that Mr. Round has made one point, or elucidated a single difficulty," Mr. Hall did not make himself better acquainted with the elementary facts of history. To my hint that "the maltolte of 1297, surely followed 'the episode of the refractory earls' instead of 'producing' it" he briefly retorts that "any decent history will show that 'the maltolte of 1297' was prior to the 'episode of the refractory earls,' and did (*inter alia*) produce it." Now Professor Stubbs, as will be admitted by all scholars, has made this period peculiarly his own, and it is probable that (*pace* Mr. Hall) his history of it is at least a "decent" one. His statements are here supported by abundant references to original authorities, and they are clear. The writs to the Baronage were issued 26th January. The Barons assembled at Salisbury 24th February.† The "episode of the refractory earls" followed almost immediately. "The Council broke up in dismay," and the Barons prepared for war.‡ "The provocation and the exigency of the occasion were too much for" Edward, and he issued his edict for the seizure and maltolte 23rd April.§ Mr. Hall will find the same version in the *Select Charters* (p. 479), or the *Early Plantagenets* (p. 238). His own version is indeed one of those vulgar errors which he is so laudably eager to correct, and it has been heedlessly accepted by Hume and by Pearson, and also by the much-denounced Hallam. But then, as Mr. Hall severely reminds us, "we, most of us, are content to take our history from the popular historian of the day," and it is to be feared that, in this instance, he must have taken *his*, from Green's *History of the English People*.

I regret that it is the opinion of so excellent a scholar "that Mr. Round should have rather wasted his energies," for if I was clearly wrong on some points, Mr. Hall, I would submit, was at fault on others, and it is surely from the friction of conflicting views that we obtain the spark of historic truth.

Brighton.

J. H. ROUND.

SIR JOHN GAYER.

Will any reader of THE ANTIQUARY give me information about the relations and descendants of Sir

* This is a quotation from Article VI. of the Confirmatio.

† *Const. Hist.* iii. 131. ‡ *Ib.* 133. § *Ib.* 134.

John Gayer, the founder of the "Lion Sermoe," preached yearly at the church of S. Katherine Cree, Leadenhall-street.

CHARLES F. COLE.

Flint Field, Caterham.

BRASSES.

Following the suggestion of Mr. Sparvel-Bayly and the example of Messrs. H. W. Birch and Herbert P. Horne, I beg to supply a list of corrections of recent date to Mr. Haines' "List of Monumental Brasses" in respect of the county of Kent. I shall be glad to supply further corrections for the same county, and for others from time to time.

C. G. R. BIRCH.

Brancaster Rectory.

KENT.

Addington.—Add 1. Master Richard Charlis in armour, 1378, lower part of effigy lost, with marg. inscri. S.C. 2. A man in armour, c. 1445, small, inscri. lost, relaid, S.C. 3. Robert Watton, Esq., son and heir of Wm. Watton, Esq., lord of manor and patron of church, 1470, in helmet, and wife, Alice, dau. of John Clerk, one of the Barons of the King's Exchequer, S.C.

Aldington.—John Weddeol, gentleman, in armour, 1475, and wife . . . inscri. mutilated. Nave.

Ash-by-Wrotham.—1. Richard Galon, rector, hf. eff. 1465. Chancel. 2. Inscription to Wm. Hodsoil of Southashe, gent. 1586, arms cut in stone. Nave.

Aylesford.—Add Inscription to Patricke Savage, cook to Sir Wm. Sedley, born in Ireland, dec. at Aylisford, 1625, æt. 57, left £60 to poor of parish, £10 to repairs of church, 20 shillings to enlargement of Cup for Holy Communion, and 6s. 8d. to buy a cloth for Holy Communion. Nave.

Birling.—Water Mylyn, receiver to Lord Barga-venny, 1522, with four sons, marginal inscription. South aisle.

Brabourne.—The date of No. III. is 1524. Brasses all relaid in chancel.

Great Chart.—No. VII. had five wives, whose arms are cut in stone. The three kneeling effigies below are those of his daughters, Ellianor, Bridget, and Mary.

Chelsfield.—There is another small priest, c. 1420, loose, with fragments of a marginal inscription in English. In No. I. the crucifix is lost except the base, the whole effigy of S. John and that of S. Mary. Two scrolls remain inscribed "Salus mea x-ts est." No. III. remains, two of the sons being ecclesiastics.

Cheriton.—All are now mural.

Chewning.—A modern inscription ascribes the brass mentioned to Griffin Floyd, rector, 1596. Add Inscription to John Lennard, gent. 1556, with shield, now mural. South aisle.

Deal, Upper.—Add Anne, infant child of Thos. Consant, pson of Deale, and Judeth, his wife, 1606. Chancel.

Downe.—Add Man in civil dress, with anelace, and wife, c. 1400, inscri. lost, relaid. Chancel. Perhaps

John Petle and wife Christiana. No. III. has disappeared.

Farningham.—Add Inscription to Henry Farbrace, M.A., vicar of Farningham and rector of Ightham, who left 40s. annually to the poor of either parish, 1601. Chancel.

Faversham.—Corrections so numerous as to require separate notice.

Fordwich.—Add Inscription to Catherine, daughter and heir of Wm. Wickham, of South Mimmes, Esq., and wife to Valentine Norton, gent. 1610, æt. 21. Chancel.

Goodnestone.—The effigies of No. II. and III. remain. No. IV. is lost. All brasses relaid north and south in north chancel. The date of No. III. is 1558.

Harrietsham.—Susanna, wife of Edward Parthoriche, Esquire, 1603, with one son and two daus., qd. pl. kng. mur. South chancel. Inscription to John Griwnell, senior, 1638.

Hardres, Upper.—No. II. eff. lost. No. IV. For Preston, read Paston.

Hever.—No. I. is in chancel. No. IV. mural in tower. The small cross to Henry Bwllayen has been restored and relaid with the inscription (by a Norfolk artist, c. 1520) close to the tomb of his father (No. II.).

Hoath.—The female effigy of No. II. is now fastened down.

Horton Kirby.—Add a lady, c. 1460. South transept. A very good brass.

Hunton.—A civilian, c. 1510.

Leigh.—No. I. is in nave. No. II. in chancel with a shield. No. III. is in chancel on same slab as No. V. engraved, c. 1580. No. IV. cannot be found. No. V. has a recumbent effigy on the same qd. pl. Add Inscription to Stephen Towse, gent., married Ann, widow of Rich. Waller, Esq., of Hall Place, alias Hollingden, 1611, mural, chancel.

Luddesdown.—A man in armour, legs mutilated, c. 1450, now mural, formerly on an altar tomb. Perhaps James Montacute, Esq., 1452.

Maidstone, Charles Museum.—1. A priest, with chalice and wafer, c. 1520. 2. A lady, c. 1540.

Minster, Isle of Sheppey.—This very curious brass has been recently restored by Mr. Waller.

Rainham.—Add III. A female figure, husband lost, with four daughters, c. 1490. Chancel. IV. Wm. Ancher, Esq., 1514, now mural, North Chapel. Inscriptions to 1. James Donet, Esq., 1409. Chancel. 2. A scroll, loose, c. 1500, inscribed "uiuentes in carne orate p̄ defūct⁹ quia moriemini." 3. Christopher Garlick, vicar, "inducted into ye cure" 1571, died 1593. Chancel.

Snodland.—Add John, son of "Lancaster Herald, Esq." 1441, head lost, small, now mural. Chancel. The effigies of No. III. are about 1520, and not connected with the inscription to Wm. Tilghman and his wives, 1541.

Stourmouth.—Wm. Mareys, M.A., "Clericus," Rector, in academical dress, 1472. Chancel.

Tilmanstone.—Richard Fogg, Esq., in civil dress, wife Anna, who placed memorial, one son and three daughters, 1598, kng. mur. Chancel.

Upchurch.—A civilian and wife, hf. effs. c. 1370. North chancel.

Perhaps these few additions to "Haines' Monumental Brasses" may be of use, as none of them are mentioned there.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Great Amwell, St. John Baptist's.—I. A priest. Formerly on floor of chancel; removed thence in 1838, and screwed to a board; it now hangs on the wall of the nave on the south side of the chancel arch. No inscription. Date about 1400.

II. A man and two wives, with seven children. Man's head, some children, and inscription missing. The effigies of the wives were discovered in 1881 in an old chest in the Vestry, the slab was then taken up from the tower, where it lay before, and fixed in the north wall of the nave. Date about 1500.

III. Discovered at the same time as the effigies in No. II. A Greek inscription and coat-of-arms in memory of Anthony Maukes, a former vicar, on south wall of nave. Date 1684.

There are also two mural inscriptions of the beginning of this century to former vicars.

G. HUSSEY.

Secretary Haileybury Antiq. Soc.

—o—

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Amersham.—All the brasses are now mural.

Chicheley.—No. II. is now mural.

Newport Pagnell.—The brass is now loose.

MIDDLESEX.

Hackney.—The brasses are now in the N.E. porch of the church.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Higham Ferrers.—Nos. V. and VII. are at the vicarage.

SURREY.

Edchworth.—No. I. is now mural.

At *Wittersham*, in Kent, is a small civilian brass.

V. W. MAUGHAN

Clapton, 11th Jan. 1882.



WILLIAM WARD, VICAR OF WALSALL, 1571.

The earliest vicar's signature in the parish register is that of William Ward, 1571. I should be glad of any information as to his ancestry and antecedents.

X.

—o—

A JESTER'S WAGER.

Can any historical John Timbs inform me of the particulars of, or authorities for, the following: la Bruges (?), a French duke, wagered a sum of money that his jester would eat a shoulder of mutton while the town clock was striking twelve. The feat was accomplished, not without great difficulty.

A. B.

The Antiquary Exchange.

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